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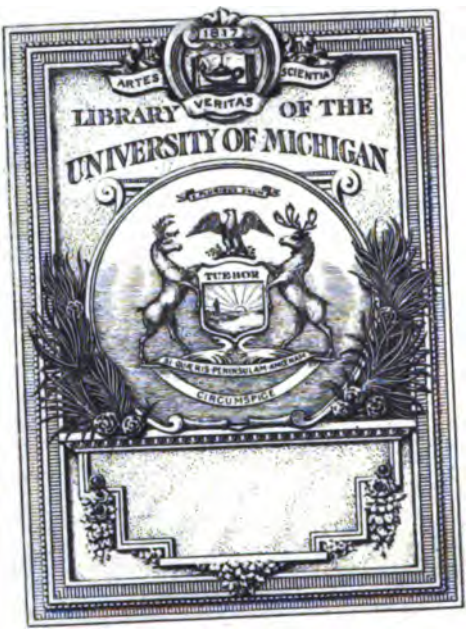
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THE

Eclectic Review,

MDCCCXX.

JANUARY——JUNE.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XIII.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JANUARY, 1820.

Art. I. 1. *The Duties of Christians towards Deists:* a Sermon, preached at the Unitarian Chapel, Artillery Lane, Bishopsgate, on Occasion of the recent Prosecution of Mr. Carlile for the Republication of Paine's Age of Reason. By W. J. Fox. 8vo. pp. 48. Price 1s. 6d. London. 1819.

2. *A Letter to the Attorney General on the Inexpediency, Sinfulness, and Inefficacy of all Prosecutions for Blasphemy and Irreligion.* By Samuel Roberts. 8vo. Sheffield. 1819.

HOW are we to account for the very different expression of public feeling which has been called forth by the conviction of Carlile, from what was the prevailing sentiment in reference to a similar prosecution, which terminated however in an opposite verdict, in the case of the King v. Hone? At the first view, there would seem to be either some partiality or some caprice in the decision which the public appear to have come to, with regard to these two individuals. Accustomed as we are to acquiesce in the verdict of a Jury, still there is room to inquire, how a verdict of guilty in the one case, and a record of acquittal in the other, should have been received, at least by a very considerable proportion of the community, with equal approbation, when in both instances the same Administration directed the prosecution, and the alleged crime was the same. That the profaneness or impiety chargeable upon the respective offenders, differed in degree, will not explain why the minor offence should be held undeserving of punishment. Neither will it be a satisfactory explanation, to refer to any difference in the conduct of the criminal on his trial, or in the temper of the Judge. Indeed, to suppose that the Jury who found Carlile guilty, were influenced by the ill-judged, the atrocious nature of his defence, would be to suspect them of having formed a verdict upon erroneous grounds, of having wandered from the indictment, and made, not the fact or the nature of the offence, but the temper of the culprit sub-

sequently to the offence, the basis of their decision. Far be it from us, to blame the involuntary expression of horror which the blasphemies of the infatuated man produced. The exemplary patience, the invincible forbearance and moderation of the Court, contrasted most advantageously with the undignified spleen of a late judge on a preceding occasion, whose ill-suppressed eagerness to secure the conviction of the offender, tended but to defeat its own purpose. Still, the opposite nature of the verdicts, or at all events the opposite direction which public feeling has taken in unison with the verdicts in the two cases, remains to be accounted for; and we think, the only fair and satisfactory mode, is, to explain the result of the former trial by that of the latter. It has been now strikingly evinced that, among that class from whom our juries are selected, there exists no disposition to tolerate profaneness or impiety. In the case of Carlile, the Jury seemed almost impatient of the delay interposed by the forms of justice, in giving expression to their indignant feelings, and the audience received their verdict with unequivocal satisfaction. But the prosecution of Hone was regarded in a light wholly different: it was known to have its origin in a wish to punish, in the character of a blasphemer, a man obnoxious to the Government principally on account of his political opinions; and the hypocrisy of the pretence set up for the prosecution was regarded as the more odious, inasmuch as individuals high in office in the very Administration which directed the proceedings, had with impunity indulged in a similar style of profane ribaldry. It was not that the profaneness of Hone's parodies, was regarded as morally venial, but that his intention in publishing them had evidently no relation to the imputed crime of irreligion. His object was, to bring into contempt, not the religion of his country, but the Administration; and this design, though even it had amounted to treason, could not be construed into blasphemy. It appeared also to be the general persuasion, that had these parodies, profane as they were, been of an opposite political tendency, the publisher of them would have met with as little disturbance from the Attorney General as either Mr. Gilray or Mr. Canning did from his predecessor in office. Further, considering Mr. Hone as innocent of evil intention so far as religion was concerned, (and with the evil of his intention in any other respect the Jury had no concern,) it could not but occur to every reflecting person, that were mere profaneness indictable at common law, it would behoove to punish that offence with equal severity, whether it were connected with political delinquency or not; whether the matter of parody or satire were the formularies of the Established Church, or the hymn books of Sectaries; whether the contempt and ridicule were levelled at the national rites, or attempted to be thrown upon the worship and religious sentiments of Dissenters. Pro-

faneness loses none of its essential turpitude, by being employed in the ridicule even of things deserving of reprehension; and the ridicule of sacred things can hardly fail of being profane. The temper of mind which some controvertists and satirists have exhibited, in treating of what they have been pleased to regard as improprieties in religionists of a different persuasion, has sometimes approached the last degree of profaneness. Surely, it requires but little hesitation to decide which is the greater criminal, the profane infidel, or the man who is orthodoxly profane. To determine, however, at what point, or under what circumstances, a crime so indefinite, yet, through all its modifications, still morally a crime, shall become a statutable offence, would require no ordinary talent for casuistry. This train of considerations may not have suggested itself to the minds of the Jury who acquitted Mr. Hone; but reflections of this nature have certainly tended to satisfy persons wholly free from the bias of party-spirit, as to the propriety of their decision.

In the case of Carlile, however, the recollection of his political delinquencies was almost suspended in the predominant sentiment of detestation of his impiety; and it seemed to be forgotten, while the wretched culprit was insulting the Majesty of Heaven, that he stood at the bar as an offender against the State. Those who doubted the propriety of the indictment, felt no pity for the criminal, who had so thoroughly deserved the vengeance of the laws by his sedition, that no wish could be entertained that he should be punished with lenity. The only anxiety on the part of those who disapproved of the ground taken for the prosecution, was that the spirit of the Constitution should not be violated in his conviction, or Christianity injured by the interference of the magistrate for its support. And if the Attorney General, aware of the objections against religion to which similar proceedings have given rise, felt it necessary to state, that 'Christianity stands 'in no need of prosecutions for its support,' and if the Court itself partook of the embarrassment occasioned by the delicate and anomalous nature of the prosecution, individuals may surely be pardoned for not applauding the policy which dictated a measure of such doubtful issue, and certainly of disputable expediency.

The subject is one of the greatest interest in every point of view,—as regards the fact of the prevalence of infidelity in our own country, the best means of counteracting the evil, and the legitimate province of the magistrate in reference to blasphemous opinions.

No doubt can be entertained as to the salutary result of the efforts which are being made in all directions to oppose the spread of infidel sentiments among the lower classes, through the medium of the press, by cheap reprints of the more popular treatises of an

argumentative nature in defence of Christianity. This measure, together with lectures of a similar nature from the pulpit, now that the minds of persons in general are under the excitation of some degree of alarm, cannot fail to be highly beneficial, if not as remedial of the evil actually done, yet, as fortifying the young and the uninformed against the horrid contamination. It is the direct and the legitimate plan of counteraction. And were it not for the thought of the multitudes who, it is to be feared, have drunk too deeply of the poison of infidelity to be within reach of any antidote, one would scarcely regret an occurrence that should have given this impulse to the exertions of Christians. Whatever brings the subject of religion more distinctly before the attention of the thoughtless, and awakens an interest in its truth, must be regarded as having upon the whole a beneficial tendency. And although there should not be a single instance of an individual reclaimed from infidelity by these means, much will be accomplished, if those who merely from education or habit profess themselves Christians, and who form the mass of our congregations in church or chapel, shall to any extent have been rendered intelligent or devout believers.

But with regard to those among the lower classes who have already been proselyted to the doctrines of Paine, the question must continually have suggested itself to the mind of the apologist for Christianity, Will they read?—Can they reason? Does the gross, the besotted infidelity, or rather atheism of such persons, lie within the reach of argumentation? Is it merely for want of better information as to the evidences of Christianity, that they have been led to reject its authority? Are they even capable of being made to understand the proof of its reasonableness, or to appreciate the force of *a priori* considerations as to its necessity? When men of cultivated minds and of calm philosophic tempers, are found capable of resisting the full blaze of the moral evidence in favour of Christianity, is it to supposed that the attractions of truth, or the credentials of Revelation, will commend themselves, when thus exhibited, to the reason of the mob?'

We repeat it, that it is of the highest importance that the folly and impiety of such men as Paine, should receive a direct and specific answer, although it is in the nature of things impossible that the mere power of argument should work a cure upon the radical perversity of scepticism. There is no degree of moral evidence of which the subject admits, even supposing that evidence to be fully appreciated by the individual, which would preclude the possibility of doubt. Faith, indeed, ceases to be a moral action when it becomes involuntary, as it must be where there is absolutely no room for doubt. Men remain incredulous, through the obstinacy of ignorance, or through mere inertion of

mind, long after a sufficient degree of evidence has been laid before the understanding, to render scepticism unreasonable. Men doubt without any reason, without any motive; for the act is purely negative, and requires but the lowest degree of intellect. But in reference to moral subjects, they believe only under the power of strong motives; and the reasonableness of belief, or the apparent truth of the thing, is not a motive of adequate force to compel belief. It might be a sufficient inducement to a purely intellectual being, but is not so to man: so far from this, that it wholly depends upon the character of the individual, what degree of assurance the same kind and measure of evidence shall produce; and under different circumstances, the measure of external evidence remaining the same, the power of motive,—the operation, for instance, of alarm,—shall make the indolent sceptic an assured, if not a devout believer.

We shall be glad if these remarks appear to any of our readers, trite: we are sure that they are not more obvious than they are important. And if they are admitted, it will then be acknowledged to be a question of some difficulty, how unbelief is to be treated when it has once taken root in the character, or by what means, when the infection has spread itself among an ignorant population, attended by the aggravated symptoms of open impiety, we should proceed to counteract the subtle mischief.

And here, surely, it is natural to recur to the method which appears to have been adopted by the first promulgators of Christianity, in combating the inveterate unbelief of the Jews, or in addressing themselves to the still more ignorant heathen. Peculiar as in many respects their circumstances were, we may nevertheless presume that their conduct will be found to supply the safest model for our imitation. Did they, then, in dealing with the Sadducees of their day, attempt ever to reason them out of their infidelity, by answering their objections against the doctrines of the Gospel, or by shewing the reasonableness and probability of what they were commissioned to teach? Did they not rather proceed at once to the simple proclamation of the facts of which they were the accredited witnesses, knowing, at the same time, that a cordial belief in those facts must involve a transformation of character, because all the motives of corrupt nature opposed the believing in them? The Apostles would never for a moment have admitted that there was any deficiency of evidence attending their declarations, which might render scepticism venial; but they knew that to believe, upon any thing short of irresistible evidence, in truths opposed to the prejudices and passions of the heart, required something beyond mere natural capacity, and inducements far stronger than the reasonableness of belief. They preached Christ crucified, aware that the doctrine would be to their countrymen a stumbling block, and to the Gentile philosophers

utter foolishness, and that no degree of evidence, not even that of miraculous signs, much less any power of argument or any "excellence of speech or wisdom," would procure for such a doctrine universal reception. Their preaching and their writing consisted of a reiterated testimony to the truth of the grand fact of a mediatorial intervention for the salvation of man, and of moral exhortations founded upon the recognition of its truth.

The circumstance of their testimony being visibly confirmed by signs, and wonders, and miraculous gifts, may, however, be thought to have superseded any other argument against infidelity. In this respect, the Christian advocate, it may be said, is placed in a predicament essentially different; not that scepticism is less inexcusable, but that it has somewhat more plausible pretexts for its demands. We appear to have now no such direct means of silencing the flippant cavils of incredulity. Christianity, we have reason to suppose, could not have been established—or it is sufficient to say, it was not established—without miraculous attestations. When miracles ceased, what are we then to regard as the designed and appropriate substitute for a species of proof all but demonstrative?

That miracles were necessary to constitute *sufficient* evidence both of the Divine mission and character of our Lord himself, and of the credibility of his chosen witnesses, must be admitted by all who attend to the language of Scripture. The Messiah declared, that had he not performed among the Jews such works as man had never performed, they had not been chargeable with sin in rejecting him—"The works that I do, bear witness "of me that the Father hath sent me." The resurrection o Christ was, however, the preeminent attestation of the reality o his Divine character. As such, the Apostle Paul represents i where he says, that if Christ was not risen, his preaching and t faith of his converts, were in vain. And it was chiefly as cre ble witnesses to this fact, that it was requisite the Apostles sho themselves be invested with the credentials of miraculous pow We do not mean to concede that their testimony, unsupported miracles, would have had absolutely no claim to be receiv but these, by establishing the infallibility of their testimony well as their veracity, were requisite to counterbalance the tural incredibility of so extraordinary a fact.

It is obvious, however, that the effect which miracles were a quate to produce, fell far short of a cordial reception of Christian faith. They established the reasonableness of a b in Christianity, but they supplied, properly speaking, no tive for believing. They tended to rouse the attention o multitude, to excite that species of interest which favou due impression of evidence, and to overcome that 'con previous to examination,' which fatally opposes the str

measure of moral proof. But they took nothing away from the natural incredibility and repulsiveness of the doctrine they were employed to establish: they left unsubdued all the hostile tendencies of the heart. We find, therefore, that the miracles of our Lord and of his Apostles, even though admitted in several instances to be undeniably miracles, were ineffectual to excite any devout conviction. The reality of the miracle was held to be insufficient proof of the truth of the doctrine, or even of the moral character of the Teacher. There was no deficiency of information in this case: the reasonableness of belief was obvious to the lowest capacity; and the inference was readily drawn by, as it should seem, an illiterate person, "If this man were not "of God, he could do nothing." It could not then be said, 'Miracles are contrary to our experience, but imposture 'is not, and therefore we refuse our belief.' But such was the force of worldly motives, that a supernatural attestation was deemed insufficient to establish the truth of doctrines repugnant to men's preconceived opinions and their cherished anticipations of national glory. "How can ye believe," said our Lord, "who receive honour one from another?"

Even in cases where the miracles were recognised as the effect of Divine power, and the facts so attested believed in to a certain extent, the state of the heart often precluded what would seem to have been the rational, if not the necessary inference from being followed out in the practice. The resurrection of Christ must have been admitted as a fact by the Roman Emperor who proposed to assign to him, as the God of the Christians, a place in the Pantheon. The general truth of Christianity must have obtained the assent of many who opposed the authority of the Apostles as inspired teachers. It were indeed a gross mistake, to imagine that the most natural deductions from the miraculous facts which form the substance of faith, would, so soon as the understanding was convinced of the reality of the facts themselves, be included in the act of belief. The nature of miraculous evidence is, we have shewn, far from being demonstrative: the sacred history proves that it is by no means adequate to compel belief. But further, how much or how little they shall be held to prove, when believed in, depends not upon the strength of our belief in the miracles themselves, but upon our disposition to admit them as sufficient evidence of all that they were intended to confirm. The connexion between the fact and the doctrine, which, equally with the fact itself, we are under an obligation to believe, is not demonstrated by the miracle, but affords an occasion for the moral exercise of the understanding. Were it otherwise, the doctrines of the New Testament would not be rejected by individuals who firmly believe in the historical truth of Christianity. A slow-

ness to follow out the consequences of admitted truths, is one essential characteristic of unbelief; and what species of evidence can avail to overcome this radical perversity of intellect? None, certainly, that leaves room for the possibility of doubt. Miracles, it is evident, had no such efficiency even upon eye-witnesses. They were contemplated with awe, with stupid wonder, sometimes with malignant envy, but they were far from producing, as the ordinary result, any disposition of heart of the nature of genuine faith. They presented, in fact, no *motives* to belief. Now, so far as they appealed to the understanding, the force of the evidence they supply, remains undiminished. The sight of a single miracle would, we admit, be more satisfactory to the curiosity, than to hear of a thousand; but it would not, we may safely affirm, afford so strong a reason for believing, as the accumulated proof supplied by the unimpeachable records of that series of miracles wrought by the founders of the Christian church. Incredulity is in the supposed case, and under existing circumstances, equally irrational, being in the contempt of *sufficient evidence*; and as to the state of heart which indisposes to the reception of sufficient evidence, that, in the midst of miraculous attestations, would remain the same. "If they believe not Moses and the Prophets, neither "would they be persuaded though one should rise from the dead."

There have been men of high name and transcendent faculties, who, in contempt of the irrefragable external evidence of the truth of Christianity, have chosen to remain sceptical as to even the historical facts recorded in the Gospel history. Miracles, say they, are improbable, contrary to experience, and therefore, philosophically incredible. Can it be for a moment imagined, that these men, had they been, like some of the Sadducees, eye-witnesses of the miracles of our Lord, would not, like them, have remained Sadducees still? Would not what was to the Jews a stumbling block, as, in spite of visible miracles, philosophically incredible, have been a stumbling block and foolishness to them? Would they not rather have forgotten for a moment their sceptical creed, and referred the inexplicable phenomena of the miraculous cures wrought before their eyes, to the agency of demons? This is not a gratuitous supposition. The unbelief of the Jew, and the infidelity of the modern Deist, spring alike from a determined opposition to the doctrines and requisitions of the Gospel, which operates so as to prevent his believing upon sufficient evidence; and this opposition manifests itself, in both, in a contempt previous to examination.

We have admitted, however, that miracles had a tendency to overcome, in some degree at least, this previous indifference, by compelling attention, and obtruding on the mind a forcible presumption in favour of the truth of what was taught.

In this point of view, it may seem that the cessation of miracles leaves the unbeliever in a less advantageous predicament, by presenting, if we may so speak, fewer chances of his being roused into conviction. But let it be considered, that if all that miracles could do, was, either to furnish sufficient evidence to the ingenuous inquirer, or to afford such a reasonable presumption as was adapted to strike the mind of the thoughtless and indolent sceptic, the present circumstances of the Christian profession amply supply the want of miraculous proof in both these respects. First, as regards sufficient evidence to the inquirer, there was never, it may be safely affirmed, an honest infidel who remained such, as to the general truth of the Scripture history, after an examination of all the external proofs of its genuineness and authenticity, or who asked for miracles to render his belief rational. Those who have obstinately rejected the Scripture records, have never complained of the deficiency of the evidence by which they are authenticated, but have maintained the insufficiency of any degree of evidence to authenticate facts *a priori* incredible; a mode of reasoning which would have applied with equal force to miracles themselves, if wrought in attestation of doctrines which these philosophers had deemed *a priori* inconsistent with the perfections of Deity. In precisely this spirit of determined scepticism, a leading abettor of that modification of Deism which claims to be distinguished as Christian, avowed that could he be convinced that the doctrine of the Atonement was the doctrine of the New Testament, it would in his mind outweigh all the external evidence for its Divine authority. No degree of evidence could in the nature of things avail to overcome this previous determination to disbelieve.

But secondly, as regards the indolent, the illiterate and unreasoning sceptic, the miserable objectors of the class to which such men as Carlile belong,—miracles have ceased, and what means of proof, short of the obtrusive, palpable evidence which *they* forced upon the attention of the stupid multitude, could arrest these persons in their incredulity, and give a check to their blasphemous boldness? But we ask again, Had miracles any such effect? Who were the persons who composed the infuriated rabble that cried out, "Away with him, crucify him?" The spectators of our Lord's miracles. And was not Paul stoned by the very people who, on witnessing the cure wrought by him on the cripple at Lystra, exclaimed, that the gods were come down in the likeness of men?

A reasonable presumption in favour of Christianity, equally strong with that afforded by miracles—one that renders a contempt previous to examination equally inexcusable—is supplied, it appears to us, by the exhibition of Christianity as a practical reality in the characters of devout believers. We say, that not-

withstanding all the schism, all the inconsistency, and all the uncharitableness which obscure the light and intercept the influence of visible Christianity in respect to unbelievers, there is religion enough in the world existing within reach of familiar observation, to leave without excuse the infidel who refuses to examine its Divine claims. If it amount only to a presumptive argument in its favour, it is enough; for there are other means of direct proof. But we cannot but regard this as what was *designed* to come in place of miraculous attestations of the truth of Christianity. Any obscurity which attends this species of evidence, is chargeable, not upon Christianity, but upon the professors of religion who fail to realize its genuine character; and upon them rests an awful responsibility. The efficient nature of this most striking and persuasive sort of presumptive proof, will be evident to him who reflects, that the absence or deficient measure of it in the lives of professed Christians, has in every age presented the greatest stumbling block to the irreligious, and been one of the most fruitful sources of infidelity. When the miraculous effusion of the Spirit ceased, fresh miracles not being requisite in order to give credibility to the Christian doctrine, or to invite attention to a religion no longer new and strange, but disseminated throughout the Roman world,—the ordinary influences of the same Spirit were not withdrawn from the Church: the "*fruits* of the Spirit" were attestations not less convincing than the "*gifts* of the Spirit," of a Divine power attendant upon the ministration of the Gospel. It is remarkable that the Apostle seems in one passage to attribute to the ordinary services of the Church a superior efficacy in this very respect, when, contrasting the ambitious exercise of miraculous endowments, which were intended as "a sign to them "who believe not," with prophesying or preaching, which was for the benefit of believers, he represents the unbeliever as coming in, and, smitten with conviction, falling down to worship God, and reporting that God was in them of a truth.*

Notwithstanding all that the sceptic may urge in disparagement of the force of testimony, it is undeniable, that simple testimony has, constituted as human nature is, a tendency to inspire belief, and that the credibility of the testimony is not measured, in the matters of common life, by its accordance with our individual experience. And it will be easy to shew that this is consistent with sound reason. If a man believes a thing to be true, we may conclude that it is upon some degree of evidence, or at least, the semblance of evidence; his believing it affords, therefore, a presumption, which, in the absence of suspicious circum-

* 1 Cor. xiv. 25.

stances, amounts to a reasonable probability, that the thing is true. How low soever the degree of probability which this affords, it is sufficient to render disbelief previous to examination unreasonable, unless we are in possession of actual knowledge which warrants our dismissing the proposition as *prima facie* untrue. If the thing be believed in by ten men of competent understanding, instead of by an individual, here is a still stronger presumption that there exists, as the foundation of their belief, some evidence, more or less convincing, of its truth. The concurrent belief of thousands of men in successive ages, of individuals of the most distinguished learning and acumen, renders the probability in favour of the unexamined doctrine indefinitely greater. There must be a high degree of evidence attending the matter of so general a belief, and I must at least be in possession of the whole of that evidence before I can be excused for my incredulity. The mere fact, therefore, of Christianity's having been so extensively believed in, not as an unexamined system of dogmas, but by men possessed of every means of eliciting the truth, and actuated by a spirit of inquiry,—by men whose worldly interests were prejudiced by the belief which they avowed, and who had therefore every motive for detecting imposture,—if it does not afford a reason for my believing in its truth, renders disbelief previous to examination in the highest degree irrational, and indicates a state of mind absolutely insusceptible of the due impression of whatsoever direct evidence would be found to attend the doctrine itself.

There is, however, a force in testimony which *is* adapted to bring the mind into the state and attitude favourable to the reception of evidence. Were it not for this, we should be indeed left without any adequate means of combating the influence of scepticism, because, till this state of mind, this disposedness to believe, be produced, we have shewn that even the highest degree of moral evidence is insufficient to compel conviction. It is obvious, too, that the greater part of mankind are not at leisure to attend to the external evidence with which Christianity is accompanied, nor even to appreciate it when laid before them. If only that belief were rational which is arrived at, after a state of previous doubt, by a process of argumentative deduction, the majority of mankind would have no better alternative than to remain sceptical, or to be compelled to an irrational exercise of belief, which is only another name for credulity. But it is so far from being necessary, to render belief reasonable, that it should originate in an immediate perception of the grounds of belief, that a belief resting purely upon testimony, is the basis of almost all our knowledge, and, in all the ordinary transactions of life, regulates our practice. Our knowledge of the results of scientific experiment, of geographical discovery, rests purely

upon testimony. No one in his senses, unless his previous knowledge supplied a reason for his scepticism, would think of suspending his belief till he had personally verified the accuracy of the information so transmitted to him. Life would be too short, and the opportunities of the individual too circumscribed, to allow of his scepticism being thus in every instance satisfied by the production of the appropriate evidence. The certainty of science arises, it is true, from the proveable and incontestible nature of the propositions of which it consists; but the proof is not within the reach of every one, and in the minds of most persons, therefore, the whole of science has no other basis than simple testimony. Nor is a belief in a proposition once proved, and generally admitted to be proveable, considered as any mark of credulity. On the contrary, a scepticism as to admitted truths in science, is justly regarded as attributable rather to ignorance; and a man who should oppose *a priori* speculations, or rather prejudices, which seemed to him to be justified by his own narrow experience, to the demonstrated truths of science, although those demonstrations have come to him only in the shape of testimony, would be justly chargeable with an arrogant perversity of intellect. And is a similar scepticism in reference to the truth of Christianity, when its doctrines are conveyed to us by means of human testimony, to be regarded as less irrational?

Human testimony is often the sole means of our arriving at the knowledge of truths capable of being substantiated by the strongest evidence. It is indeed the actual source of a great part of our knowledge, of all traditional information, and of all the elementary parts of science. But what we wish now particularly to point out, is, its tendency to inspire rational belief. It is this tendency which renders the preaching of the Gospel a suitable means of disseminating the religion of Christ. This brings us to the very point to which we wish to conduct our readers. The only way in which the truths of the Gospel can be brought to bear upon the minds of men at large, is, through the medium of the conscience. It is not by the force of reasoning, but by the persuasive energy of testimony, not by the external evidence, but by the inherent authority of the truth, that we are to rouse the indolence, or to abate the hardihood of scepticism. It is, in fact, not by arguing from the evidences of Christianity the reasonableness of belief, but by holding out, in the terrors of the Law, and in the merciful proclamations of the Gospel, considerations adapted to act as motives for believing. The external evidence does not properly apply to the doctrines contained in the inspired Volume; it relates only to the vehicle of those doctrines: while, as respects that far more convincing medium of proof, the internal evidences of Christianity, which form the real basis of devout faith, the intelligible ground

of certainty to the believer,—these are undiscernible by the sceptic; they are only spiritually discerned; and he is not, therefore, in a situation to judge of all the evidence, nor yet of the most important portion of the evidence, by which the religion of the Bible is substantiated. But in the testimony of the believers in that religion, he is presented with a rational presumption of its truth, the force of which he may cavil at, but he cannot altogether withstand. And it is this simple testimony, this "foolishness of preaching," which God has employed in every age as the great instrument of bringing to nought the vain wisdom of human philosophy, and of saving them that believe. We may well despair of arresting infidelity by other means, but we need never despair of the efficiency of this.

It may seem that we have left out of consideration, one circumstance, upon which the advocates of the innocence of mental error lay some stress; namely, that the intellectual diversity existing among men, renders a different degree of evidence requisite to produce conviction in individuals of the same moral character. Allowing the evidence of Christianity to be sufficient to engage the faith of one honest inquirer, it may not amount to what another, in precisely a similar state of heart, might require in order to leave him no excuse for his incredulity. Or, if the degree be sufficient to leave without excuse, those whose constitutional bias most strongly predisposes them to doubt, it would seem to follow, that, with regard to by far the greater part of mankind, it must be redundant and compelling.

'More evidence,' says Mr. Fox, 'would have included some who are Unbelievers; less would have excluded some who are Christians, I could easily find amongst you, two firm Christians, of whom the one had required twice as much evidence for his faith as the other. No man can indicate for another the mathematical point at which culpable credulity ends, and culpable scepticism begins.'

We make no remark upon the absurdity of supposing that culpable credulity and culpable scepticism run into each other in the manner this affirmation supposes; or upon the fallacy of what it implies, namely, that our obligation to believe, depends on the measure of proof, or the degree of probability, upon which God has been pleased to constitute it our duty to act. It must be at once acknowledged, that it is not the measure of evidence really attaching to the matter of belief, or, in other words, its credibility as susceptible of proof, but our full perception of that evidence, which renders it available for our conviction. It by no means follows, that the degree of evidence with which a man contents himself, as sufficient to decide his conduct, is the highest degree of which the nature of the case admits. Supposing, therefore, that the full evidence of which Christianity is

susceptible, and which is discoverable upon a candid inquiry, is just sufficient to overcome the scepticism of the individual whose mental constitution leads him to make the largest demands, the partial apprehension of that full evidence, may be adequate to satisfy the common run of less *philosophical* believers, without their incurring the imputation of credulity. The terms of the supposition forbid our attributing the difference to any thing more than a diversity of intellectual character: the state of the heart is taken for granted to be the same. But if we do exclude the state of the heart, and ask for an intelligible reason why the one required for his faith twice as much evidence as the other, we should imagine that it must be because the *knowledge* of the one opposed greater difficulties in the way of his believing. For, as we are not to conceive, (the state of the heart in both being the same,) that there existed in either of these firm Christians a contempt previous to examination, or an indisposition to believe upon sufficient evidence, what rendered the same degree of evidence satisfactory to the one, and inadequate to the conviction of the other, must have been, some reasonable presumption against the truth, which justified the scepticism of the less facile believer: a presumption with which his more extensive knowledge supplied him, arising from his viewing all the difficulties and possible objections which lie in the way of an assured belief; or else from that keener perception of difficulties, which is induced by habits of severe abstract investigation. This made it requisite that the positive evidence should be more fully and distinctly apprehended by the one than by the other believer, in order to remove the suspicions awakened by these apparent indications of incredibility. That the defectiveness of our knowledge is the real occasion of any apparent inconsistency between the matter of our knowledge and that which is proposed to our belief, will not be disputed by any 'firm' or intelligent Christian; but still, it is important to bear in mind, that previous knowledge is the only rational ground for scepticism as to things unknown; that a discrepancy between things known to be true, and things testified to be true, affords the only pretence for disbelief; that it is a high degree of previous knowledge which alone renders the demand for higher degrees of evidence in the matter of testimony, reasonable, or which, in a right state of heart, opposes any difficulty in the way of believing. As to that shallow, flippant scepticism, therefore, which rests, not upon knowledge, but upon ignorance, which receives no check from the incalculably strong presumption in favour of the truth, which is supplied by the concurrent belief of the wisest and the best of men of every age, which makes its own limited perceptions, the measure of the object, and the test of the evidence submitted to it, and deems that incredible which allows of the alternative

of doubt,—did it simply indicate an intellectual peculiarity, it were only contemptible, but as it proceeds from the state of the heart, it is a pitiable and an awful symptom.

On looking back on what we have advanced, we perceive that we have employed the phrase 'reasonable presumption 'against the truth.' And while we contend that the force of testimony, taken in connexion with the moral character of real Christians, presents a presumption in favour of the truth of religion, indefinitely stronger than any presumption which can lie against it, we admit that there exist grounds of reasonable prejudice, reasonable in the absence of opportunities of correct information, which will in part account for the infidelity they cannot excuse. To an individual who has never seen Christianity otherwise than as associated with priestcraft, superstition, avarice, and intolerance, there is presented a reasonable presumption against the system, although it forms no solid evidence against its truth. The corruptions of Christianity by worldly policy, have done more to fortify the unbeliever in his impiety, than all the arguments which he could summon in his defence. While we shudder at the atrocious blasphemy of such a man as Voltaire, let us not forget that the Christianity which provoked the malignity of his opposition, was not the genuine Christianity of the New Testament, for with that he was unacquainted, but the system of fraud, intrigue, and spiritual tyranny, which assumed its name. The ill treatment he received from the French clergy, was what drove him to take up arms first against hypocrisy, and then, as he grew more daring and more vain, against religion itself. In countries in which Popery is the only form in which Christianity is exhibited, it is no wonder that, with rare exceptions, all the men of learning and intelligence are found holding some modification of Deism. Contemplating for instance such a country as Spain, we might almost be justified in asking, Can they be otherwise? The moral condition of such a people would seem to be far more hopeless than that of the worshippers of Brahma, or the professors of Islamism. The rapid progress of infidelity in France, or, to speak more correctly, the sudden eruption of the infidelity which the institutions of Popery had at once fostered and concealed, sufficiently proved the absence of any counteractive principle of vital religion. The language of Mr. Bowdler on this subject, which we have already introduced into our pages, is extremely forcible, and as proceeding from his pen, it will be received without prejudice. The philosophers and the people of France 'saw not,' he remarks, 'the religion of Christ such as 'it proceeded from the hands of its Divine Author, lowly and 'self-denying, benevolent and spiritual, but debased by its al-'liance to a superstitious establishment, and sustained by a

imagined than described. All or most of this would be prevented by "*letting these men alone.*"

'When, as in the case of Carlile, success has attended the prosecution, and the culprit is condemned and punished, are his deluded adherents convinced, by his conviction, that the doctrines which he inculcated, are false? Not *one* of them, probably, is so convinced: on the contrary, they are thereby the more fully confirmed in their errors—presuming, with an appearance of reason, that the cause of that nature which requires the arm of the Law to defend it, cannot have *truth* to uphold it.'

The argument against such proceedings, which is deducible from the spirit of Christianity, we must leave our readers to draw for themselves. The subject is not indeed half exhausted. As connected with the great question of the Liberty of the Press, it demands the most attentive consideration; but the specific discussion of that most interesting subject must be reserved for a future article. There is, however, one more remark which we wish to transcribe from the Letter before us. Adverting to the supposed danger arising from blasphemous publications, the Writer says:

'The fact is, that in this kingdom there is now no danger of infidelity making any alarming progress by its own efforts. Let it alone, and, as it hath nothing to promise that will procure proselytes, it will soon die away and come to naught. Take away all hope of profit and popularity, and the infidel has not, he cannot have, a motive left, powerful enough to induce him to employ any personal exertions in the cause.'

No. As a man does not become a believer without feeling the force of the motives for believing, so, neither does any one become a *deist*, or wholly let go Christianity, how ignorant soever he may be of its real nature, from absolutely no motive at all. But not only should the poor seem to be less liable to the influence of any conceivable inducements to infidelity; they have in their external privations and hardships, peculiar motives for wishing Christianity to be true; and in this respect their condition is not without its moral advantages. The poor cannot afford to disregard that source of solid mental comfort, that solace of affliction, that stimulus of hope, for which the rich, and the noble, and the refined, and the accomplished, can provide themselves with a substitute that shall answer the purpose of present enjoyment, in the elements of worldly pleasure. If the poor are infidels, it is through the neglect of those who are bound to provide them with instruction; it is through the imbecillity of ignorance, or through the madness produced by oppression. The Gospel, wherever it has been promulgated in its purity, has always vindicated its Divine

character by its adaptation to the capacities, the wants, and the awakened feelings of the poor.

There is a selfish, cowardly, cruel spirit abroad, which leads men to talk loudly of loyalty and religion, but is in truth a spirit unworthy of Englishmen, much more of Christians. Fear is always cruel, as it is always blind: fear is never out of danger. It may be a good sentinel, but it forms a despicable commander. What men fear, they soon learn to hate; and if what they fear, they have injured, they hate it the more. The lower classes have been depressed, in some cases cruelly depressed. If it has arisen from inevitable circumstances, still, their sufferings have not on that account been the less real, or the less deserving of commiseration and sympathy. Amid all this suffering, the country has, till very recently, enjoyed the most perfect internal tranquillity. The poor have suffered with more than patience—with resignation. At length, symptoms of partial disorder appear. The districts in which the greatest pressure of suffering has been endured, exhibit a considerable ferment. This is enough to rouse the jealous spirit of Toryism. A new enemy is announced to be at the gates, and the panic spreads through all the higher ranks of society. It is the Spenceans; it is the Radicals; led on by General Watson and Field-marshal Hunt. Another French Revolution is just on the eve of explosion. Oh, for a safety-lamp, to indicate in time the approach of the subtile enemy! But here is proof positive; we have blasphemers among us, and the French philosophers were blasphemers. And upon this poor pretence, the lower classes of our fellow-countrymen are to be represented as a factious, demoralized rabble, who are eating up our substance by means of poor's rates, and will be prevented only by the sword from devouring the constitution also;—an excrescence upon the body politic, which is absorbing its vital energy;—a loathed and burdensome incumbrance. That they are distressed, would matter little; but they are disaffected too. And is this the spirit of the British constitution? Is this temper towards the poor, consistent with the generous feeling of Englishmen? Will cheap declamations against sedition and blasphemy, heal the disorders of the State, or advance the triumphs of the Gospel? What good can possibly be done by exaggerating the evils which too truly exist, or by exasperating against each other, the rich and the poor, who, in a well ordered community, can have no separate or conflicting interests?

Art. II. *M. Tullii Ciceronis Sex Orationum Fragmenta inedita*, cum Commentariis Antiquis item ineditis Invenit Recensuit Notis Illustravit Angelus Maius Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ. A Linguis Orientalibus. Impressum Mediolani, 1814; denuo Impressum Londini, 1816. 8vo. 9s.

THIS work, we regret to find, has shared the fate of some other publications that should have received from us an earlier attention. We now notice it more for the purpose of putting on record in our Journal, the discoveries of its Editor, than for that of critically examining its contents.

The injuries which ancient literature has sustained by the devastations of war, the succession of rude tribes of men to the seats of polished nations, and the multitude of other causes of change and destruction to the operation of which all human productions have been exposed, are various and great. Many of its noblest monuments have perished, and others which survive, exist only in disordered forms and scattered fragments. The works of Poets, Historians, and Orators, whose genius and eloquence have obtained for them a durable celebrity, are preserved but in part; and of others who commanded the admiration of their contemporaries and a few subsequent generations, the names are now either unknown, or, where these have been spared in the ravages of time, are all that remain to tell us that they once lived. Euripides, Sophocles, Livy, and Cicero, have had only a part of their writings transmitted to these times. The fruits of Menander's genius have almost entirely perished. Musæus, and others who struck the lyre, or courted the historic Muse, are authors who are known to us in that character only by the testimony of their ancient admirers. Till the patient and perseveving researches which have, since the revival of learning, been made in every country, for the purpose of discovering the precious treasures that might be lurking in the recesses of literary depositories, were so nearly accomplished as they now are, expectation might be raised among Scholars, that they should be receiving important accessions to the classic volumes of their libraries; but the hope of recovering, to any extent, more of those productions, would now seem to be a vain anticipation. Perhaps, our surprise may be more justly expressed, that so many literary works of antiquity should have '*per tot discrimina rerum*' descended to us, than that so many should have been lost. Every age has had its guardians of knowledge, and its Bibliomaniacs; and it were not difficult to produce a picture that might relieve the gloom of the following description.

'Ex tot orationibus tamen, quibus vir disertissimus (Cicero) romanum forum personuit, multas invida ætas aut corrupit aut mutilavit, multas funditus sustulit, plurium denique, ut credibile

est, memoriam ipsam abolevit. Nam fuit quoddam tempus tenebricosum et barbarum, quo Longobardis Italiam tenentibus, romanoque imperio per socordiam principium et fortunæ inconstantiam deleto, omnis bonarum artium lux, omnis litterarum gloria extincta est. Tunc etiam in illa pretiosa volumina, quæ tot eruditorum hominum manus elaboraverunt, ubi tot ingeniorum divitiæ latebant, miserrima cædes sævitum est. Rapidis urebantur flammis litteratorum longæ vigiliæ, situ tenebrisque marcebant clarissima artium lumina, ad tabernas denique et deterrimos usus doctissimæ membranæ veniebant. O conditiones miseras regnorum atque nationum! Illi scilicet Itali, quibus summam copiam ingenii, facultatemque dicendi natura largita est.'

These commiserations and regrets were to be expected from a scholar with the defaced and mutilated manuscripts of the Ambrosian library before him. Every circumstance which impairs the means of knowledge, is to be deplored as an evil, since mankind cannot find the level which is suitable to their nature, in ignorance and barbarism. The loss, therefore, of books, which are the lights of the world, must be regarded by every friend to the improvement of the human species, as a calamity. But all the books which Maius deplores as lost to Italy, were not lost to the world: many of them were dispersed through other parts of Europe, and only waited the invention of an art which has so multiplied copies, and provided the means of preserving them, that neither Goths nor Monks are likely to restore the reign of ignorance and barbarism.

Among the causes which have deprived us of many of the literary treasures of antiquity, there is one that must particularly excite our regret. From the accidental losses of this kind, occasioned by the fury of fire, or the rage of barbarians, or the slow-consuming hand of time, it might not have been possible to rescue those valuable articles; but when we learn, that by the very persons who undertook to be the preservers of literature, many of the injuries which it has sustained, have been produced, we must deplore the negligence or the avarice which induced them to transcribe the writings that they copied, in such a manner as proved destructive to those of more value. Either from the actual inability to procure fresh materials, or from an ill judged frugality, and probably, in but too many instances, from mere carelessness, the copyists of ancient manuscripts were accustomed to erase or wash out the writing which they contained, that they might use the parchment for writing out some new work. Thus, a drama of Euripides, or an oration of Cicero was, obliterated for ever, to be substituted by a legend of Saint Anthony or Saint Ursula. This practice had commenced among the Latin scribes so early as the seventh century: the Greek copyists appear to have been much later in adopting it. To manuscripts of this kind, the term *Palimpsesti* is applied by the Greeks, and

that of *Rescripti* by the Latins. The Codex Ephrem, one of the oldest and most valuable of all the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, is a Codex *Rescriptus*, the ancient writing having been defaced for the purpose of the works of Ephrem the Syrian, a writer of the fourth century, being inserted. The Manuscripts from which *Maio* has published these Fragments, are of the same description, having been used a second time to write on, after the original writing had been discharged.

The Ambrosian library, in which these documents had been lurking for ages in dust and darkness, was founded by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, nephew of the celebrated Sir Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, in the seventeenth century. Among the treasures with which it was enriched by the munificent Cardinal, were the manuscripts which had belonged to a monastery at Bobbio, a small town of Upper Italy, founded in the year 612, by Columbano, and which, it appears, had been at least in part, collected by its president, Gerbert Gallus, afterwards Silvester II. On examining one of those manuscripts, *Maio*, Curator of the Ambrosian library, was agreeably surprised by discovering a twofold writing, one series of letters being inscribed across the other, and bearing indisputable marks of an early age. The less ancient writing contained the works of Sedulius, a Christian poet of the fifth century, and is supposed to be as old as the seventh or eighth: whilst the original letters of the manuscript were, on close inspection, pronounced by *Maio* to contain some Fragments of Orations which he ascribed to Cicero. The pleasure afforded to the worthy Curator of the Ambrosian library by this discovery, if we may judge from his expressions, was truly exquisite. 'O Deus immor-'talis, repente sustuli, quid demum video! En Ciceronem, 'en lumen romanæ facundiæ indignissimis tenebris circum-'septum!' And certainly, his gratitude on the occasion, if it may be assumed as a specimen of the manner in which his piety manifests itself for the favours dispensed to him, indicates a high sense of the privileges conferred upon him as the restorer in part of Cicero.—'Nostræ potius gratulemur ætati, cui Deus 'optimus maximus hanc laudem contulit, ut hi præstantissimi 'humanæ mentis fœtus ab oblivionis latebris nunc demum emer-'gerent.' The classical remains thus brought to light, consist of Orations, supposed to be those of Cicero, *pro Scauro*, *pro Tullio*, and *pro Flaccho*. The first of these is the most considerable, and is accompanied by the notes of some ancient Scholiast.

Continuing his researches in the Ambrosian library, the Editor was fortunate enough to discover a manuscript Latin version of the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. This too was a Codex *Rescriptus*, the ancient writing of which was found to contain

fragments of three other Orations of Cicero, with a Commentary which is attributed by *Maio* to Asconius Pedianus, whom he endeavours to shew to have been the contemporary of Virgil and Livy. Of these three Orations, the first is '*In P. Clodium et Curionem*,' and relates to a violation of decorum committed by Clodius in the house of the Pontifex Maximus, C. Cæsar, at the time that Pompeia, C. Cæsar's wife, was celebrating the rites of the *Dea Bona*. The second is '*De ære alieno Milonis*,' and was pronouneed on the occasion of Milo's offering himself as a candidate for the consular dignity. The third is entitled '*De Rege Alexandrino*,' and relates to the establishment of Ptolemy Auletes in the kingdom of Egypt. In addition to these, the Commentary comprises illustrations of some of Cicero's Orations as included in the printed editions, namely, *pro Archia*, *pro Sylla*, *pro Plancio*, *in Vatinium*, *in Catalinam* IV, *pro Marcello*, *pro Ligario*, and *pro Rege Deiotaro*. The portions preserved of the last four, are very limited, containing only a few lines of the Orations, with the commentary annexed.

The Manuscripts from which the Fragments have been printed, are described in two separate dissertations, and two engravings, containing *fac-similies* of the writing, are annexed. The value of his discoveries, is rated considerably high by the Editor, whose enumeration of the benefits conferred by them upon classical literature, scarcely supports, however, the expressions which he has employed in reference to them. The speech *De ære alieno Milonis*,' was not previously known to have existed, no trace or mention of it any where occurring. From the Commentary, we learn the titles of two lost works of Cicero, '*Edictum P. Racili Tribuni Plebis*, quod sub nomine ipsius Cicero inscripsit. *In Invectionem P. Clodi.*—and, *Epistola ad instar voluminis de Consulatu suo ad Pompeium.*' It also preserves a very small fragment of an oration of the Tribune C. Gracchus. The volume is throughout illustrated with the notes of the learned Editor. We shall lay before our reader a specimen or two of its contents.

From the Fragment *pro Scauro*.

'Venio nunc ad testes, in quibus docebo non modo nullam fidem et auctoritatem, sed ne speciem quidem esse aut imaginem testium. Etenim, fidem primum ipsa tollit consensio, quæ late facta est compromisso Sardorum et conjuratione rogitata. Deinde illa cupiditas quæ suscepta est spe et promissione præmiorum. Postremo ipsa Natio, cujus tanta vanitas est, ut libertatem a servitute nulla re alia, nisi mentiendi licentia distinguendam putet. Neque ego Sardorum querellis moveri nos numquam oportere *aio*.[1] Non sum aut tam inhumanus, aut tam alienus a Sardis, præsertim cum Frater meus nuper ab his decesserit, cum rei frumentariæ Gn. Pompei missu præfuisset.'

[1] 'Addo *aio*, quod deest in codice.'

Articles of faith would not be so constructed as to admit of the Union of 'Calvinists' and 'Socinians,' with members of the 'Apostolic Church of England.' But then, unfortunately, the tolerant notions of Mr. Butler are under the inspection and control of a Church which does not allow its individual members, and least of all, its lay-members, to interfere with its business of making and enforcing creeds. Till, therefore, we receive proof demonstrative that all the liberal opinions which this gentleman publishes to the world, are maintained and sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church, to which he belongs, we can attach to them no higher value than if they were the opinions of the very parish Clerk of Gandercleuch himself.

What is meant by the 'Reunion of Christians?' This is an attractive combination of words to stand at the head of a chapter, and holds forth an expectation of a most felicitous event. But what is meant by it? Evidently, neither more nor less than the submission of all persons professing the religion of Christ, to the authority of the Church of Rome. This is the whole of the proposal, the grand object of every scheme to 'reunite Christians,' that is exhibited as so magnificent, so consolatory, so desirable, so divine, by the present enlightened and liberal Advocate of a Church that certainly has shewn quite enough of its *penchant* for unity.

A 'Reunion of Christians!' And to what circumstances are our reflections directed by this significant particle? Is it to those of the disciples who were of one mind and of one heart?—when the pastors of the Christian flock were not lords over the heritage of God, but helpers of their joy, and examples to them that believed; when religion derived no part of its influence or consideration from its alliance to the powers of earth, but exhibited itself as related only to the powers of the world to come; when persuasion, and tears, and prayers, were the only means employed to convert the sinner, and exhortation, and example, and the spirit of purified affection, the only means of controlling the body of the faithful. If to such times and such circumstances we are referred, for the purpose of discovering the remedy for the diversities that prevail in the religious world, to that state of things we would eagerly address all our attention. But what would a 'Reunion of Christians' formed on those principles, exhibit? All that it would exhibit would be, societies of Christians united together for worship and mutual edification, uncontrolled by temporal patronage, and far removed from the influence of worldly power; Christians who were such, because they believed that only by a spiritual union with Christ could they be saved, and worshippers of the Supreme Majesty, because they were subjects of his grace, and aspirants to his everlasting favour. Such societies would have no bond but the bond of love to unite them:

ing the genuineness of that speech, Malo in course will infer from its connexion with the other orations, parts of which are preserved in the same manuscript Commentary, the genuineness of the latter. The speech for Marcellus, has, however, been struck out by more than one accomplished scholar, from the list of Cicero's genuine Orations: and if any part of these *fragments* is to follow in the line of that decision, it is at the expense of the claims which their advocates may assert in their favour. The question can scarcely be determined from external evidence. And it cannot be surprising that, with the recollection of the controversy between Tunstall and Middleton on the Epistles to Brutus, and that in which Markland impeached, and Gesner defended, the authenticity of the four Orations, *Ad Quirites post Reditum*, *Post Reditum in Senatu*, *Pro Domo sua ad Pontifices*, and *De Haruspicium Responsis*, the fate of these Fragments should be dubious. Those persons who, on the strength of Markland's and Wolf's arguments, class those speeches, and the oration for Marcellus, with spurious imitations of Cicero, will probably be disposed to attribute the writing of the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library, to the pen of some unknown but tolerably successful imitator of the style of the Roman Orator.

Art. III. *An Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith, or Symbolic Books, of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches.* By the Author of the *Horæ Biblicæ*, and intended as a Supplement to that Work, and to the *Sylloge Confessionum sub tempus Reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum*, printed in 1804 at the Clarendon Press. pp. 215. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d. 1816.

MR. Butler has not informed us, with what precise view he has published the present work. He indeed states in the preface, that 'the object of these pages, is, to give some account of the 'principal Formularies' of Religion as mentioned in the Title to the Volume. We can scarcely be satisfied, however, that this was exclusively his object. It would seem to us, from the concluding remarks, that the Author intended this Historical Account as an instrument for preparing the way towards an assumption of more enlarged authority by the Holy Catholic Church of Rome; and we should not hazard much of our credit for sagacity, were we to venture the conjecture, that Mr. Wix is indebted to Mr. Butler's work for some part of the stimulus which impelled him to propose the grand measure of a General Council to settle the differences between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Mr. Butler, however, appears to be a much more truly liberal man than Mr. Wix, and would have no objection to extend the limits of his tolerant principles to an extent far beyond the Divine, whose

Articles of faith would not be so constructed as to admit of the Union of 'Calvinists' and 'Socinians,' with members of the 'Apostolic Church of England.' But then, unfortunately, the tolerant notions of Mr. Butler are under the inspection and control of a Church which does not allow its individual members, and least of all, its lay-members, to interfere with its business of making and enforcing creeds. Till, therefore, we receive proof demonstrative that all the liberal opinions which this gentleman publishes to the world, are maintained and sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church, to which he belongs, we can attach to them no higher value than if they were the opinions of the very parish Clerk of Gandercleuch himself.

What is meant by the 'Reunion of Christians?' This is an attractive combination of words to stand at the head of a chapter, and holds forth an expectation of a most felicitous event. But what is meant by it? Evidently, neither more nor less than the submission of all persons professing the religion of Christ, to the authority of the Church of Rome. This is the whole of the proposal, the grand object of every scheme to 'reunite Christians,' that is exhibited as so magnificent, so consolatory, so desirable, so divine, by the present enlightened and liberal Advocate of a Church that certainly has shewn quite enough of its *penchant* for unity.

A 'Reunion of Christians!' And to what circumstances are our reflections directed by this significant particle? Is it to those of the disciples who were of one mind and of one heart?—when the pastors of the Christian flock were not lords over the heritage of God, but helpers of their joy, and examples to them that believed; when religion derived no part of its influence or consideration from its alliance to the powers of earth, but exhibited itself as related only to the powers of the world to come; when persuasion, and tears, and prayers, were the only means employed to convert the sinner, and exhortation, and example, and the spirit of purified affection, the only means of controlling the body of the faithful. If to such times and such circumstances we are referred, for the purpose of discovering the remedy for the diversities that prevail in the religious world, to that state of things we would eagerly address all our attention. But what would a 'Reunion of Christians' formed on those principles, exhibit? All that it would exhibit would be, societies of Christians united together for worship and mutual edification, uncontrolled by temporal patronage, and far removed from the influence of worldly power; Christians who were such, because they believed that only by a spiritual union with Christ could they be saved, and worshippers of the Supreme Majesty, because they were subjects of his grace, and aspirants to his everlasting favour. Such societies would have no bond but the bond of love to unite them:

their unity would be a unity of affection. There would be no authority recognised in any one of their own body as extending over the rest, and external control would be unknown. Such a reunion of Christians, we care not how soon we see. We consider it certainly as possible, and cannot resign the hope, that a day will come when Christians of every name shall once more be brethren, and when the only presiding power over the household of faith, will be the authority of Christ, exhibited, not in the persons of men, but in his word.

But in Mr. Butler's vocabulary, the phrase, 'Reunion of Christians', has no such meaning. The subjugation of all persons professing Christianity to the Church of Rome, is the proper explanation of the terms. The reception of the Tridentine Decrees, the parcelling out of Europe into provinces and districts, with the requisite number of Bishops and Archbishops, Legates, &c. with all the other means of fettering down the consciences of men, and of dividing and enjoying the products of human labour *ad libitum*, are the component parts of this goodly fellowship. The model of this incorporation of all Christians, is to be found in the times preceding the Reformation, when the dominion of the Popes was established on the ruins of religion and freedom, and their rule was upheld by fraud and terror.

It is exceedingly curious and amusing, to lay Mr. Butler's proposals for a reunion of Christians, by the side of the documents which he has inserted in this work as descriptive of the Roman Catholic faith. In the former, we read as follows.

'The first point to be considered by those who meditate the project of reunion, is its practicability. Those who are disposed to contend for the affirmative, will observe the number of important Articles of Christian faith, in which all Christians are agreed, and the proportionably small number of those in which any Christians disagree.

'All Christians believe, 1st. That there is one God; 2d. That he is a Being of infinite perfection; 3d. That he directs all things by his providence; 4th. That it is our duty to love him with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves; 5th. That it is our duty to repent of the sins we commit; 6th. That God pardons the truly penitent; 7th. That there is a future state of rewards and punishments, when all mankind shall be judged according to their works; 8th. That God sent his Son into the world to be its Saviour, the Author of eternal salvation to all that obey him: 9th. That he is the true Messiah; 10th. That he taught, worked miracles, suffered, died, and rose again, as is related in the four gospels; 11th. That he will hereafter make a second appearance on the earth, raise all mankind from the dead, judge the world in righteousness, bestow eternal life on the virtuous, and punish the workers of iniquity.

'In the belief of these articles, all Christians—Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, and Unitarians, are agreed. In addition to these, each division and subdivision of Christians has its own

tenets. Now, let each settle among its own members, what are the articles of belief peculiar to them, which, in their cool deliberate judgement, they consider as *absolutely necessary* that a person should believe, to be a member of the Church of Christ; let these articles be divested of all foreign matter, and expressed in perspicuous, exact, and unequivocal terms; and above all, let each distinction of Christians earnestly wish to find an agreement between themselves and their fellow-christians:—the result of a discussion conducted on this plan, would most assuredly be, to convince all Christians that the essential articles of religious credence, in which there is a real difference among Christians, are not so numerous as the verbal disputes and extraneous matter in which controversy is too often involved, make them generally thought.'

Now, in his account of the Symbol of Pope Pius the Fourth, Mr. Butler informs us, that every Catholic who is admitted into the Catholic (Roman) Church, publicly reads and professes his assent to it; and this assent he gives in the following terms.

'This true Catholic Faith, *out of which none can be saved*, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I N. *promise, vow*, and *swear* most constantly, to hold and profess the same *whole* and *entire*, with God's assistance to the end of my life. Amen.' p. 9.

And this Faith, '*out of which none can be saved*,' and which the subscriber *swears* that he will hold whole and entire to the end of his life, contains such Articles as these: 'I most firmly 'admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, 'and all other constitutions and observances of the same (Roman 'Catholic) Church.'—'I profess also, that there are truly and 'properly seven Sacraments.'—'I also receive and admit the 'Ceremonies of the Catholic Church.'—'I profess likewise, that 'in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory 'sacrifice for the living and the dead.'

'I constantly hold that there is a purgatory'—'likewise that 'the Saints are to be honoured and invocated.'—'I most firmly 'assert, that the Images of Christ and of the Mother of God ever 'Virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be given to them.'—'Also, that the power of indulgences was left to the Church.'—'I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Bishop Vicar 'of Jesus Christ.'—'I also condemn, reject, and *anathematize*, all 'heresies whatsoever, condemned and anathematized by the 'Church.'

We should like much to hear Mr. Butler's concessions to Protestant Christians after swearing to such a creed as this. Would he abandon any of the seven Sacraments? Which of them would he discard? Would he give up the Mass and Transubstantiation? Would he strike out Purgatory? How would he modify the oaths of true obedience to the Vicar of Christ? How would he

qualify the submission promised to the sacred canons and the holy council of Trent? Mr. Butler would surely abandon some half-dozen of the articles of this Creed; and then he would prove to us that, in its present form, it does not contain such a faith as he swears it does contain, namely, a faith 'out of which none can be saved.' But truly Mr. Butler knows that the whole Creed, Mass, Images, Purgatory, and all the other articles to which its 'I profess,' and 'I receive,' and 'I swear,' relate, must be held whole and entire to the end of life. Can any thing, then, be more ridiculous than for such a person to propose a plan of reunion among Christians, when he well knows that the Church to which he has subjected his conscience, insists on the unqualified recognition of its usurped authority, and admits of no other basis of discussion than the old principle, *sic volo, sic jubeo*. Mr. Butler's show of liberal principles we can view as nothing better than a vain parade, its object being, to induce the persuasion that the world has all along been mistaken about Popery, and that good Christians of all denominations would find it very practicable, as well as very pleasant and profitable, to obtain its friendship. We know Popery, however, quite as well as Mr. Butler can teach us to understand it, and we appreciate its blessings. Nor shall we ever consider ourselves as quit of our obligations with the public till we have done all that lies in our power to caution them against the delusion which such books as the one before us would practise upon them. The very first words in Mr. Butler's Introduction, are a sufficient proof of the entire presumption of his representations.

'The Catholic Church acknowledges the authority of the Scriptures, and in addition to them, a body of traditionary law: she receives both under the authority, and with the interpretation of the Church; and she believes that the authority of the Church in receiving and interpreting them, is *infallible*.'

Now, who does not perceive the absurdity of assuming that an *infallible* authority can in any of its acts be wrong? Which is unquestionably assumed, if the interpretations of Scripture by 'the Church' are, in any sense, or in any degree, to be impugned. Whatever this 'infallible Church' shall dictate and enjoin, must, then, be received with implicit submission. What purpose can Mr. Butler hope to subserve, by making his work the vehicle of liberal sentiments to which the entire system of Popery is in direct hostility?

In this historical and literary account of Confessions of Faith, the reader will meet with concise descriptions of the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, the Symbolic Books of the Roman Catholic Church, those of the Greek Church, and the Confessions and Articles of the several Protestant Churches. More space is allowed to the documents that relate

to the Church of Rome, than is occupied by any of the Formularies of the other Churches, and the former it has evidently been an object of the Author's solicitude to exhibit to the best advantage. To some of the statements which occur in this volume, it were easy to urge objections, and occasionally we meet with statements extremely erroneous. That all Churches have separated from the Church of Rome; that it was earnestly wished by the Pope and the Roman Catholic States, that the Protestant princes and their divines should attend the Council of Trent; are allegations which every person will not be disposed to receive as unquestionable verities. The Calvinistic Baptists are stated (page 96) to 'believe that the soul, from the moment of the 'death of the body, remains, till the day of general resur-'rection, in a state of insensibility.' This, certainly, is not the fact with respect to the great body of English Baptists. Mr. Thomas (not *Solom*) Emlyn should not have been reckoned among the English Baptists. The object of his "Previous "Question" was, to invalidate the perpetuity of Baptism.

Mr. Butler is very anxious to acquaint his readers that, 'the 'persecution of the Hugonots in consequence of the revocation 'of the edict of Nantes, was condemned by the greatest men in 'France.' He might have told them that it was approved by the 'greatest men' of Rome. 'Fenelon, Flechier, and Bossuet, 'confessedly the ornaments of the Gallican Church,' he is careful to record, 'lamented it.' He might have added, that it was celebrated as an event of the most joyful nature by the Head of the Romish Church. Flechier, it is well known, approved and applauded the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. That whole circumstance, to use the words of Mosheim, 'is peculiarly 'adapted to convince the impartial and attentive observer, that 'the most solemn oaths, and the most sacred treaties, are never 'looked upon by this Church and its pontiffs as respectable and 'obligatory, when the violation of them may contribute to ad-'vance their interest, or to accomplish their views.'

Art. IV. *An Essay on the Fall of Man, and the Necessity of a Mediator*; proved by Argument from the Coincidence between Reason and Fact, and the combined Agreement of Both with Divine Revelation. By G. Moase. 12mo. pp. 168. Price 4s. London. 1818.

IF the writer of this little volume is a young man, and if he shall have the three requisites for the cultivation of the mind—modesty, ardour, and opportunity, we venture to predict that ten years hence, he may produce something very far superior to this Essay. Such as it is, however, it proves the Author to possess the faculty of thinking, as well as a degree of originality in his way of apprehending his subject. But as a piece of reason-

ing, it abounds with crudities and defective, or imperfectly supported, deductions. It would be doing ill, on account of these blemishes, to dismiss with hasty contempt the product of considerable effort and labour. Indeed, crudities of a certain kind, are the promising indications of a mind whose consciousness of power is ever tempting it beyond the sphere in which its present degree of cultivation enables it with ease to move.

The Author, we feel pretty sure, owes his acquirements chiefly to his own solitary efforts: perhaps, too, he has had little intercourse with men of education. Without radical affectation of character, a writer under such circumstances, is apt to betray himself by an *impertinent* obtrusion of scraps of learning. He is too fond of his hard-earned little treasure of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—yes, and French too—which after all, perhaps, does not amount to a school-boy's *quantum*. Mr. M.'s acquirements, for aught we know, may be very considerable; but we think he will find it true, that well educated men, unless indeed they are rank pedants, introduce their learning only where it is called for; that is, where it contributes something to the subject in hand. What, for example, is Mr. M.'s title-page the better for having a motto 'as it is in the *original*,' from 'ΠΑΥΛΟΣ,' instead of the same simple passage from 'Paul?' Or how is his meaning rendered more perspicuous by saying that 'desire 'would grasp the whole, and enquire for *plus ultra*,'—which, in a note on purpose, he tells us means, in plain English, 'more 'beyond,'—than if he had at once said, 'more beyond?' We should not notice such trifles, if they were not so frequent as rather to impair the impression of the Author's good sense. This petty display is sure to lead a man sometimes into what is quite ridiculous. In one place, Mr. Moase illustrates his argument by a quotation which he is careful to present in the *original French*, and then subjoins his authority, "*Vide French Class Book*, by '*Wanostrocht*.' p. 47.

We observe also a number of solecisms, and unmeaning phrases, and too much of the jargon of dusty logic. The phrases, 'physical nature,' and 'essential essence,' which very frequently occur, are quite improper: so is, 'infinitely perfect,' as well as some others of a like kind, which, though allowable in popular writing, are too incorrect for so logical an essay. The term, 'reasoning faculty,' means just as much as 'rationating 'faculty,' and is besides better English. A periphrasis would have been preferable to 'analogical to this we must proceed,' &c. Faults of this sort are easily avoided.

There are three prognostics which very usually attend the immature efforts of minds addicted to the resolution of complex ideas, or, as it is vulgarly termed, fond of abstract thinking. The first of these, is, an impatience under the confinement of standard

The object of the Essay is sufficiently explained by the title. We need not follow the Author in his train of argument. If what we have said should excite the curiosity of any of our studious readers, we shall be pleased; still more so, if our remarks should serve in any degree to stimulate the Author in the patient culture of his powers, which we venture to say are not of an ordinary kind. We make room for one more quotation.

'But here, an important question presents itself:—May the soul look, and ought it, unto the Deity, as its medium of felicity? We may easily answer in the affirmative, by a very brief recapitulation of what has been already written, relative to the happiness of inferior natures.

'It has been considered, that the various species of animated matter, enjoy sustenance and pleasure perfectly adapted to their natures, and commensurate with their capacities, by coming into contact with matter variously modified. And that the power, wisdom and benevoledce of the Creator, are herein very conspicuous. From which, we may safely deduce this inference, that God *wills* the happiness of his creatures.

'But man, infinitely transcends every other creature, in degree of entity and dignity of existence, from the immateriality and immortality of the soul. And therefore, God evidently designed man for an end and happiness, analagous to his nature; and as superior to that of other beings, as human existence exceeds theirs. But it is certain, that man cannot enjoy rational felicity in the mediums in which irrational creatures enjoy theirs; the Deity himself being the exclusive medium of happiness to man: and that, if the human soul enjoy not God, it must necessarily be miserable, so far as the absence of God can occasion its misery. Therefore we may indubitably conclude, that the Creator intended, that the human soul should look to himself as an infinite medium of spiritual felicity, in which it may solace itself with ineffable delight. And consequently God *wills*, that man should seek it in his Creator.' pp. 35, 36.

Art. V. *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* Nos. I. II. 8vo. pp. 169. New York. 1819.

THIS publication, we *guess*, may be taken as a rather favourable specimen of American fugitive literature. We shall afford our readers some quotations from it. The Author, who conceals his name, is still, we understand, on this side the Atlantic; and he promises his countrymen, if they shall encourage his attempt, to send over for their entertainment a series of similar miscellanies, as quickly as his wanderings in the old world shall furnish him with the materials.

The Author, it seems, is a traveller by native propensity.

'Even when a mere child I began my travels, and made many tours of discovery into foreign parts and unknown regions of my native city, to the frequent alarm of my parents, and the emolument of the town-crier.'

But his instinct could not be satisfied within the strait range of his native continent: though,

'had I been merely a lover of fine scenery, I should have felt little desire to seek elsewhere for its gratification: for on no country have the charms of nature been more prodigally lavished. Her mighty lakes, like oceans of liquid silver; her mountains, with their bright aërial tints; her valleys, teeming with wild fertility; her tremendous cataracts, thundering in their solitudes; her boundless plains waving with spontaneous verdure; her broad, deep rivers, rolling in solemn silence to the ocean; her trackless forests, where vegetation puts forth all its magnificence; her skies, kindling with the magic of summer clouds and glorious sunshine:—no, never need an American look beyond his own country for the sublime and beautiful of natural scenery.'

We pass over 'The Voyage,' which is a little too *fine*. The first occasion on which the eye of an American is presented with a demonstration of his previous belief in the antiquity of the world above the date of two hundred years, cannot fail to be recorded. In approaching the English coast, the Author saw with delight, 'the mouldering ruin of an abbey overrun with 'ivy.'

'I question whether Columbus, when he discovered the new world, felt a more delicious throng of sensations, than rush into an American's bosom when he first comes in sight of Europe. There is a volume of associations with the very name. It is the land of promise, teeming with every thing of which his childhood has heard, or on which his studious years have pondered.'

But the Author had even a more eager desire to see the great men and the writers of Europe, than 'the abbeys and the ivy.' In this respect he was presently gratified at Liverpool; and his admiration of Mr. Roscoe barely spends itself in *fourteen* pages.

We cannot abridge, so as to make it intelligible, the characteristic and very well told legend of Rip Van Winkle, derived from the authentic Diedrich Knickerbocker, of New York. A short quotation is all we can give. Rip Van Winkle, it seems, was afflicted with incurable idleness, and also, as he well deserved, with a scolding wife.

'Times grew worse and worse with Rip Van Winkle as years of matrimony rolled on; a tart temper never mellows with age, and a sharp tongue is the only edge tool that grows keener by constant use. For a long while he used to console himself, when driven from home, by frequenting a kind of perpetual club of the sages, philosophers, and other idle personages of the village, that held its sessions on a bench before a small inn designated by a rubicund portrait of his majesty George the Third. Here they used to sit in the shade of a long, lazy summer's day, talk listlessly over village gossip, or tell endless sleepy stories about nothing. The opinions of this junto were completely

controlled by Nicholas Vedder, a patriarch of the village, and landlord of the inn, at the door of which he took his seat from morning till night, just moving sufficiently to avoid the sun, and keep in the shade of a large tree; so that the neighbours could tell the hour by his movements as accurately as by a sun-dial. It is true, he was rarely heard to speak, but smoked his pipe incessantly. His adherents, however, (for every great man has his adherents,) perfectly understood him, and knew how to gather his opinions. When any thing that was read or related displeased him, he was observed to smoke his pipe vehemently, and send forth short, frequent, and angry puffs; but when pleased, he would inhale the smoke slowly and tranquilly, and emit it in light and placid clouds, and sometimes, taking the pipe from his mouth, and letting the fragrant vapour curl about his nose, would gravely nod his head in token of perfect approbation.'

What follows is entertaining enough; but one would have thought that the observant Geoffrey Crayon, *Gent.* might, with Europe fresh before him, have found other matter wherewith to fill his Sketch Book.

In the Second Number, however, we find more of what we expect from a traveller, under the titles of 'English Writers on 'America,' and 'Rural Life in England.'

In reference to the first of these subjects, the Author says—

'It is with feelings of deep regret that I have noticed the literary animosity daily growing up between England and America. Great curiosity has been awakened of late with respect to the United States, and the London press has teemed with volumes of travels through the republic; but they seem intended to diffuse error rather than knowledge; and so successful have they been, that notwithstanding the constant intercourse between the nations, there is none concerning which the great mass of the British people have less pure information, or more prejudices.....It has been the peculiar lot of our country, to be visited by the worst kind of English travellers. While men of philosophical spirit and cultivated minds, have been envoys from England to ransack the poles, to penetrate the deserts, and to study the manners and customs of barbarous nations, with which she can have no permanent intercourse of profit or pleasure; it is left to the broken down tradesman, the scheming adventurer, the wandering mechanic, the Manchester and Birmingham agent, to be her oracles respecting America—to treat of a country in a singular state of moral and physical development; where one of the greatest political experiments in the history of the world is now performing, and which presents the most profound and momentous studies for the statesman and the philosopher.'

The Author goes on to state several causes to which may be attributed the unfairness of the reports relative to the States which are current in England, and then adds—

'One would suppose, however, that information coming from such

sources, on a subject where the truth is so desirable, would be received with caution by the censors of the press; that the motives of these men, their veracity, their opportunities of inquiry and observation, and their capacities for judging correctly, would be rigorously scrutinized, before their evidence was admitted, in such sweeping extent, against a kindred nation. The very reverse, however, is the case, and it furnishes a striking instance of human inconsistency. Nothing can surpass the vigilance with which English critics will test the credibility of the traveller who publishes an account of some distant, and comparatively unimportant country. How warily will they compare the measurements of a pyramid or the descriptions of a ruin, and how sternly will they censure any discrepancy in these contributions of merely curious knowledge; while they will receive, with eagerness and unhesitating faith, the gross misrepresentations of coarse and obscure writers concerning a country with which their own is placed in the most important and delicate relations. Nay, what is worse, they will make these apocryphal volumes text books, on which to enlarge, with a zeal and an ability worthy of a more generous cause.'

Viewed as an expression of American feeling on a subject doubtless of some importance, we feel disposed to continue our quotations; especially as the publication before us may not itself fall into the hands of our readers. Some of the Author's remarks are well worthy of attention. He proceeds to expostulate with his countrymen.

'But why are we so exquisitely alive to the aspersions of England? Why do we suffer ourselves to be so affected by the contumely she has endeavoured to cast upon us? It is not in the opinion of England alone that honour lives, and reputation has its being. The world at large is the arbiter of a nation's fame: with its thousand eyes it witnesses a nation's deeds, and from their collective testimony is national glory or disgrace established. For ourselves, therefore, it is comparatively of little importance whether England do us justice or not: it is, perhaps, of far more importance to herself. She is instilling anger and resentment into the bosom of a youthful nation, to grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. If in America, as some of her writers are labouring to convince her, she is hereafter to find an invidious rival and a gigantic foe, she may thank those very writers for having provoked that rivalship, and irritated that hostility. Every one knows the all-pervading influence of literature at the present day, and how completely the opinions and passions of mankind are under its control. The mere contests of the sword are temporary; their wounds are but in the flesh, and it is the pride of the generous to forgive and forget them: but the slanders of the pen pierce to the heart; they rankle most sorely and permanently in the noblest spirits; they dwell ever present in the mind, and make it morbidly sensitive so the most trifling collision. It is not so much any one overt act that produces hostilities between two nations; there exists, most commonly, a previous jealousy and ill will, a pre-

disposition to take offence. Trace these to their cause, and how often will they be found to originate in the mischievous effusions of writers who, secure in their closets, and for ignominious bread, concoct and circulate the venom that is to inflame the generous and the brave.

'I am not laying too much stress upon this point; for it applies most emphatically to our particular case. Over no nation does the press hold a more absolute control than over the people of America; for the universal education of the poorest classes makes every individual a reader. There is nothing published in England on the subject of our country, that does not circulate through every part of it. There is not a calumny drops from an English pen, nor an unworthy sarcasm uttered by an English statesman, that does not go to blight good will, and add to the mass of latent resentment. Possessing, then, as England does, the fountain head from whence the literature of the language flows, how completely is it in her power, and how truly is it her duty, to make it the medium of amiable and magnanimous feeling—a stream where the two nations might meet together, and drink in peace and kindness. Should she, however, persist in turning it to waters of bitterness, the time may come when she may repent her folly. The present friendship of America may be of but little moment to her; but the future destinies of that country do not admit of a doubt:—over those of England there lour some shadows of uncertainty. Should, then, a day of gloom arrive, should those reverses overtake her, from which the proudest empires have not been exempt, she may look back with regret at her infatuation, in repulsing from her side a nation she might have grappled to her bosom, and thus destroying her only chance for real friendship beyond the boundaries of her own dominions.'

The Author refers to the idea prevailing in England, that the people of the United States are inimical to the parent country. It is, he says, one of the errors that have been diligently propagated by designing writers. Though the illiberality of the English Press may have excited hostile feelings, 'the preponderating sessions of the people are strongly in favour of England.' And he concludes by exhorting American writers to restrain the 'spirit of retaliation'; especially as no petty interests can be served by its indulgence—and because

'Our retorts are never republished in England, and fall short, therefore, of their aim; but they foster a querulous and peevish temper among our writers; they sour the sweet flow of our early literature, and sow thorns and brambles among its blossoms.'

It must be granted, that the people of the United States have been represented to us, of late, by travellers of an inferior class, men either of little education or degraded character, or who were raving under the half-insanity of some political infatuation. It is certain also, that these representations, or misrepresentations, have been invited, exaggerated, and promulgated, with more industry than conscience, and that they have been received, we might say devoured among us, with that sort of

indiscriminate readiness which betrays the influence both of sordid fear and malignant agitation in the public mind.

We cannot but think, for instance, that in a better and calmer condition of the public judgement, a much less eager and unquestioning hearing would have been given to the reports of a recent traveller in the United States, who, by his own account of himself, evidently went out perverted and inflated with theories, and who returned in ill temper with facts. A man who has been puffed across the Atlantic in a balloon, and having had the silken bubble pricked, and the ill flavoured and inflammatory gas exhaled, comes trailing back, battered and ragged, in the boat, is not the calm observer to whom we shall listen with deep regard. Wild speculations may have been dissipated, absurd anticipations disappointed, the bilious mislikings may have changed their objects, and so far, the individual may deserve to be congratulated by his friends on occasion of his happy restoration to common sense; but in all this the public have little concern. We want not to listen to tales of extraordinary cures in desperate cases, while seeking authentic information relative to important facts. It is not enough that a traveller *comes home* with a sane mind; he merits little regard unless it be apparent that he *set out* with a sane mind. We want neither city declaimers, nor recluse *illuminati*, to give us their reports of a people's moral and political condition. This very difficult task can be competently performed only by that class of men, who, as the Writer before us justly observes, have hitherto not been tempted to cross the Atlantic,—men, not merely of comprehensive minds, and endowed with the talent of observation, but who, by their superior education, their good taste, their habits, and their rank in society at home, are likely to be free from vulgarities of opinion and the temptations of temper.

We have no doubt whatever of Mr. Fearon's veracity,—using the term in its strict sense; but, at the same time, we rely so far upon our own sources of information as to believe, that his reports of some not unimportant matters of fact, are as *heedlessly* given as is compatible with his character for veracity. But our business is not now with Mr. Fearon: his book has afforded some valuable information, much entertainment, and much food to party and national prejudice. It will sink, however, upon the well-forgotten heap, towards which which every thing gravitates that is not sustained by sound and liberal sentiment, and well instructed and enlarged thinking.

We profess not to have the means of judging competently, how far from sober truth, passion, prejudice, and state policy have betrayed opinions in this country, relative to the character, disposition, and condition of the people of the United States;

but this we may certainly say, that the sources of this opinion, bear upon them almost all the marks that can entitle them to suspicion.

Art. VI. *Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of Pola, in Istria.* By Thomas Allason, Architect. Royal Folio. pp. 89. Price 3l. 10s. 1819.

THE portion of Roman antiquities remaining on the western border of the Adriatic, or Gulf of Venice, will now have had, we think, nearly their share of the attention of the travellers in quest of the picturesque. There was Adams's "Views of the Ruins of the Palace of Diocletian," at Spalatro, in Dalmatia; a respectable work for a time when the graphic arts in this country, with the exception of some two or three superior hands, were so very remote from the perfection they have latterly attained. Nearly at the same period, Stuart and Revett, the authors of the work on Athens, made drawings of the antiquities of Pola, in Istria, which, after lying in reserve about two thirds of a century, were published three or four years since, as part of a fourth, and perhaps somewhat superfluous volume of that work.—Towards twenty years since, there was published in Paris, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie*, for which the numerous drawings were supplied by Cassas, while Lavallée reduced to an author-like form the Artist's itinerary and observations, and composed a long introductory historical and descriptive account of those regions, in which, as also in the observations and statements introduced into the itinerary, very large use was made of the Abbé Fortis's very authentic and laborious, if not very lively, book of *Travels into Dalmatia*. And now, last, there are Mr. Allason's views and descriptions of the antiquities of Pola.

In his preface he mentions that, in drawing, on the spot, these splendid remains, he had no intention beyond his own professional improvement, presuming that there must be already in existence such delineations of them as to render any further illustration unnecessary to the admirers of antiquity and fine arts. On his return, however, from 'visiting the most 'celebrated remains of Italy and Greece,' he was disappointed to find no adequate representations of those of Pola, in any views which had been published; and he trusts it will not be overrating his own performances, to offer them as more worthy of the subjects. The sentence of insufficiency and inaccuracy, is pronounced pointedly on the plates from the drawings by Stuart.

'His views of most of the buildings by no means convey adequate ideas of their taste, simplicity, and elegance. This remark extends, in a great measure, to all the views from the pencil of Stuart, but

particularly to those of the Acropolis of Athens, which are extremely imperfect.* It is a matter of some surprise, that the almost exclusive merit of having measured and drawn the Antiquities of Athens, &c. should have been attributed to that gentleman, when, in fact, so small a share of that valuable work was the result of his personal labour and experience. It will appear on referring to the original materials, that Revett measured and delineated the principal part of the architectural subjects, while Pars contributed several of the views, and the more considerable portion of the sculptures contained in the second and third volume, thus leaving litt'e more than the editorship to Stuart, who, it must be acknowledged, deserves no common praise for his very careful and judicious arrangement of the whole.'

We have perceived that latterly, the very high reputation so long maintained by Stuart's work, has been very considerably affected. It was, indeed, never admitted to be considered as a *painter's* work, a work of the order of what Lusieri, for instance, would produce from the same subjects; it was regarded as exempted from being brought to the test of the higher principles of art; but in point of plain draughtsman's accuracy, it has been somewhat impeached by recent travellers and artists, and we observe that Mr. Dodwell is of the number.

But we wonder that Mr. Allason says not one word of the work of Mons. Cassas, except just to notice, in order to obviate the charge of a very large theft, by a straight-forward translation and adoption of some sixty or seventy folio pages, that he shall so avail himself of the Frenchman's 'instructive and ingenious 'Itinerary.' But the itinerary was accounted by Cassas quite the subordinate part of what he brought from the Adriatic coast, and from Pola in particular. He might well have been excused spending so much of the labour of his indefatigable pencil on that monstrous, tasteless mass of masonry, that succedaneum to the imperial ambition, that worthy resource for the amusement of the dethroned old age of a tyrant and persecutor, the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro. But he had all due sensibility to the more classic magnificence of Pola, of which his work contains nearly twenty representations, on a much larger scale than those of Mr. Allason. We have no doubt that his drawings were in a very bold and

* 'It deserves to be remarked, that Stuart and Revett have omitted to notice the swelling in the columns of the Parthenon, the Temple of Theseus, the Propylæa, &c. &c. when it is so very apparent, not only in those structures, but in all the remaining antiquities of Greece. It may, however, be proper to state, that this circumstance has likewise escaped the observation of more recent travellers, who, from a long residence in Athens, may be presumed to have had greater facilities of ascertaining every minute circumstance relating to those splendid ruins.'

effective style, and only wanted to be rendered by such engravers as those by whose means we obtain Mr. Allason's delineations. But the art was not at that time in a flourishing state in the French capital, as the editors or publishers of the work acknowledge; and less ability and care in this department were exerted for this than for some nearly contemporary works, as, for instance, the celebrated one of Denon on Egypt. The engravings give in a prominent and decided manner the shape and proportions of the objects, but their execution is for the most part, crude, hard, and mechanical. It was hardly discreet therefore for the editor to assume for it the same rank as that of De Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage de la Gréce*, of which the engravings are quite of another order, being in general very elegantly elaborated. But even that work, rich and beautiful as it is, cannot be placed on a level with some of the recent or present English works of the picturesque class. It does not rival in style and power of engraving, for example, Landseer's Antiquities of Dacca, Hakewell's Picturesque Tour of Italy, or Turner and Cooke's Southern Coast of England. We might name also, but that they are of a different class in point of subjects, the superb Arabian Antiquities of Spain, Wild's Lincoln Cathedral, Britton's Cathedrals, and Neale's Westminster Abbey.

But to return to the works of Cassas and our Author. If without any regard to the merit of the plates, simply considered as engravings, a person who had them both, wished to give a friend a plain bulky idea, if we may be allowed such a phrase, of the antiquities of Pola, he would perhaps by preference shew him the work of the Frenchman, whose prints preserve very well the general substantial truth of representation as to form, and have the advantage, in most of the instances, of exhibiting the objects in more magnitude. Of the Temple of Augustus, for instance, the inspector will acquire a fuller idea from the views of Cassas, which display not its portico only, but its whole extent. The Porta Aurea, or triumphal arch of the Sergii, is given in several of its aspects in both the works, with so much correspondence, except as to the place of one of the inscriptions, as to certify us of having a competent representation of that fine object in either of them. There is, however, a very strange difference in the accessories, that is, the buildings and fragments of ruin in the neighbourhood, or in contiguity to the structure. As we are well warranted by experience in placing more dependence on the fidelity of an English artist, there is no doubt that the Frenchman has made a manful fictitious clearing away of a very massive house nearly adjoining one side, and a high, heavy wall on the other.

As to the engraving, a highly advantageous comparison is

expressed our favourable opinion when reviewing his Prospectus relative to the present "Improved Version." We shall now proceed to examine and report the manner in which he has executed this portion of his labours.

Mr. Boothroyd is not one of those scholars whose prejudice in favour of the Masoretic text, prompts them to the rejection of the useful aids which have been provided by the collation of manuscripts and versions for the revision and elucidation of the original Scriptures. He professes himself unable to conjecture how any person that has read the Old Testament, and compared one place with another, can contend that the present Hebrew text is as perfect as when it was first written. Fully convinced by the clearest evidence, that one of the chief sources of the errors charged upon the Bible, is to be found in the state of the original text, he has availed himself of the proper means for the restoration of its purity, adopting as the basis of his translation, the text of his own edition of the Hebrew Bible. Of his present undertaking he gives, in the preface, the following account.

'Convinced of the necessity and of the advantages which would arise to the public in general, from a corrected translation of the Holy Scriptures, I have been led by my particular studies to engage in this work; not that I suppose myself better qualified than many others, but because the avocations of others do not permit them to devote their time to such an undertaking. Nor did I engage in it, till I had been repeatedly solicited by persons of various denominations, for whose judgment and piety I have reason to entertain the highest opinion.

'My great object has been to give the sense of the sacred authors, without, on the one hand, rendering verbally, or, on the other, being too diffuse or paraphrastic. I have endeavoured to follow the rules laid down by Archbishop Newcome, as not only founded in good sense, and an intimate acquaintance with the subject, but as paying that deference to the authorized version, which its general fidelity, and its long use demand. Hence I have uniformly preferred the language of this version, and have rarely introduced any terms but what are sanctioned by biblical use. Even in rendering the Hebrew particles, though I have varied considerably from the common rendering in innumerable places, yet I have generally found the same particles rendered as I have done in some place or other in the common version. In short, I have not designedly changed the terms, but when I have been fully satisfied that they were improper, and did not express the sense of the text with perspicuity or justness. Preserving as much as possible the language of the common version, I have arranged that language in such a manner as to endeavour to secure precision, harmony, and strength; and I cannot but flatter myself, that every reader of taste will find that these ends have, in some degree at least, been attained.

'I have not the vanity to think, that I have always succeeded in

ration which arises in the mind on viewing such splendid remains of grandeur—all conspire to awaken a sensation of pleasing melancholy which words cannot adequately describe. The walls of the Amphitheatre are still entire, and its form is suited to its character, being an ellipsis, whose largest diameter is nearly north and south, and measures 436 feet, its shortest 346: in the more perfect parts its height is 97 feet. This splendid edifice is scarcely exceeded in magnificence by that of the Colosseum at Rome, while in dimensions it is in a very small degree only inferior to the Amphitheatre of Verona. The exterior is rusticated, having two orders of Tuscan pilasters, one above the other, the lower being placed upon pedestals. The whole circumference is divided into seventy-two arches, the two at the extremities being higher and wider than the rest. The height is divided into three stories, and, by its particular construction, displays an uncommon lightness and elegance of effect. The whole is constructed of Istrian stone, which is of a very superior quality, and both in appearance and durability equal to the finest marble. It is placed in the western declivity of a hill, which a little below its surface is solid rock.'

The large portion of writing translated, as we observed, from the French work, and here introduced as a sequel to the graphical part and its explanations, traces very laboriously the history of Istria and Dalmatia, from the time of the Roman republic down to that in which they were in the possession of Bonaparte, and then describes the character and customs of the several classes of the present inhabitants. The history is a long and horrid tragedy, an exhibition almost unequalled of devastation, barbarity, and extirpation. A little of the French illuminatism may be descried here and there in the Writer, as, for instance, where he affects to throw discredit upon the historical representations of the odious character of Diocletian as a persecutor. The picture of the manners of the present inhabitants is very lively and strange.

Art. VII. *A New Family Bible, and Improved Version,* from corrected Texts of the Originals; with Notes, critical and explanatory, and short Practical Reflections on each Chapter: together with a general Introduction, on the Authenticity and Inspiration of the Sacred Books; and a complete View of the Mosaic Laws, *Rites,* and Customs. By the Rev. B. Boothroyd, Editor of the Biblia Hebraica. Vol. I. Quarto. Price 1l. 16s. Pontefract: printed for the Editor. 1818.

MR. BOOTHROYD'S name is not unknown to the readers of our Journal. We have already noticed with commendation his critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, as a work creditable alike to his industry and judgement, and supplying numerous and great advantages to the Hebrew student. Of his qualifications as a Translator of the Scriptures, we have also

xpressed our favourable opinion when reviewing his Pro- pectus relative to the present "Improved Version." We shall ow proceed to examine and report the manner in which he has xecuted this portion of his labours.

Mr. Boothroyd is not one of those scholars whose prejudice favour of the Masoretic text, prompts them to the rejection the useful aids which have been provided by the collation manuscripts and versions for the revision and elucidation of e original Scriptures. He professes himself unable to con- cture how any person that has read the Old Testament, and mpared one place with another, can contend that the present ebrew text is as perfect as when it was first written. Fully nvinced by the clearest evidence, that one of the chief sources the errors charged upon the Bible, is to be found in the state the original text, he has availed himself of the proper means r the restoration of its purity, adopting as the basis of his anslation, the text of his own edition of the Hebrew Bible. f his present undertaking he gives, in the preface, the fol- wing account.

'Convinced of the necessity and of the advantages which would ise to the public in general, from a corrected translation of the oly Scriptures, I have been led by my particular studies to gage in this work; not that I suppose myself better qualified than any others, but because the avocations of others do not permit them devote their time to such an undertaking. Nor did I engage in it, l I had been repeatedly solicited by persons of various denomina- ons, for whose judgment and piety I have reason to entertain the ghest opinion.

'My great object has been to give the sense of the sacred authors, thout, on the one hand, rendering verbally, or, on the other, being o diffuse or paraphrastic. I have endeavoured to follow the rules d down by Archbishop Newcome, as not only founded in good nse, and an intimate acquaintance with the subject, but as paying at deference to the authorized version, which its general fidelity, d its long use demand. Hence I have uniformly preferred the nguage of this version, and have rarely introduced any terms but iat are sanctioned by biblical use. Even in rendering the Hebrew rticles, though I have varied considerably from the common ren- ring in innumerable places, yet I have generally found the same rticles rendered as I have done in some place or other in the mmon version. In short, I have not designedly changed the terms, it when I have been fully satisfied that they were improper, and d not express the sense of the text with perspicuity or justness. eserving as much as possible the language of the common version, have arranged that language in such a manner as to endeavour to cure precision, harmony, and strength; and I cannot but flatter yself, that every reader of taste will find that these ends have, in me degree at least, been attained.

'I have not the vanity to think, that I have always succeeded in

this attempt; but I have the pleasure to know, that if I have failed in giving the sense of the text, or in expressing it clearly, it has not been through design, nor has it been through want of diligence in consulting the best authorities, as the notes will abundantly testify. I have never had recourse to hypercriticism, or endeavoured to give new and forced senses to the Hebrew text; nor have I, except in a few desperate cases, admitted any conjectural reading or emendation. Hence, many readings which I consider as probable, and even favoured in my notes to my Hebrew Bible, I have not adopted in this.'

The 'Introduction' comprises a concise but valuable compendium of details relative to the authenticity, the inspiration, and the history of the sacred text, in which the prominent subjects of Biblical criticism are very judiciously treated. In explaining the verbal agreements and discrepancies of the first three Evangelists, Mr. Boothroyd adopts the hypothesis of Bishop Marsh, of which he gives a general description in a note at p. 5. An abridgement of Michaelis's Mosaic Law, executed in a very respectable manner, occupies the second part of this Introduction. Parts the third and fourth treat of the Religious Polity of the Jews, the climate and productions of Judea, with the arts, customs, and manners of the Israelites. The whole of these prolegomena are compiled with considerable judgement and care. The information which they contain, will materially assist the reader of the Bible, in forming an enlightened and accurate acquaintance with its contents, and we may fairly represent this 'Introduction' as, on the whole, one of the most appropriate and excellent that have ever been provided for the readers of the Scriptures.

We must however remark upon one passage in this part of Mr. Boothroyd's work. It is certainly true that some critics have argued from the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that it could not have been written by the Apostle Paul; but it is not true, nor is it candid to affirm, as Mr. Boothroyd represents in his note to p. 7, that the reasons on which this judgement is founded, are in opposition to the Divinity of our Lord and the doctrine of the Atonement. Calvin himself denies that the Epistle in question could have been written by Paul. We know not in what manner Mr. B. may have conducted his examination of the question, but we are fully satisfied that a careful investigation of the Epistle would convince any fair critic, that the opinion which Mr. B. opposes, is not, as he asserts, 'a mere 'assumption.' The *idioms* which occur in the Epistle to the Hebrews, are of a character quite distinct from those which are found in the acknowledged writings of the Apostle, and certainly they present difficulties which, to say the least, are sufficient to justify hesitation on the subject.

We shall commence our extracts from this new version of the

Bible, with the following passage from the history of the creation.

1 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. And
2 the earth was desolate and waste; darkness also was upon the
face of the deep, and a mighty wind agitated the surface of
3 the waters. And God said, "Let there be light;" and there
4 was light. And God saw that the light was good; and God dis-
5 tinguished the light from the darkness; And God called the light
day, and the darkness he called night.
'And the evening had been and the morning had been, One day;
6 And God said, "Let there be an expanse amidst the waters, and
7 let it separate waters from waters;" and so it was. For God
made the expanse, and separated the waters which were below
8 the expanse from the waters which were above the expanse; And
God called the expanse, Heavens; "and God saw that this was
good."
'And the evening had been and the morning had been, a Second
9 day; And God said, "Let the waters below the heavens be col-
lected into one place, that the dry land may appear;" And so it
was. "For the waters below the expanse were collected into
10 their places, and the dry land appeared." And God called the
dry land Earth; and the collection of waters he called Seas; And
God saw that this also was good.'

The first remarkable difference in this "Improved Version," from the reading of the common English Bible, is in the substitution of the phrase 'a mighty wind,' for, 'the spirit of God;" for which the following reasons are assigned.

'*And a mighty wind*, &c. After much thought, I have thus rendered the original for the following reasons: 1. It is unquestionable that רוח denotes *breath*, *wind*, as well as *spirit*. Compare Psalm xiv. 7, and Isa. xl. 7. The word *God* is often used to denote, excellence of any kind; as *mountains of God*, mean 'great mountains,' *trees of God*, 'tall, flourishing trees;' and by a similar idiom, *wind of God*, means, 'a strong, mighty wind.' 2. This I conceive is a part of the description of the chaotic state, and connected with what precedes, from the participle (מרחפת) agitating being used. 3. Because the common version seems opposed to the design of the sacred author, who introduces God as first exerting his power and wisdom in separating the discordant elements, and reducing the chaos into order, by the production of light. 4. Because the common version ascribes no effects to the Spirit of God, worthy of his immediate agency. If we render, instead of agitating, *moving*, or brooding, yet no effect follows, but what my version contains. The Targums, the Arabic and Persic translators have thus rendered.'

There is certainly considerable force in the reasons urged in support of the adopted rendering, and we are perfectly satisfied that Mr. Boothroyd's preference is founded entirely on philological ground. Still we think the propriety of the alteration is

a disputable point, and, on the whole, we should give our decision for retaining the reading of the Common Version, "*the* "*Spirit of God.*" 1. Because, though it is not to be controverted that רוח *ruach* denotes *wind*, nor that the word God in connexion with another word, is used frequently to denote excellence, or greatness, no example of the word God occurring with a word meaning *wind*, and thus denoting great or mighty wind, is to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures. The phrase for strong or mighty wind, is, רוח חזק or, רוח גדול; never רוח אלהים. 2. The phrase רוח אלהים occurs in several instances, in which its meaning is invariably 'the Spirit of God.' Mr. Boothroyd is not strictly correct in citing the Targums as reading with his own version; they use the very words of the Hebrew text in connexion with a phrase (from before the Lord, מן קדם יי) which, to say the least, is not decisive in favour of the reading, '*mighty wind.*' Further, Mr. Boothroyd has translated the words רוח יהוה (2 Kings ii. 16,) by, "the Spirit of Jehovah." Now, all the Targums read in this passage, precisely as they do in Gen. i. 2; they cannot therefore be cited in support of the rendering of this "Improved Version" in the example before us, as this would be to compel their uniform testimony in behalf of different readings. As '*Spirit of God*" is the literal rendering of the original Hebrew, as the words are thus translated in every other instance in which they occur, and as no example of the combination רוח אלהים, for 'mighty wind,' can be produced, we should hesitate to change the common reading, and are indeed of opinion that it is better to retain it in the English Bible. Since, however, Mr. Boothroyd has preferred the other phrase, he ought, we think, to have adopted the same expression in the translation of 2 Kings ii. 16.; particularly as he has remarked that 'the sons of the prophets seem to have had a notion that 'Elijah was lost in an aërial tempest.'

The translation of the concluding paragraph of the third chapter of Genesis, is evidently an improvement on the common rendering, inasmuch as it preserves the allusion to that part of the temptation, verse 5, in which the seducer of the first pair flattered them that they should be as gods.

22 'And God Jehovah said; "Behold, Adam would so become
like one of us, as to know good and evil; and now possibly, he
will put out his hand, and take also of *the fruit* of the tree of
23 LIFE, that he may live for ever!" Therefore, God Jehovah sent
him out of the garden of Eden to till the ground, whence he had
24 been taken. And he drove out the man, and placed at the East
of the garden of Eden, Cherubs, with flame-brandishing swords,
to keep the way to the tree of life.

'22. *Behold the man that would become*, &c. In this version I adopt the principle, that the verb (היה) here denotes not what man actually

'became,' but what he 'attempted to become;' (See Glassius Canon 8. in ver.) and this version, unless I am mistaken, is more suitable to the character of God, than the common one. This rendering converts what has been regarded an irony, into the language of commiseration; and what follows contains the reason why Jehovah expelled man from paradise; lest having violated the divine command, and incurred the penalty of death, he should attempt to escape the punishment by eating of the tree of life.'

By an error, occasioned probably by the *homoioteleuton*, the words "cattle, and reptile, and wild beast, according to their "kinds," are omitted in the 24th verse of this chapter.

In his version of ch. iv. v. 1. Mr. Boothroyd adheres to the sense of the common translation, which we apprehend is the correct one. The passage has been variously rendered, and has been construed by some commentators, as signifying the complacency of Eve on the birth of the promised deliverer of mankind. 'Geddes would read, 'god-like man-child,' and remarks that the original is hardly susceptible of the common rendering. His own rendering we apprehend not to be at all supported by examples of the idiom in question, which, it must also be acknowledged, is attended with some difficulty, as interpreted by the public Translators, and the present Editor: "*I have ac-*" *quired a man-child from Jehovah.*"

Ch. iv. v. 10. Jehovah is the antecedent to the verb, for which Mr. Boothroyd has substituted "God;" an alteration, indeed, of no great moment, but which is unnecessarily and improperly made.

V. 15. '*Jehovah gave a token to Cain.*' A very proper though not original correction of the public version, which has greatly perplexed many readers by its rendering, "The Lord "set a mark upon Cain."

Ch. vi. '1. And it came to pass, when men began to be numerous upon the face of the earth, and daughters were born to them,
2 That the sons of the chiefs saw that the daughters of men were beautiful; and they seized of them for wives, whomsoever they
3 chose. And Jehovah said, "My spirit shall never pronounce judgment on men unwarned. They are but flesh. Their days shall therefore yet be, one hundred and twenty years." In
4 those days were lawless warriors upon the earth. For after the sons of the chiefs went in to the daughters of men, to them they bare sons, who became mighty, the renowned men of antiquity."

Ch. vi. '2. *Sons of the Chiefs.* To understand (בני אלהים) as denoting the pious, the worshippers of Jehovah, *the Sons of God*, as opposed to the wicked, seems to me a forced and very unnatural interpretation. That such persons should act as these did, is equally inconsistent with their profession and spirit; but that the *Sons of the Chiefs* should become profligate from indulgence, and seize whom-

soever they would for wives, is probable in itself, and but too well supported by example in every age. This version is that of the Samar. both Arabs, Onkel. Aquil. and Sym. Pious Bishop Wilson adopts it, and observes, 'When great men make vice fashionable by their example and authority, it is the beginning of a total corruption and general judgment.' Luke xvii. 27.

'3. *My Spirit shall, &c.* The sense of 'striving' attributed to the verb (ידון באדם) in the common version, is supported by no authority, (see Note Heb. Bibles). The sense given is obvious, and supported by the use of the word in other places. Michaelis, from the Arabic, renders, 'My Spirit shall not be always *despised* among men,' &c. Some of the versions read (ילון) 'shall not always *abide* or *dwell* in man.' With other critics I consider (בשגם) a verbal noun, signifying, *in ignorance, unwarned*. The warning follows, 'their days shall therefore yet be, &c.' Compare Nehem. ix. 30.

'We cannot pass over the eleventh chapter, without noticing the alterations which Mr. Boothroyd has introduced into the text. There is, he remarks, in his note to the eleventh verse, a considerable difference in the chronology from the flood to the time of Abraham, between the Hebrew text, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint. 'The two latter add a hundred years to 'the age of each before they begot children, which makes a 'difference of 700 years; and if Cainan be admitted, of 880 'years.' Thinking it improbable that the Post-deluvians would live above a hundred years before they married, he prefers the chronology of the Hebrew text, adding from the Septuagint the account of Cainan. To this proceeding, however, it is obvious to object, that if the chronology of the seventy be discarded in the other instances, it should also be rejected in the case of Cainan, whose age at the birth of Salah, should be reduced to thirty years, in conformity with the Hebrew text. Instead of this number of years, Mr. Boothroyd gives us 135 years, as the age of Cainan on the birth of his son Salah. By this adoption of the Septuagint reading, it is quite obvious, that he furnishes an insuperable objection to his preference of the Hebrew text, as it is an admission that the Post-deluvians lived a hundred years before they married. To preserve consistency, Mr. Boothroyd should have reduced the Septuagint numbers to those of the Hebrew in the example before us.

Gen. xii. 16. Mr. Boothroyd's translation of this verse is professedly founded on the admitted reading of the Samaritan text, but it is incorrectly represented, and the version given corresponds neither to the Samaritan nor to the Hebrew lection. '*He-asses*,' which is marked as if it were a various reading substituted for one of less authority, is common to both the Samaritan and Hebrew copies: so is '*she-asses*,' which Mr. B.

has improperly omitted in his version. The passage should read as follows:

'And Abram was kindly treated for her sake; and had 'flocks and herds, a very large possession; and men-servants, 'and maid-servants, and he-asses, and she-asses, and camels.'

Ch. xiv. 9. 'Tidal king of Goim.' The definite article is omitted, and by this means Goim appears as the name of a place, and not as a national appellative, which is the usage of the word in the 2d verse—'Tidal king of the Goim.'

Ch. xlix Geddes is generally followed in the translation of this chapter, in which we observe but few deviations from the public version. The 10th verse appears in the following form.

'10. A sceptred chief shall not depart from Judah,
Nor a judge from his own offspring,
Until the Shiloh come;
To whom the nations shall be obedient.'

Exodus vi. 3. 'And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by the name of GOD, the Almighty; but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.

'Ch. vi. 3. '*I was not known to them.*' There is a designed antithesis between the name God assumed, when he appeared to the patriarchs, and that he now assumed; and this seems to me the most natural and consistent sense of this passage; I appeared to, and entered into covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as *God, the Almighty*, but by my name, *Jehovah*, I was not known to them, as their covenant God, but by this name I now enter into covenant with you, and by this name I will be known as your God. Hence, in the following history, this name generally occurs; and by it he claims their submission and obedience. "I am Jehovah, or, I am Jehovah, your God," is the reason assigned for his various laws. The name Jehovah was known to the patriarchs, if the present text be any authority, (for there is much variety of lection), but it was not *appropriated* to him as their God.'

Exodus xvii. 15, 16. is a perplexing passage: "And Moses "built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah Nissi. For "he said, Because the LORD hath sworn *that* the Lord *will* "*have* war with Amalek from generation to generation." The Authors of the Common Version have added in the margin, as explanatory of the preceding rendering, '*Or*, Because the 'hand of Amalek is against the throne of the LORD, therefore 'the Lord will have war with Amalek, &c.' accompanying it with the literal import of the Hebrew, 'The hand upon the 'throne of the Lord.' The following is Mr. Boothroyd's version, which is copied from that of Geddes.

'And Moses built an altar, and called the name of it Jehovah-Nissi, (Jehovah is my signal). And he said, "Because this shall be known as my signal of the war which Jehovah will have with Amalek from generation to generation."'

The alterations made in the text of the original, from which the reading in the translation is derived, will not satisfy, perhaps, every reader. A very different construction of the passage is given by Bate in his Translation of the Pentateuch, who renders it, '*And he said*, Surely the hand upon the cup ' of Jah (is, or denotes) war from Jehovah with Amalek, from ' generation to generation.'

A translator is never more worthy of our grateful acknowledgements for his labours, than when he is employing his learning and his judgement for the purpose of removing the obscurities of preceding versions that may have proved the occasion of erroneous opinion, or of distressing reflection. In such cases, the sense, rather than the idiom, ought to be retained. To such cases Mr. Boothroyd has been laudably attentive. In the example so frequently adduced, as opposed to the equity of God in his government of men, Exodus iv. 21. which the Common Version reads, "*I will harden his heart*," Mr. B. renders, '*I will permit his heart to be so hardened*.' Nothing more, he remarks in his note, is meant, than the leaving of a man to the bent and tendency of his own disposition. In Chap. xxxii. 32, the reading of the Common Version is preserved: "*Blot me, I pray thee, out of the book* "*which thou hast written*." There is here no question of future perdition, though such a construction has been given to the passage: we are satisfied with Mr. B., that Moses expresses nothing more than his wish rather to die, than to see the destruction of Israel. We could almost express our readiness to accept a version of the text directly in this form, but are at the same time so sensible of the objections that may be urged against so free a rendering, that on the whole we are satisfied to have the sense given in the margin. The reader may compare, if he pleases, the perplexities of Pool with the plain, unembarrassed criticism of Henry on this passage.

Deut. xviii. 15, in Mr. Boothroyd's version, presents us a striking instance of change of opinion in the Translator. In his Hebrew Bible he maintained, in a note, that the passage refers to a succession of prophets in the Jewish Church, and that though the writers of the New Testament have accommodated the words to Jesus Christ, the series of Moses's speech cannot be reconciled with such an interpretation, unless in a figurative and mystical meaning. The reasoning of Daihe in support of this view of the subject, appeared to Mr. B. to be so just, that he extracts the passage for his reader's use. But in the Translation he rejects Daihe's interpretation, and limits the prediction of Moses to the person of Christ.

Deut. xxvi. 5. C. V. "*A Syrian ready to perish* was my "father."

Geddes. 'My forefather was *a wandering Aramite*.'

Boothroyd. '*A wandering Syrian* was my father.'

Mr. Boothroyd's version, which is not different from that of Geddes, we consider as altogether inadmissible. No instance can, we apprehend, be cited, in which the Hebrew verb אבד means *to wander:* it uniformly imports perishing, and is a very common word. We shall quote Mr. Boothroyd's note on the passage, for the purpose of examining the solidity of the reasons on which he grounds the adopted reading.

'*A wandering Syrian*, &c. The sense given to אבד, or אובד in the common version, does not seem appropriate to the condition of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They were not, *ready to perish*, but were rich and prosperous. I have therefore followed Dathe and others, who justly observe, that the word is applied to the sheep which has wandered from the fold, Psalm cxix. 176, and that the word in this sense is suited to the life of the patriarchs. Abraham was a Syrian by birth, and by the call of God, a wanderer from his kindred and country. Though God gave to him many promises, yet the only possession he had in Canaan, was that of a burying place. Isaac and Jacob lived a like wandering life. These patriarchs, as the root of the Jewish people, are meant by *father*.'

The reference evidently is to Jacob, as the immediate head of the twelve patriarchs whose names designated the twelve tribes. He was their "*father*," since from him the whole nation were called Israelites. That Jacob is meant, appears very clearly from the subsequent part of the verse: "He went "down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few; and "there he became a nation, great, mighty, and populous." The sense given in the Common Version, to the word in question, we must take leave to say, is most appropriate to the case of Jacob, who certainly considered himself as being "*ready to perish*," when in a time of severe famine, he assigned as a reason for sending his sons into Egypt to buy grain, "*that we may live and not die*." See Gen. xlii. 2. A reference to this fact cannot be considered as otherwise than appropriate in the confession of an Israelite on offering his first fruits in Canaan to the Lord. The example cited from Psalm cxix. 176, is totally insufficient to prove that the word אבד means wandering: it is there applied to a sheep which had strayed from the fold, and was in danger of perishing; "a *lost* sheep." "*A Syrian ready to perish was my father*," the reading of the Common Version, ought by all means, to be retained.

Deut. xxxii. 5, is confessedly a difficult passage. Kennicott thought that the first part of the verse, as it now stands in the Hebrew text, did not admit of any regular construction; he preferred the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and pro-

posed to read, ' They are corrupted; not his, children of pollu-
' tion.' Geddes endeavours to extract a meaning out of both texts: ' Corrupted are his own degenerate children.' Which is followed by the present Translator: ' *Corrupted are his own* ' *polluted children*;' literally, he remarks, ' His own children ' have corrupted themselves, *by their pollution*.' But neither the Heb. nor the Sam. reading can be thus literally construed. Mr. Boothroyd's version is tautological; and though we may allow that he has given what appears to be the sense, we do not perceive very clearly by what means he has been able to obtain it.

We prefer the rendering in the Common Version, of v. 11th of this chapter, to the following, the first part of which fails in expressing the striking and beautiful allusion of the original. It is not to the affection of the eagle as *watching her nest*, that the Hebrew term refers, but to the action of the eagle in exciting her young to fly; a sense which is admirably preserved by the Vulgate: ' *provocans ad volandum pullos suos*.'

> ' As an eagle, with affection, watcheth her nest,
> And hovereth over her young;
> Or spreadeth her wings, and taketh them up,
> And beareth them on her pinions;
> So Jehovah alone conducted them:"—

Joshua v. 1. ' *Until' they* ' *had passed over*.' The reading of the Common Version is in the first person, " Until " *we* had passed over." As this is the only passage in the book, in which the Hebrew text exhibits the narrative in the first person, there is certainly strong presumption against the accuracy of the Common Version which is copied from it. We cannot hesitate in admitting the propriety of the alteration adopted by Mr. Boothroyd, for which he has cited only the authority of manuscripts. The versions also support the correction.

Ch. viii. 3. *Three* thousand is substituted for thirty thousand, as the proper reading, from conjecture, in opposition to the text and all the versions. Mr. B. is in this instance less timid than Geddes, who retains the reading of the Common Version in his translation, with a reference to his margin, in which a note is inserted stating this persuasion that the true number is *three*. This conjectural emendation we should be disposed to receive as one of the most probable corrections of the kind.

Judges v. 21. ' *Over mighty persons thou didst prevail*.' This rendering we deem totally inadmissible. The grammatical construction of the passage is entirely violated. The verb rendered ' didst prevail,' is feminine, (תדרכי) and cannot be construed with the noun torrent, (נחל) which is the antecedent, according to Mr. Boothroyd's version, an which being in the

masculine gender, is correctly joined with the preceding verb also in the masculine. "The torrent Kishon *swept* them away." The word נחל is, without doubt, the nominative to the verb תדרכי, in whatever way the words may be translated. '*Thou* '*didst prevail*,' is not the literal rendering of the verb; it signifies *to tread*, an action never attributed, so far as our recollection serves us, to a river. Nor can we perceive the propriety or beauty of the adopted sense, as applied to the Kishon, which had already been represented as *sweeping away* the kings of Canaan. Mr. B.'s version introduces a strange confusion of metaphor, and appears to us to be a complete anti-climax.

1 Sam. i. 16. '*Account not thy daughter a worthless* '*woman*.' An intelligible rendering of a passage which, in the Common Version, is obscurely expressed, and the import of which, as is fully proved by the subjoined note, may certainly be misapprehended.

'16. *A worthless woman*. The common idiom, *a daughter, or son of Belial*, for a worthless, or profligate man or woman, I believe is generally misunderstood. I have asked persons of some reading and good natural parts, what they supposed it meant; and they have replied, that they thought Belial, a name of the Devil. Had not our Translators some such notion, as it is printed with a capital Belial, as if it denoted a person? The Bishops' and Geneva versions are, *wicked woman*; Purver, *ungodly woman*. How often did James's translators, by retaining the Hebrew idiom, obscure the sense!'

1 Sam. xxv. 3. "He *was* of the house of Caleb," C. V. '*Yea, he was irritable as a dog*.' B. A doubtful, but perhaps on the whole, justifiable alteration, founded on a slight correction of the original text, and agreeing with some of the ancient versions.

Kennicott's representation of the sense of 2 Sam. vii. 12—20. has always appeared to us remarkably forced. We are pleased to find that the present Translator renders it in accordance with the Common Version.

'18. Then went King David into *the tabernacle*, and sat before Jehovah, and said, "Who am I, O Lord Jehovah! and what is my house, that hitherto thou hast so prompted me?

'19. "And, as if this was but a small thing in thine eyes, O God Jehovah, thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house, for a great while to come. And is this the manner of man, O God Jehovah?"'

We agree with Mr. Boothroyd, that the words ver. 12—16. have certainly a reference to Solomon, and that to refer them exclusively to the Messiah, is to pervert rather than to explain Scripture. Kennicott's version of v. 14, 'Even in his suffer-'ing for iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men (the 'rod due to men) and with the stripes (due to) the children of

'men,' is one of the most singular and inadmissible translations that we remember ever to have seen. Who is the subject of this conditional visitation? The offspring of David's own body. (ver. 12.) The message delivered to David by Nathan, to which the entire series of the expressions, 2 Sam. vii. 12—29, refers, regarded the establishment of the royal authority in his family, in direct connexion with the succession of Solomon. This is perfectly plain from 1 Kings viii. 20. "The Lord hath "performed his word that he spake, and I am risen up in the "room of David my father, and sit on the throne of Israel as the "Lord promised," compared with 2 Sam. vii. 12. "When thy "days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will "set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy "bowels, and I will establish his kingdom." The house to be built, ver. 13. "He shall build a house for my name," was the Temple. 1 Kings viii. 20. "And have built a house for the "name of the Lord God of Israel." That Kennicott is altogether mistaken in describing the house to be erected, as not material or made of stones, but a spiritual house or family, is very evident; for in relation to what but a material building, does Solomon declare, 1 Kings v. 5. "I purpose to build a house "unto the name of the Lord my God, as the Lord spake unto "David my father, saying, Thy son whom I will set upon thy "throne in thy room, he shall build a house unto my name?" Kennicott's representation is completely set aside by the evidence of 1 Kings vi. 12. "Concerning *this house which thou* "*art building*, if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my "judgements, and keep all my commandments to walk in them; "then will I perform my word unto thee, which I spake unto "David thy father." Now, of this person who should thus build a house for God, and who was no other than Solomon, it is said, v. 14. "If he commit iniquity, I will chastise him with the rod "of men, and with the stripes of the children of men:" the compound word בהעותו is in the Hiphil conjugation, and is correctly rendered in the Common Version, and by Mr. Boothroyd, '*If he commit iniquity*.' Instead of "The manner of man," (v. 19.) Kennicott would read, 'The law of the Adam,' asserting that האדם literally signifies *the man*, or *the Adam*. The expression, we are persuaded, has no such reference, רעת האדם Gen. vi. 5. is, 'the wickedness of mankind,' not the wickedness of the man, or, the Adam. לב האדם Gen. viii. 21. is, 'the 'heart of man,' generally and universally, not, the heart of the man, or the Adam. תורת האדם is the law, or the custom, or 'the manner of man.' Kennicott's entire criticism on the passage, is strangely bold and inaccurate.

We shall copy the whole of Mr. Boothroyd's version of the 'last words of David,' 2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7.

'1. Now these, though later, are the words of David,
Thus saith David, the son of Jesse;
The man who was highly exalted;
The anointed of the God of Jacob;
The pleasant psalmist of Israel.
'2. The spirit of Jehovah speaketh by me,
And his word is on my tongue.
'3. The God of Israel hath said *to me*;
To me the rock of Israel hath promised,
"A just ruler over mankind,
Who will rule in the fear of God."
'4. As the light of the morning when the sun ariseth;
A morning cloudless and resplendent;
As the grass from the earth after rain,
'5. Is not my house thus with God?
For with me He hath made an everlasting covenant,
Wisely ordered in all points and sure.
Truly *in this* is all my salvation;
And mine every desire will he not accomplish?
'6. But lawless men, all of them,
Are like thorns, to be thrust away,
(For they cannot be taken with the hand,
'7. But the man who would cut them up,
Must have an ax and a spear-shaft,)
And to be burned in the place with fire.'

1 Chron. xvii. 16—18. On this passage, which Kennicott has selected for another trial of his critical skill, we accord in opinion with Mr. Boothroyd, and King James's Translators.

16 'And David, the king, went into the *tabernacle*, and sat before
Jehovah, and said, "Who am I, O God Jehovah, and what is my
17 house, that hitherto thou hast so promoted me? And as if this
was but a small thing in thine eyes, O God, thou hast also
spoken of thy servant's house for a great while to come; and
hast provided for me according to the state of men of high
rank, O God Jehovah?"'

Instead of '*a man of high degree*,' as in the Common Version, or '*man of high rank*,' as in Boothroyd's, Kennicott reads, '*The Adam that is future, or the man that is from above*.' The word המעלה does not mean futurity; the root from which it is derived, never is used in this sense, nor can it mean *from above*; it is never so applied. The expression is evidently parallel with that at ver. 8. '*The great men that are in the earth*.' Kennicott's criticism, however, is not original; he is only the copyist of Peters, who, we believe, first suggested the rendering, in the preface to his Critical Dissertation on the Book of Job.

We extract the following additional examples of variation from the Common Version.

Gen. vi. 16. 'A window shalt thou make.' C. V.
'*A deck.*' Boothroyd. 'A sloping deck.' Geddes.

x. 9. 'Mighty hunter.' C. V. '*Mighty plunderer.*' B.

xxxiii. 18. 'Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem.' C. V.
'*Jacob came safe to the city Shechem.*' B.

xxxvi. 24. 'Mules.' C. V. '*Waters.*' B.

Exodus i. 19. 'They are lively.' C. V.
'*They are more vigorous.*' B.

iii. 1. 'Backside of the desert.' C. V.
'*Extremity of the wilderness.*' B.

v. 14. 'I AM THAT I AM.' C. V.
'*I AM because I AM.*' B.

iv. 25. 'A bloody husband.' C. V.
'*A blood-bought husband.*' B.

viii. 19. 'The finger of God.' C. V.
'*The finger of a God.*' B.

xii. 2. 'The beginning of months.' C. V.
'*The chief of months.*' B.

xiv. 7. 'Chariots of Egypt.' C. V.
'*Cavalry of Egypt.*' B.

Lev. xiii. 4. 'Shut him up seven days.' C.V.
'*Bind up the wound seven days.*' B.

xvii. 7. 'Devils.' C. V. '*Demons.*' B.

xix. 26. 'Ye shall not eat any thing with the blood.' C. V.
'*Ye shall not eat upon the mountains.*' B.

xxiv. 15. 'Whosoever curseth his God.' C. V.
'*Whosoever curseth his own rulers.*' B.
'—and he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord.' C. V.
'*but he who blasphemeth the name of Jehovah.*' B.

Num. i. 50. 'Tabernacle of testimony.' C. V.
'Convention tent.' G. '*Testimony-tabernacle.*' B.

In Exodus xxxviii. 21. 'Tabernacle of testimony,' occurs in Mr. Boothroyd's version.

Num. v. 18. 'The bitter water that causeth the curse.' C. V.
'*The proof-execration water.*' B.
'The corrosive-execration water.' Geddes.

xiv. 34. 'Ye shall know my breach of promise.' C. V.
'*Ye shall know my indignation.*' B.

xvi. 1. 'Took men.' C. V. '*Conspired.*' B.

xxi. 1. 'Way of the spies.' C. V.
'*Way of Atharim.*' B.

Deut. xxviii. 5. 'Thy store.' C. V.
'*Thy kneading troughs.*' B.

Joshua, vi. 4. 'Seven trumpets of rams' horns.' C. V.
'*Seven jubilee trumpets.*' B.

xi. 13. 'The cities that stood still in their strength.' C. V.
'*The cities which stood on the hills.*' B.

xiii. 19. 'The mount in the valley.' C. V.
'*On mount Enak.*' B.

Judges iii. 19. 'Quarries.' C. V. '*Carved idols.*' B.

We must now dismiss this First Volume of Mr. Boothroyd's 'Improved Version' of the Bible, a title by which it is not incorrectly designated. Mr. B. is neither a dogmatizer nor a rash and fanciful innovator. He scarcely ever offends us by his temper; and in the alterations which he introduces, he proceeds with commendable caution. Differing essentially from Geddes in his theological *credenda*, he has nevertheless not scrupled to avail himself of the philological improvements of that Translator, whom indeed he very generally follows. Conjectural alterations, of which we are at all times very jealous, are but sparingly, and perhaps then necessarily, adopted. Some passages are struck out of the text, as Judges ch. 1. ver. 11—19 inclusive, and a considerable portion of the eighteenth chapter of the first Book of Samuel, and other less copious instances. The cases of transpositions are numerous. These, it should be remembered, are of a less hazardous character than examples of the preceding description, inasmuch as the inviolability of the text is strictly maintained; the only difference here between the Common Translation and the 'Improved Version,' consisting in the arrangement of the words. In the cases that differ, that adopted in Mr. Boothroyd's Bible is generally to be preferred. The division of chapters in the Common Version, is perhaps not quite so faulty in the Old, as in the New Testament part of it; there is, however, room for amendment in this respect, and Mr. Boothroyd has not overlooked the instances in which a more approveable distribution of the matter of the several books of Scripture, was desirable. Of the practical reflections we cannot speak too highly; they may be warmly recommended for domestic use. The Editor professes to have been assisted 'occasionally' in this part of his labours, by the Exposition of Orton: his obligations to that Author are to the full as considerable as this acknowledgement imports. The notes are principally explanatory, either assigning the reasons for the variations from the public version, or elucidating the sense of the text.

On the whole, Mr. Boothroyd's 'Improved Version' is deserving of great commendation, and merits at once the approba-

tion of the critic and the favour of the public. We particularly recommend it to the notice of that numerous class of persons, who, unacquainted as they are with the language and state of the original Scriptures, have had their attention excited to the various readings of the sacred books. In Mr. Boothroyd's volumes, they will be able to discover the extent of the alterations and corrections which may be required to satisfy the demands of Biblical scholars, in reference to the entire accumulations of sacred criticism: on this subject, we venture to affirm, they will be instructed much to their satisfaction, and to the strengthening of their confidence in the integrity of the Bible. The unlearned reader will find that he has contracted a debt of gratitude to Mr. Boothroyd, of whose industry, and ripeness, and sobriety of judgement in this portion of his labours, the proofs are ample. The most competent judges of his learning, and of his application of it, will, we doubt not, on a careful examination of the work before us, be forward to express a highly favourable opinion of his upright and generally successful execution of a difficult, but very important undertaking, in the execution of which we have no hesitation in saying that he deserves to receive the encouragement of the friends of religion. This First Volume carries the translation forward to the end of the Book of Esther.

Art. VIII. *A Compendium of Greek Verbs*, in a Tree, &c. For the Use of Tyros. By J. Tilt. London. 1819.

THIS Greek tree, we fear, will not look so inviting to the eyes of the Tyros for whose use it is intended, as to induce them to climb its branches in search of fruit. That some degree of utility may belong to devices of this kind, we should hardly dispute; but they are more to be commended as they proceed from the ingenuity of the pupil, than as they are proposed as a part of his studies by the master. Nothing can be more advantageous to a learner of Greek Grammar, than to have upon his desk well-arranged examples of the Verbs, including the formation of the Tenses; but we should prefer seeing them in Tables on a single sheet of paper of a large size, to having them in any other form. Such Tables, we are sure, would be acceptable and serviceable, and we recommend the preparation of them to every competent person, as a useful undertaking.

The tree is published in another form also, being pasted on canvass and folded; the notes, however, are more contracted in this, than in the edition which we have just noticed. In neither case do they contain any thing that requires particular remark, being merely extracts from the Eton Grammar and the Greek Elements of Dr. Valpy.

Art. IX. *An Essay on Capacity and Genius*; to prove that there is no original Mental Superiority between the most illiterate and the most learned of Mankind; and that no Genius, whether Individual or National, is innate, but solely produced by and dependent upon Circumstances. Also, an Enquiry into the Nature of Ghosts, and other Appearances supposed to be supernatural. 8vo. pp. 537.

WE feel no pleasure in finding ourselves presented with an opportunity of making sport at the expense of an Author. Indeed, we think silence on most occasions preferable to the indulgence of ridicule, or the employment of satire. And if the writer of this Essay had been contented with our silence, we should have let him alone; but if he must have our opinion, we are compelled to declare, not merely that we think he fails to establish his position, but that he does not appear at all qualified to treat questions of philosophy. He does not, indeed, seem to be uninformed upon such subjects; but, if we might still employ the phraseology which he labours to explode, we should say, that he was not *born* to be a philosopher: at least, he discovers, in this instance, neither the 'capacity' nor the 'genius' which might enable him to write with credit to himself or advantage to the world.

The production of an edition of a bulky volume, implies so much deliberate calculation, and so much concurrence on the part of those whose labour and risk are therein concerned, as would seem to guarantee a degree of worth or importance in the article itself. A thick, handsomely printed volume of *five hundred and thirty-seven* pages, for instance, carries upon it, therefore, a sort of presumptive claim to attention. The reader is hard to be convinced that the toil of so much writing, and the very great cost of so much press-work and paper, have actually been expended upon what has not the intrinsic value of a love-song. Under this impression he perseveres from page to page, saying afresh, as often as he pauses to use the paper-knife, Surely there must be *something* in this great book. There is a supposition, however, which serves at last to explain the difficulty The Author, no doubt, is a man of fortune, who, instead of fitting up an aviary, or an apiary, or a grapery, or an observatory, or building a Pagoda, *au point de veue*, in his park, has indulged himself in the costly diversion of printing a book. In the present instance, though we know nothing of the Author, we feel confident that we are not endangering the interests of a needy scribbler: the volume before us, must, unquestionably, have passed through the press, *curis, sumptibus, ac periculo auctoris*.

It is now incumbent upon us to give so much quotation from this Essay, as shall allow its Author his chance of obtaining

justice from our readers, if we should be thought to have withheld it from him. But, should they also think as we do, it only remains for him to console himself with an anticipation of the time when 'Reason shall resume the seat whence she has been 'thrown by prejudice or caprice; and the work which has been 'sold for waste paper, or laid for years amidst dust and 'sermons, shall be esteemed by the same public which once 'deemed it unworthy of its price.' Introd. p. ix.

The Author will have it, that *Nature* does no more for one man than for another. In truth, his zeal for the doctrine of Equality, directs itself against all sorts of *innate differences*, even among Horses, Dogs, Trees, and Stones. What, for example, but an *aristocratical* spirit, can support the obnoxious doctrine which teaches that Parian marble has *naturally* a finer grain than freestone? Hear our Author.

'But some stones, it may be alleged, have *a superior capacity* for being polished; while others will not bear a polish from the finest workman; freestone is not to be wrought on with such excellence as the Parian-marble. Freestone, I answer, may be something like an idiot from the birth. But I do not enter into a history of mineralogy on account of an imperfection in this single metaphor.' p. 144.

It is added in a note:

'Though I do not enter here into a consideration of the qualities of other species of stone, I am convinced that freestone after, remaining in the earth under particular circumstances, longer than it is generally permitted, would become much harder than it is commonly found. Some of the Scotch freestones, the quarries of which have been considered remarkable for their age, have been found particularly hard. May not all common stones be modifications one of another, so that freestone, after a sufficient time has elapsed, may contribute to the composition of granite or marble.'

Our Author's system is pretty fairly exhibited in a paragraph which we find in immediate connexion with the above quotation. Having thus apologized for the *accidental* inferiority of freestone, he says,

'I leave all other stones out of my consideration.' [And then he resumes the consideration of the difficulty.] 'But all marbles are not capable of equal polish? Notwithstanding I am not to conclude that all minds are not susceptible of equal cultivation. But I am not satisfied that all marble is not capable of equal polish, by the hand of a good master, and with the same instruments. Supposing this not to be the case, and even allowing that it is not, how came the original difference betwixt one marble and another? Are they different original formations in the earth, or are they not rather the same substance thrown into different and opposite circumstances? The formation of marble may be compared to the formation of the mind by circumstances, before it becomes the immediate object of education. The polishing may be assimilated to the cultivation of the

intellect. Before marble comes to be polished, circumstances render its polishing less difficult, or more arduous. Before the mind begins to be tutored, circumstances take effect on the senses of the young and the unwary, which make them obstinate, condescending, easily taught, or impossible to be rendered docile.' pp. 145, 146.

But even the case of idiotcy, (so analogous to freestone!) shall not avail to convince our Author, that Nature does not apportion her intellectual endowments with the most exact regard to equality.

'May not this calamity, (idiotcy,) be occasioned by a negligence in the parent or the nurse to excite the connexion between objects and the senses, which is necessary for the formation of the mind? If this be the case, no argument against mental equality can stand on so slender a foundation.' p. 63.

Of course we must not talk of a *genius* for poetry, or painting:—no, nor even of an ear for music.

'That the ears must have some particular minute differences in conformation, in order to be different in their mode of receiving sounds, is evident: but it is also evident, that that conformation, whatever it may be, is the consequence of circumstance: thus a dull ear must have been made dull by being unaccustomed to sounds, and a quick ear, quick, by having been accustomed to them to a remarkable degree.' p. 274.

What a nursery of music, then, must be a cotton-mill, a copper-smith's, or the precincts of a brawling dame!—And how happened it that Shakspeare became a poet?

'William Shakspeare was born at Stratford upon Avon, which, if in a flat country, is nevertheless picturesque; and was brought up amongst a class of people who little disguise their manners, at a period when frankness was a virtue.'

Or again, Dr. Johnson.

'Concentered within himself, his composition became his chief care; and his poetry was beautiful because his sight enabled him only to perceive the bold beauties of nature, whilst it was too defective to suffer him to investigate her minutely.' p. 290.

It is very true, that there are books abounding with absurdities and puerilities, which nevertheless, in parts, display originality, depth, or acuteness of thought: they are the productions of those mal-formed or disjointed minds which, in the midst of their ordinary imbecility, now and then startle their friends, by falling, as it were, into fits of intellectual force. When such persons happen to write books, the patience and the candour of the critic are often well bestowed upon the toil requisite to discover and appreciate the brilliant accidents that may be hidden in the worthless mass. We will not affirm that there are no such precious particles in the great heap of words

what reason has man, who is so much better endowed, to assert that, before his birth, he was an object of his Creator's peculiar protection?' pp. 275, 276.

'If all men have not originally equal minds, is it not implied that the Deity pursues a system of favouritism, by dispensing his gift unequally?' p. 318.

Statements, we say, quite equivalent to these, are to be found perpetually in the writings of the most able advocates of a certain theological system, and are to be heard, every day, in the parlour, and from the pulpit, among the adherents of that system. Dismissing then, the puerilities of the present Writer, we may take the occasion to remark, that a satisfactory reply requires to be given to the question which presents itself on the very face of this subject,—namely, why is the difference between the various *genera* into which the great family of the creation is divided, in regard to the *kind* and *quantity* of life bestowed upon them, allowed to be compatible with the Divine equity and beneficence, while any diversity as to the quantity or the kind of life primarily bestowed upon the *individuals* of a genus, is said to imply a charge of favouritism and tyranny against the Creator? This exculpation of the Divine conduct in the one case, and inculpation of it in the other, appear to rest upon that arbitrary classification of individuals into *genera* and *species*, which, after all, is nothing more than a logical contrivance for bringing objects more commodiously within the grasp of our narrow faculties. For in truth, what has this word *genus* to do with the moral or theological aspect of creation; that is to say, with the relation which all the individuals of the great family of conscious beings, severally bear to their Creator, and to each other? The source of confusion of thought on on this subject, seems to be, the having regard to what must be altogether irrelevant in the determination of a purely moral question; we mean those exterior and physiological diversities which are the ground of scientific distinctions and arrangements. The *theological* statement of the fact, (with which alone we are now concerned,) is simply this—that there are innumerable *individuals*, all conscious of existence, and capable of happiness, but yet, under every possible diversity, both of kind and quantity. And this fact is in no way affected, as to its moral signification, by those circumstances of exterior distinction, with which the *naturalist* is occupied. Is it to be granted, that the first great lesson which the varied spectacle of the universe is adapted to impress upon the mind, relative to the *sovereignty* of the Divine beneficence in the distribution of the goods of existence, is at all dependent upon zoological details concerning form, colour, posture, food, teeth, hoofs,

skins, scales, shells? And yet these extrinsic diversities are suffered to obscure this question! The fact of a higher or a larger capacity of happiness, bestowed upon one set of individuals, than upon another, is granted by the objector,—provided, that these sets of individuals are distinguished from each other by some external diversities of animal organization. Why then is it affirmed to be incompatible with equity or beneficence on the part of the Creator, to make a *lesser* difference in the capacity of happiness between other individuals, merely because they are not thus physiologically distinguished?

We perceive some of the creatures of God to possess no more entity or happiness than can be lodged in a shell that never moves from its nook in the rock. But other creatures are formed with powers which fit them to be spectators of the Universe and companions of their Maker. Is it, then, after the contemplation of such a fact, we assume the right of affirming, that the Creator cannot, without inequitable caprice, bestow, originally, upon one man, a larger capacity of happiness than upon another?

In few words, then, the case is this. A being is formed, upon whom is bestowed a certain quantity and kind of animal and intellectual life: now, if a second being is formed, differing from the first, by *one degree*, in the quantity or kind of life he enjoys, there is said to be a display of partiality, favouritism, and so forth. But if this second being shall be made to differ from the first, by so many degrees as shall amount to what is arbitrarily termed a *generic* difference, *then*, indeed, the favouritism disappears, and it may be granted to the Creator to contemplate his works, and pronounce them "all very good." So that the objection resolves itself into this sort of canon: To make a *small* difference between creatures, would be capricious and unjust in the Creator; but to make a great difference, is equitable and wise!

But whether we choose to attribute it to the immediate agency of the Creator, or to causes that are accidental and extrinsic, this fact remains the same, that men do actually differ from each other as widely as can be imagined, in the degree in which they possess the goods of existence, whether animal, intellectual, or moral. It appears then, that a very material part of that system of moral excitement with which each individual is surrounded, consists in the perception of his relation of superiority or inferiority to his fellow men. Now, as this comparison gives occasion and provocation to painful and injurious passions—pride on the one hand, and envy on the other—it becomes indispensable to virtue in the present state, to possess some principle which shall furnish a true and adequate counteraction to these passions. For such is the condition of the world in which

we are placed, that universal benevolence which is indeed the essence of virtue, can rarely move towards its objects without thwarting those malignant feelings which result from the comparison of ourselves with others. There is scarcely any actual instance in which we can love our neighbour, without implying the subjugation of the selfish principle, as it is specifically excited by the idea of *inequality*. Hence, it is characteristic of a spurious philanthropy, that its object is always man in the abstract; because this abstract idea does not present to the individual any immediate comparison.

Now, we imagine that no principle can be named, which shall be adequate to maintain *the complacency of benevolence*, under the trial to which it is exposed by circumstances of inequality, except that of a direct and perpetual reference to the Divine Being, as the source of all excellence in the creation, and an express acquiescence in the Divine will, as immediately or mediately concerned in all those incidents and arrangements of our individual lot, which we feel to be adapted to the education of our virtue. But the objection we are considering, while it does not alter the matter of fact, presents itself in direct contravention to this principle, which our real situation in the present state renders indispensable to virtue. The objection manifestly runs with the current of those impatient feelings which it is the first business of virtue to subdue. And besides this, it implies the impropriety of obtruding upon us the determination of a purely *physiological* question, as if it could affect the principle of our religious or moral sentiments. As to the *natural history* of the inequalities observable among men, let physiologists discuss the matter. But that is a fantastic and a puerile perversion of philosophy, which would send the moralist or the theologian to be schooled in the lecture-room of the Anatomist. That there is an original, or, as we might term it, a *fœtural* difference in the vigour and the propensity of the animal and intellectual faculties, and that individual character is the complex result of this difference as it is variously modified by circumstances, is, we imagine, a fact which could never have been questioned, but from its supposed bearing upon a certain theological system. But in whatever way this physiological question might be determined, the doctrine that Equality is the rule of the Divine conduct, will remain purely hypothetical; since there is no actual equality to be found in any part of the system, natural and moral, which surrounds us. In truth, so far is the idea of Equality from being suggested to us by the general aspect of nature, that it seems as if *inequality* were a circumstance of eminence, attached progressively to the higher orders of creation. That is to say, the higher a species rises on the scale of being, the more widely do the individuals included in the species differ

among each other. Man differs from man, much more than any other animal differs from the individuals of its own species; and the higher orders of animals differ among themselves much more prominently than the inferior orders.

The Essay on Ghosts does not merit a single sentence of criticism.

Art. X. *The Pentateuch; or, the Five Books of Moses illustrated:* being an Explication of the Phraseology incorporated with the Text. For the Use of Schools and private Families. By the Rev. Samuel Clapham, M. A. 12mo. pp. 426. Price 5s. 6d. 1818.

WE can have no hesitation in subscribing to the position, that the Holy Scriptures ought to be made intelligible to common understandings; or in admitting that Commentaries are too ponderous for common use, and too expensive to be purchased by persons of confined incomes; but, if we agree with the Editor of the volume before us in these points, we are not prepared to concur with him in the assertion, that, to the general reader, 'the Bible is unhappily a sealed book.' It is true, that in the Bible numerous passages occur, which present difficulties to the unlearned reader, and which require the illustration of the most comprehensive criticism; but with regard to religious instruction, (the very purpose and end included in the donation of the Scriptures,) the Bible is *not* 'a sealed book:' its doctrines and its morality are not shrouded in obscurity, but are intelligible to common understandings. "To the poor the Gospel is preached," and they are as competent to the study of its truths, as—we mean no offence—Mr. Clapham himself. We protest, therefore, *in limine* against the unqualified and sweeping assertion of this Protestant divine, and maintain the sufficiency, and, consequently, the intelligibility of the Bible to common understandings. Commentaries on the Bible we should be the last to depreciate; but they are necessary to the poor, only as they are necessary to the rich; and if it be true, as the Editor affirms, that 'they are adapted 'rather to assist serious study than to promote immediate edifi-'cation,' the plainest understandings are capable of deriving from a Bible, without note or comment, the means of making them wise unto salvation. We truly regret to perceive in any Protestants, an inclination to support a doctrine different from this, which has ever been regarded as the very basis of Protestantism.

The wealthy may purchase large Commentaries; the poor must be contented with such as their circumstances enable them to procure. As a substitute for expensive Commentaries on the Bible, and as the means of providing in many interesting re-

spects for the instruction and edification of those persons who may not possess leisure to peruse more copious volumes, the present work will be acceptable. The plan of it is judicious, and the execution is on the whole respectable, and must have cost the Editor no inconsiderable expense of labour. His object is, to explain the phraseology of the Scriptures by interposing concise remarks, in the manner of paraphrase, between the several sentences of the verses. He has omitted large portions of the respective books, from an apprehension that he should thus best consult the accommodation of families, for whose use principally he has prepared the work. Such omissions, he informs us, have been deemed by some of his learned friends, somewhat injudicious; an opinion in which probably they will not stand alone; but for our part, we are not disposed to censure the principle of selection which the Editor has adopted. His work would otherwise become so inconveniently large, and so expensive, as to defeat his purpose. Some passages that have been excluded, might, however, with great propriety have been inserted; as, for example, the address of Lamech, Gen. iv. 19—24.

Explanations are sometimes offered without occasion, as in Gen. xviii. 2. "And he lift up his eyes *(having fallen to* "*worship the Divine Majesty)* and looked, &c." It is quite clear from the narrative, that no worship had been presented. Occasionally, the remarks savour of a theology that we cannot approve; as in Lev. viii. 6. "And Moses brought Aaron and his "sons, *(to the door of the tabernacle of the congregration,)* "and washed them with water: *(So Christ our high-priest,* "*as it were to consecrate that element for our baptism,* "*was himself baptized.")* Sometimes we meet with explanations that are purely conjectural, and by which nothing is in fact explained; as in Gen. xix. 16. "And while he lingered "*(praying perhaps to God to spare the city.)*"

We extract, without selection, the following passages as a sample of the work.

'Numb. xi. 7. 'And the manna was as coriander seed, and the colour thereof as the colour of bdellium: *(of a pure white colour, very grateful to the eye as well as pleasant to the taste.)*

'8. And the people went about, *(around their camp)* and gathered *it*, *(fresh every morning,)* and ground *it* in mills *(into flour)* or beat *it* in a mortar, and baked *it* in pans, and made cakes of it: and the taste of it was as the taste of fresh oil; *(to some it had the taste of honey, to others of fresh oil.)*

'9. And when the dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell upon it, *(upon the dew, for it did not fall upon the camp but round about it.)*

Art. XI. *An Appeal to the Public on the subject of the Frame-work Knitters' Fund.* 8vo. pp. 18. price 6d. Leicester, 1819.

WE have already had occasion, both incidentally and specifically, to advert to those national distresses and oppressions which, in opposition to the assurances of statesmen and political dissertators that they were but temporary and transient, have not only continued, but increased. We are, it is true, still assured, in defiance both of argument and fact, that the evil is by no means permanent, and that the gathered and bursting cloud will pass away; but respecting the limit of its devastation, or the period of its course, we are now left somewhat more to vague conjecture and agitating uncertainty. We are always anxious to avoid, as far as is consistent with fairness and honesty, mere political discussion, and we have no design to entangle ourselves in it on the present occasion; but it is impossible not to feel, that dark and conflicting passions and designs are at this awful moment loosening the deep foundations of the commonwealth; that the institutions of England are reeling in the strife; that the extreme parties are in unconceding hostility, and that the numbers of the moderate and conciliating are lessening daily, by the desertion of those whom the unrelaxing oppressions of a disastrous and aggravated system are urging into the ranks of discontent, and of those who are driven by their dread of popular violence, to applaud and to support the injurious and impolitic severities of power.

It is only to a portion, though by no means an unimportant one, of the prevailing distress, that our attention is called by the admirable little tract before us. Though principally adapted to local purposes, it contains much that is suited to general consideration. It is written with consummate simplicity, force, and beauty; and while it studiously disclaims and puts aside all pretensions to original disquisition, it presents, in a most attractive and accessible form, considerations which all are called upon to weigh, and all may easily comprehend.

It is known, we presume, to our readers, that the manufacture of worsted hose is carried on to a great extent in the county of Leicester; and they may possibly be also aware that, as in all other extensive manufactures of articles of universal consumption and cheap fabric, the labour of the artisan has not, at any time, supplied him with more than the means of procuring the necessaries, or, in some cases, the inferior conveniences of life. During the late war, the demand was brisk: the supply of our armies, the traffic with America, the large requisitions of our own country when prices were high, and the means of purchase sufficiently furnished, tended to keep the frame-work knitters in active and competently-paid employ. This state of prosperity,

however, prepared the way for a season of difficulty and distress, by overstocking the trade with hands of all descriptions. The manual part of the operation is easily acquired; women and children were placed at the loom, and in a very short space of time qualified for the coarser fabrications; the usual forms of apprenticeship were neglected, and hands were indefinitely multiplied, with a short-sighted regard to a state of activity which was obviously only temporary. When the return of peace gave leisure to feel the exhaustion of war, the artificial and forced demand ceased, and the miseries of destitution and helplessness, came at once, and with unbroken force, upon the unemployed workman. It was less irksome to his spirit, and less destructive to his health, to work at prices reduced from a *maximum* which was never high, than to protract life on the wretched and reluctant pittance afforded by the parish. He tendered his labour at a lower and a still lower rate, until the system of depression reached a point at which re-action became inevitable.

There were several co-operating circumstances which assisted in aggravating this state of things. A more active competition among the master-manufacturers, was a necessary effect of the reduced demand. The number of these was much increased by the addition of many persons who, having acquired a general knowledge of the various processes of the business, as warehousemen, travellers, and apprentices, had embarked in trade on their own account. The slender capitals of this class of manufacturers, rendered it imperious on them to go on making and selling on almost any terms of profit, however small, as the only means of standing their ground.

Another cause of depression had its source in the necessities of another description of small manufacturers, men of industrious habits, who, having themselves worked in the frame, had saved money, purchased machinery, and taken apprentices, still remaining in the employ of the larger and established houses. But when these last found the demand falling off, and came under the necessity of dismissing a portion of their workmen, the class of artisans to which we have just adverted, were the first discharged, as requiring a larger supply of work than the single knitter. Hence these men were compelled to manufacture on their own account, and to bring their stock into the market, at any price short of actual loss. This last evil was indeed of a more complicated kind than we can find space to unravel; and in its various ramifications contributed actively to the deterioration of price.

But a cardinal plague in these complicated visitations, presented itself in the determination on the part of parishes, oppressed by the burden of innumerable claimants, to engage in the manufacture of hosiery. It mattered not to them whether

they sold at a profit, or at first cost; the workman was employed, and the sale of his produce, in either case, covered, if nothing more, the expenses of his maintenance. The parish went into the market with present money, bought the materials at the lowest price, and was thus enabled to tender the wrought article to the salesman or the shopkeeper at a miserably low rate. Against this overwhelming competition, the regular manufacturer found it impossible fairly to contend, and a variety of shifts and expedients were resorted to in order to meet it; but the inevitable result of every change, was the still further depression of the workman. The calamity, aided, of course, by the rapacity and selfishness of individuals, at length reached its extreme point of infliction. The men assembled, formed committees, and negotiated with their employers. *A Statement* of prices was drawn up, and agreed to; but, as usually happens when interest and honour clash, the pledge was no sooner given than violated, and things gradually returned to their previous state of deterioration. A few months since, the Frame-work Knitters again *combined*, desisted from work, and entered upon a more systematic, and, as we trust, an effectual plan of operations. After obtaining a second and more distinct series of stipulations from the masters, they have steadily turned their attention to the means of perpetuating their power of peaceable resistance to unprincipled encroachment. This they expect to accomplish by the establishment of a fund for the support of unemployed knitters, thereby taking away the necessity of working under price; and they have, after settling a rate of weekly contribution among themselves, appealed to the public for assistance.

We have felt it expedient to collect this preliminary information, though we feel that the necessity for compression has made it in some important respects incomplete, as an introduction to the pamphlet under review, of which we shall now proceed to give some general indications. It has been published with the benevolent purpose of drawing the public attention to the distressed situation of the stockingers, of awakening in their favour the sympathy of their employers and neighbours, and of soliciting, on the grounds of argument and humanity, effectual contributions to their projected fund. The vanity of authorship has evidently had no place in the Writer's mind. Here is no elaboration, no effort, no obtrusion of self, no affectation of fine composition: all is close, simple, business-like, in the statements and reasonings of this Appeal; yet, with all this, there is, if we mistake not, an energy and beauty in its style, and a power and distinctness in its strain of argument, that betray the master-hand through all its studious concealment.

After a short introduction, the Writer adverts to the economical axiom, that the rate of wages, like that of all other articles, should be left to find its own level, and that all attempts at artificial adjustment, even by voluntary association, are mischievous. Admitting this as a just and authoritative maxim in its application to commerce at large, he contends that there is a peculiarity in the case of manual labour, which exempts it from the application of the general principle, and entitles it to specific regulation.

'When the price,' he remarks, 'of a particular commodity sinks so low as not to produce the ordinary profits of stock, a part or the whole of the capital is withdrawn; a less quantity is produced in proportion to the diminution of the demand, in consequence of which, the price rises to its former level. Thus the irregularity corrects itself, and little or no permanent mischief ensues. But the situation of the labourer is widely different; he has no other article to dispose of besides his personal industry and skill, on which he depends for his subsistence from day to day, nor can he without being reduced to immediate distress withhold them from the market, or even diminish their exertion to any considerable degree. The only commodity he has to part with is of such a nature, that it will not permit him to adjust the supply to the demand. He must instantly offer it to sale at whatever price it will fetch; or suffer all the agonies of want. Hence, this is the kind of property of all others the most defenceless, and which most needs protection. That the rate of wages has a tendency to keep pace with the price of the necessaries of life is undeniable, but from the cause we have now mentioned, it is long before that tendency becomes effective: the labourer and the mechanic are the *last* who experience the beneficial effect of an elevation in prices.' pp. 4, 5.

He afterwards proceeds to shew, that this vaunted principle has been repeatedly violated; and specifically instances those blunders in legislation, the Corn Bill, and the Wool Tax. He asks why the Frame-work Knitters are less entitled to legislative protection by the enactment of a *minimum*, than the weavers of Spitalfields; and expresses his conviction that the extension of that measure to the stocking manufacture, would find an active supporter in Mr. Wilberforce. Waiving, however, the discussion of this point, he proceeds, by various arguments and pressing appeals, to recommend the support of the fund which we have before described, as a measure less bold and hazardous, and to point out the benefits which, in his view, it is likely to produce, as well as the calamitous consequences which it will tend to avert. He argues forcibly both with the antagonists and the languid approvers of the scheme. In opposition to the selfish persons who withhold assistance because not individually concerned, he urges that

'In the moral system, it is a part of the wise arrangements of providence, that no member shall suffer alone, that if the lower classes are involved in wretchedness and beggary, the more elevated shall not enjoy their prosperity unimpaired. That constitution of society is radically unsound, of which the inferior order is vicious and miserable: a wretched and degraded populace is a rent in the foundation; or, if we may be allowed to change the figure, a taint of rotienness at the root of society which will infallibly wither and decay its remotest branches. Alarming as the present aspect of affairs unquestionably is, the most appalling feature of the times is the prevailing discontent of the lower orders, discontent arising not so much from the infusion of speculative principles as from the impression of actual distress. Alleviate their distress, convince them at least of your solicitude to do it, and you extirpate the seeds of disaffection far more effectually, than by all the arts of intimidation. But if an insensibility to their sufferings in the higher ranks, goads them to despair, nourishes an appetite for change, and prepares them to lend themselves to the sophistry of artful demagogues and unprincipled empirics; what will be the consequence but a divided and distracted empire, where, instead of uniting to consolidate the resources of general prosperity, the necessity of employing one part of the nation in the coercion, or punishment of the other, dissipates its efforts and cripples its energy? We have the highest authority for asserting that a "kingdom divided against itself cannot stand," and surely no schism in the body politic can be more fatal, than that which alienates the hands from the head, the physical strength of society from its presiding intellect.' pp. 14, 15.

After having enforced the various considerations which we have briefly pointed out, as he draws near to the close of his address, this eloquent Pleader breaks forth into the following splendid and affecting appeal.

'Waiving for the present the consideration of the tendency of the measure in question to promote the welfare of the nation, the writer of these lines must be permitted to avow his attachment to his *natale solum*, to the soil that gave him birth, which recalls the image of his youth, with those affecting recollections which nature longest retains and reluctantly quits. The philanthropy which affects to feel alike for every part of mankind, is false and spurious: that alone is genuine which glows with a warmth proportioned to the nearness of its objects. But who that is not utterly devoid of such sentiments, can compare the present condition of this county with the past, without deep emotion? The writer well remembers it, when it was the abode of health and competence: a temperate and unstrained industry diffused plenty through its towns and villages; the harsh and dissonant sound of the loom was not unpleasant to the ear, mingled with the remembrance of the activity which it indicated, and the comfort it produced; the advance of summer invited the peasant to a grateful change of labour, while the village poured forth its cheerful population to assist in preparing the tedded grass, and reap the golden harvest: content resided in its valleys, joy echoed from its hills: the distresses of poverty were

almost unknown except by the idle and the profligate, its natural victims, and even the transition from peace was rather heard at a distance, than felt as a positive calamity. Some provinces, it is confessed, abounded with more splendid objects with more curious specimens of art, and grander scenes of nature; but it was surpassed by none in the general diffusion of prosperity. But what a contrast is now presented in the languid and emaciated forms, and dejected looks of the industrious mechanic, who with difficulty drags his trembling limbs over scenes where his fathers gazed with rapture, 'pleased with each rural sight, each rural sound.' A rapid depression of wages like a gangrene preys upon their vitals and exhausts their strength. The crisis is arrived which is to decide the destiny of this part of the kingdom; its fate for the present generation, to say the least, depends under providence entirely on the success of the measure now in agitation; and how, let me ask, can its hereditary nobility exert themselves more laudably, than by stretching forth the hand to save from ruin the county which gave them birth, and includes the fund of their wealth, the scene of their magnificence, and the sepulchre of their fathers.' pp. 15—17.

The pamphlet is anonymous. The reason assigned by its Author for the suppression of his name, is, that 'while it might 'possibly create prejudice in some quarters, he is not aware that 'it would bestow additional weight in any.' We know of no 'quarter' in which the 'name' of Robert Hall can 'possibly 'create prejudice:' we are persuaded that there is not 'any' in which it will not 'bestow additional weight.'

Art. XII. *P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Æneis.* Accedunt, in gratiam Juventutis, Notæ quædam Anglice scriptæ. Editio secunda. Londini: in Ædibus Valpianis. 18mo. pp. 642. Price 7s. 6d. bound.

THIS edition of Virgil will be favourably received by Classical Instructors, and will be an acquisition to the young Latin scholar. The text is printed with a letter of good size, and so far as our examination has extended, is laudably correct. The Annotations are short, and, with but few exceptions, confined to the elucidation of the text. Some of them are original, but by far the greater number are selected from the Delphin Virgil and the editions of Professors Martyn and Heyne. The remarks of J. H. Voss on the Eclogues and Georgics, increase the value of the Notes: they appear for the first time in an English dress. No *Interpretatio* is given, in which, as well as in other respects, justice is done to the pupil, who receives from the judicious Editor no assistance that can prove injurious to his real improvement.

Art. XIII. *Tales, and Historic Scenes, in Verse.* By Felicia Hemans, Author of "The Restoration of the Works of Art to Italy," "Modern Greece," &c. fcap. 8vo. pp. 255. London. 1819.

WE rather too hastily pronounced "Modern Greece" to be 'the production of a *man* of genuine talent and feeling;'* not being sufficiently clear sighted to perceive in it any indications of its having proceeded from a female pen. The opinion of the Author's poetical abilities which we then expressed, was honest and unbiassed; and Mrs. Hemans was not indebted for it in any degree to our gallantry. Nor are we disposed upon a perusal of the present volume to retract that opinion; notwithstanding the deficiency of vigour and of compression which is occasionally betrayed in the longer pieces, the volume is highly creditable to the taste, and fancy, and, we may add, to the extensive literary information of the accomplished Writer. Her talents are certainly of no common order, and they have been successfully cultivated. All the poems are far above mediocrity, and yet the execution appears to us often inferior to the conception of the subject, which is always truly poetical. We select as no unfavourable specimen, the spirited poem entitled 'Alaric in Italy.' It may be necessary to recal to the recollection of some of our readers, that the Sepulchre of Alaric was constructed in the bed of the Busentinus, the course of which was forcibly diverted by immense labour for the purpose; after which, the waters were restored to their natural channel. 'The secret spot where the remains of Alaric 'had been deposited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman 'massacre of the prisoners who had been employed to execute 'the work.'

'Heard ye the Gothic trumpet's blast?
The march of hosts, as Alaric pass'd?
His steps have track'd that glorious clime,
The birth-place of heroic time;
But he, in northern deserts bred,
Spared not the living from the dead,
Nor heard the voice, whose pleading cries
From temple and from tomb arise.
He pass'd—the light of burning fanes
Hath been his torch o'er Grecian plains;
And woke they not—the brave, the free,
To guard their own Thermopylæ?
And left they not their silent dwelling,
When Scythia's note of war was swelling?
No! where the bold Three Hundred slept,
Sad freedom battled not—but wept!

* Eclectic Review. N. S. Vol. X. p. 598.

For nerveless then the Spartan's hand,
And Thebes could rouse no Sacred Band;
Nor one high soul from slumber broke,
When Athens own'd the northern yoke.

'But was there none for *thee* to dare
The conflict, scorning to despair?
O city of the seven proud hills!
Whose name e'en yet the spirit thrills,
As doth a clarion's battle-call,
Didst thou too, ancient empress, fall?
Did no Camillus from the chain
Ransom thy Capitol again?
Oh! who shall tell the days to be,
No patriot rose to bleed for thee?

'Heard ye the Gothic trumpet's blast?
The march of hosts, as Alaric pass'd,
That fearful sound, at midnight deep,
Burst on th' eternal city's sleep:
How woke the mighty? She, whose will
So long had bid the world be still,
Her sword a sceptre, and her eye
Th' ascendant star of destiny!
She woke—to view the dread array
Of Scythians rushing to their prey,
To hear her streets resound the cries
Pour'd from a thousand agonies!
While the strange light of flames, that gave
A ruddy glow to Tyber's wave,
Bursting in that terrific hour
From fane and palace, dome and tower,
Reveal'd the throngs, for aid divine
Clinging to many a worshipp'd shrine;
Fierce fitful radiance wildly shed
O'er spear and sword, with carnage red,
Shone o'er the suppliant and the flying,
And kindled pyres for Romans dying.

'Weep, Italy! alas! that e'er
Should tears alone thy wrongs declare!
The time hath been when *thy* distress
Had roused up empires for redress!
Now, her long race of glory run,
Without a combat Rome is won,
And from her plunder'd temples forth
Rush the fierce children of the north,
To share beneath more genial skies
Each joy their own rude clime denies.

'Ye who on bright Campania's shore
Bade your fair villas rise of yore,

With all their graceful colonnades,
And crystal baths, and myrtle shades,
Along the blue Hesperian deep,
Whose glassy waves in sunshine sleep;
Beneath your olive and your vine
Far other inmates now recline,
And the tall plane, whose roots ye fed
With rich libations duly shed,
O'er guests, unlike your vanish'd friends,
It's bowery canopy extends:
For them the southern heaven is glowing,
The bright Falernian nectar flowing;
For them the marble halls unfold,
Where nobler beings dwelt of old,
Whose children for barbarian lords
Touch the sweet lyre's resounding chords,
Or wreaths of Pæstan roses twine,
To crown the sons of Elbe and Rhine.

'Yet though luxurious they repose
Beneath Corinthian porticoes,
While round them into being start,
The marvels of triumphant art;
Oh! not for them hath genius given
To Parian stone the fire of heaven,
Enshrining in the forms he wrought
A bright eternity of thought.
In vain the natives of the skies
In breathing marble round them rise,
And sculptured nymphs, of fount or glade,
People the dark-green laurel shade;
Cold are the conqueror's heart and eye
To visions of divinity;
And rude his hand which dares deface
The models of immortal grace.

'Arouse ye from your soft delights!
Chieftains! the war-note's call invites;
And other lands must yet be won,
And other deeds of havoc done.
Warriors! your flowery bondage break,
Sons of the stormy north, awake!

'The barks are launching from the steep,
Soon shall the Isle of Ceres weep,
And Afric's burning winds afar
Waft the shrill sounds of Alaric's war.
Where shall his race of victory close?
When shall the ravaged earth repose?
But hark! what wildly mingling cries
From Scythia's camp tumultuous rise?

Why swells dread Alaric's name on air?
A sterner conqueror hath been there!
A conqueror—yet his paths are peace,
He comes to bring the world's release;
He of the sword that knows no sheath,
Th' avenger, the deliverer—Death!

'Is then that daring spirit fled?
Doth Alaric slumber with the dead?
Tamed are the warrior's pride and strength,
And he and earth are calm at length.
The land where heaven unclouded shines,
Where sleep the sunbeams on the vines;
The land by conquest made his own,
Can yield him now—a grave alone.
But his—her lord from Alp to sea—
No common sepulchre shall be!
Oh, make his tomb where mortal eye
Its buried wealth may ne'er descry!
Where mortal foot may never tread
Above a victor-monarch's bed.
Let not his royal dust be hid
'Neath star-aspiring pyramid;
Nor bid the gather'd mound arise,
To bear his memory to the skies.
Years roll away—oblivion claims
Her triumph o'er heroic names:
And hands profane disturb the clay
That once was fired with glory's ray;
And Avarice, from their secret gloom,
Drags e'en the treasures of the tomb,
But thou, O leader of the free!
That general doom awaits not thee!
Thou, where no step may e'er intrude,
Shalt rest in regal solitude,
Till, bursting on thy sleep profound,
Th' Awakener's final trumpet sound.

'Turn ye the waters from their course,
Bid Nature yield to human force,
And hollow in the torrent's bed
A chamber for the mighty dead.
The work is done—the captive's hand
Hath well obey'd his lord's command.
Within that royal tomb are cast
The richest trophies of the past,
The wealth of many a stately dome,
The gold and gems of plunder'd Rome;
And when the midnight stars are beaming,
And ocean-waves in stillness gleaming,

'Stern in their grief, his warriors bear
The Chastener of the Nations there;
To rest at length, from victory's toil,
Alone, with all an empire's spoil!

'Then the freed current's rushing wave,
Rolls o'er the secret of the grave;
Then streams the martyr'd captives' blood
To crimson that sepulchral flood,
Whose conscious tide alone shall keep
The mystery in its bosom deep.
Time hath past on since then—and swept
From earth the urns where heroes slept;
Temples of gods, and domes of kings,
Are mouldering with forgotten things;
Yet shall not ages e'er molest
The viewless home of Alaric's rest:
Still rolls, like them, th' unfailing river,
The guardian of his dust for ever.'

Art. XIV. *Common Sense;* a Poem. 8vo. pp. 53. Edinburgh. 1819.

THIS is something much better, we confess, than the common run of satirical poems. It is not the 'Religion of a 'Clerk,' or the ribaldry of a Pasquin, but contains the sentiments of a man who has taste as well as wit, perhaps less wit than taste, and who can admire, as well as satirize; one who has positive as well as negative sentiments respecting men and things, and whose creed, both poetical and political, wears neither the drab nor the blue and yellow party livery. Such a writer, although we may not agree with him on all points, has a good right to be allowed the unmolested assertion of his opinions, especially as they are expressed without arrogance; and we are quite willing to connive at his harmless invasion of our province, by the promulgation of his criticisms. He is however a better poet than he is a critic, nor do we think satire his forte: there are some things in his poem which are of a higher quality than either satire or criticism. The versification is pointed, and at the same time easy and free. The execution is in all respects as good as needs be. The Author modestly tells us in the opening lines:

'I have no genius. Though I make no doubt,
Sage reader, thou wouldst soon have found this out:
I tell thee, lest thou waste thy precious time
In seeking here for aught but sense and rhyme—
Plain common sense, but no ecstatic feats,
And rhymes at least as good as Mister Keates'.'

The Poem consists of two 'Parts,' or rather, the pamphlet contains two poems. In the first, the Author asserts his po-

etical and his political creed. Mr. Orator Phillips, and the Reverend Mr. Maturin, first come in for a share of his ridicule. Lord Byron is then commented on with more of the appropriate severity of a moralist, than of the feeling of a poet. In the feeblest passage of the whole poem, the Poet tells us that he admires him, 'but not through thick and thin;' that the 'crazy 'wandering boy' is not fit to be named with Milton; and that the 'Scrivener's son was nobler than the peer.' We warmly participate in our Author's indignation at his Lordship's atrocious abuse of his talents, and concede that as a poet he is destitute of moral sublimity, as well as deficient in variety; but it is of no use to expose oneself to the imputation of being unable to appreciate his extraordinary powers. Wordsworth, we strongly suspect, our Satirist has not read; else, whatever perversity or imbecility he had with good reason charged upon the Author of 'The Excursion,' he would never have characterized his fancy as 'poor.' Coleridge is treated as slightingly.

'Poor Coleridge! his is no affected rant,
He lives on opium and he studies Kant;
Not over clear at first, what mortal brain
Opium and Kant together could sustain?

Coleridge and Wordsworth are both fair subjects of satire; but the worst is, that satire, even when it has a fair subject, is but rarely just. Lamentably abortive as has proved the splendid promise afforded by Coleridge's early indications of genius, he has yet produced enough both in quality and in quantity, to entitle him to rank with our finest lyric poets: pretensions resting upon a much less solid basis than his, have sufficed to admit many names into the Catalogue. Besides, there is something peculiarly ungracious in wasting ineffectual satire upon a man of real genius, whose literary character has at all events been perfectly inoffensive, and who has not lost all claim to respect for his talents, though his habits may have sunk him to a level with our pity. But we are insensibly straying into unnecessary discussions. Of Southey, the Writer says,

'He is a poet unconfined by rule
Devised in Lakish or in Cockney school;—
He is a poet—for his glancing eye
Takes in the forms of earth, and air, and sky:
He, still at home where'er he takes his stand,
Mid Biscay's mountains or Arabia's sand,
Calls by his magic art for prince or peer,
Moslem or Christian, and they all appear;
He too can paint, as well as Walter Scott,
The misty valley and the sunless grot;
And Byron's sullen muse could scarcely mount
Above the vengeance of the injured Count:

But who could draw Florinda sad and fair,
Her matchless love, her hope and her despair!
And who, O who, but he could have expressed
The deep remorse of Roderick's noble breast—
His penances by day, his prayer by night,
His bearing and his war-cry in the fight?
Yes, Southey, spite of all thy childish tricks,
Thy laureate odes, and cottage politics;
Though Jeffrey quiz, and Kempferhausen praise,
I still must read, and still must love thy lays.'—pp. 11—12.

Notes are a most impertinent appendage to such a text, which ought not to require the qualifying or illustrating post-script, to set the reader right. We omit them, therefore, in our extracts. 'The Cockney School' are very summarily treated. Crabbe is thus vindicated as to his choice of subjects:

'None but a bard his own true line can tell—
He chooses right who executes it well.'

Campbell is characterized as 'great in every thing but ease.' Moore—

—'for a song where wit and feeling pour
Their mingled streams, there's not a bard like Moore.'

Joanna Baillie, and Felicia Hemans, the only two ladies who are admitted to write verse well, bring up the rear. The Reviews are then adverted to, 'in the dual number,' our Author being imprudent enough to let all the regular purveyors of monthly criticism know, that 'the Edinburgh and (the) 'Quarterly are the only ones he sees.' We dare say that he will take a peep at our present Number, and perhaps he will be surprised to find what very intelligent criticism occasionally appears in the Eclectic Review. He seems to have a very just notion of the obligations the Public at large are under to the profession.

'I own I dearly like a new Review,
Whether its livery be drab or blue:
Books now are made so long, I have no time
To read the tenth of either prose or rhyme:
Books now are sold so dear, that had I twice
The time to spare, I could not reach the price—
And therefore 'tis to the Reviews I owe
Nine-tenths of all the little that I know.
I speak of those inaccessible cates,
Fine quarto travels, with fine coloured plates;
Where tottering icebergs 'mid the current glide,
Or black dragoons on dromedaries ride.
And what, for instance, but by the Review,
Should I have known of amiable Loo-choo?

Loo-choo, where, peaceful as the Isle of Palms,
None know the use of money, or of arms;
I buy them not, but Barrow tells me all,
From Marco Polo down to Captain Hall;
I buy them not—but my six shillings pay,
And sip the cream of twenty in a day.

'Reviews are useful in another light,
We need a whipper-in to keep all right.
By we, I mean we poets, who are apt,
In self-conceit or self-formed system wrapped;
If fools, to shame our craft; if wits, to waste
The powers God gave, and spoil the public taste.
Thus Jeffrey did his duty, when he tore
The tinsel from the harlot Muse of Moore;
Thus will he do his duty, should he nerve
His arm, to pay what Byron's crimes deserve.

'But as to politics—their worth is less
Than the thin folios of the daily press:
Courier and Times, however they may grudge,
Are forced to give the facts on which they judge;
While the Reviews, by stubborn facts oppressed,
Remember or forget what suits them best.
Both are mere pleaders, who, to serve their cause,
Would drop an incident, or strain the laws;
Blackguard a witness, and declare he lied,
Because his story helped the other side.
Now this is paltry, and since such their tricks,
I look to neither for my politics.' pp. 21—23.

Accordingly, he takes occasion to laugh at the 'veiled prophets of the North,' for their predictions respecting the war in Spain, and celebrates the praises of the Duke of Wellington and the Congress of Vienna. But after this, he turns rudely round upon Ministers, and adds:

'But oh, the tragic farce that then ensued,
By Sidmouth half, and half by Watson brewed;
That sleeveless plot, made up of rags and jags,
Petitions, speeches, pike-heads, and green bags.
It was not well—although the tale was shocking
Of three lead bullets in a worsted stocking—
To let the bulwark of our freedom serve
As sacrifice to Sidmouth's trembling nerve.
All was soon blown—such tales of blood and fury
Might gull the House, but not a London Jury.' p. 27.

In the Second Part, the Writer assumes a graver tone, and after asserting the transcendent importance of our having, when 'business fatigues, and pleasures cease to please,' a hope beyond the grave, proceeds to delineate the different styles of preaching which contend to satisfy the inquirer as to the way

of safety. First, we have the Presbyterian Minister, the disciple of Calvin and of Knox, misrepresented as a preacher of Necessity under a Christian name. Finding fault, of course, with the tendency of *such* preaching, 'the case is plain,' he says:

'This is no place for us, and we must try again.
Now to yon lofty temple let us haste,
The very Parthenon of civic taste:
It must be worth the while; for see the approaches
Are filled with pampered steeds and gilded coaches.
Hark to the well-drilled quire—unlike the twang
That through yon vulgar crowd promiscuous rang.
Squeeze in—squeeze in—and let us, if we can,
Hear doctrine suited to a gentleman.
Now check thy tongue, the preacher's at his text,
Bend all thy soul, and hear what cometh next:
"Think not the ways of righteousness are hard,
"Virtue, sweet virtue, is its own reward:
"Think not the human soul to ill inclined,
"View the pure softness of the infant mind:
"Behold how generous unsuspecting youth
"Loves the fair forms of honour and of truth:
"And look within—have ye not understood
"The gentle luxury of doing good?
"And knowing this, can ye, I say, but start
"At those who say, man has a corrupt heart?
"Flee bad example—follow nature still,
"They do blaspheme who say she leads to ill.
"Avoid extremes—sin lies in them alone,
"And be to all your moderation known:
"Be pure, be kind, for piety is such;
"But brethren, be not righteous over-much."
'Well, this will surely do: for this is clear,
And leaves no room for doubting or for fear.
This! why, I knew all this; and, more, of old
Read it in Greek, but only better told—
And though it were great Plato's self that spoke,
I would maintain the thing is all a joke.
Nature! why look on Tom and Jack at play—
The urchins were but breeched the other day—
Jack has a toy which Tom desires to gain,
And therefore takes it—Fired with rage and pain,
Jack claims his right; and so the little dears
Rattle their fists about each other's ears.
And this is nature! Why one must be blind
As ignorance, to think her just or kind.
I tell thee, if I followed nature's call,
I should be hanged ere Christmas—that is all.' pp. 35—36.

'The Evangelicals' next come under review, as preachers,

parlour-confessors, and public speakers. Our Censor hints that 'some' of the class are open to the charge of worldly motives; others, he charges with laying little stress

> 'On justice, charity, and holiness,
> Till the flock, following the deceitful bell,
> Runs to the very pit where Baring fell.'

But many 'of each class,' he admits to be, 'Scriptural and 'true.'

> 'Many, called fanatics, are deeply read,
> And while they 're warm at heart, are cool of head:
> Many of those who trust in Christ alone,
> Have holiness, not merits of their own;
> Work as if works were all, yet humble too,
> Give the whole praise to Him to whom 'tis due.'

The remainder of the Poem is occupied with the delineation of the 'Vicar of Hartley,' a sort of counterpart to the Velvet Cushion Rector. The Author now lays down the character of a satirist, and we like him all the better for the change of dress. There is some very pleasing poetry in this part, and some very excellent sentiment.

> 'Just once a year—when summer days are long,
> When town is empty, and the moors are throng—
> Just once a year, I break the chains that bind
> For nine long months my body and my mind,
> And fly, with eager pleasure, to unbend
> In the mild converse of one humble friend.
> He was not humble twenty years ago,
> When side by side we struggled friend and foe;
> When side by side we took our first degrees,
> The boast of Johnians he, and I of Caius:
> Then, as he lay upon his truckle bed,
> Imaginary mitres graced his head;
> Or French Savans in flattering vision came,
> To hail the owner of his mighty name.
> How would he then have scorned the fate that now
> Sheds such contentment on his placid brow;
> How turned with loathing from his humble lot,
> In that lone vale forgetting and forgot.
> And yet he loves it now—for all his care,
> And all the objects of his love are there:
> His is yon white-washed house with trees before,
> And his the babes that play around the door;
> His is the church, whose high but ruined tower,
> Is decked with ivy, and each brighter flower;
> And his the flock, who come from vale and hill,
> On Sabbath-days that house of prayer to fill.
> 'The Dilly stops: and there expectant stand
> The Vicar and his wife with open hand,

And looks of cordial love, that seem to say,
We're glad you've come, and hope you mean to stay.
The evening scarce suffices us to hear
On either side the happenings of the year—
How Jack my godson, to his Sire's surprise,
Has gained at Winchester the Latin prize;
How the rude Squire has ceased to drink and swear,
And comes to church, and kneels when he is there:
How well the Sunday school succeeds, and how
The girls all curtsey, and the boys all bow:
How rarely 'tis the Gamekeeper can tell
He found a poacher skulking on the fell:
How drinking bouts and boxing matches cease,
And some old saints have died in faith and peace.
So pass the evening hours;—and, pleased to hear,
The toils and triumphs of a friend so dear,
I go to rest; but promise to attend
Next morn the parish-progress of my friend.' pp. 39—41.

The first pastoral visit is to the Widow Thompson, 'poor, decrepid, blind.'

'She knew the very step of him, whose voice
Had taught her 'mid her sorrows to rejoice:
And those wan features, as he took her hand,
Showed joy that worldlings cannot understand—
A trust in him who has the power to save—
A hope that fearless looks beyond the grave.

'Then held she converse of her hopes and fears,
Befitting Christians in a vale of tears.
Not her's the cant of those, whose vulgar slang
Is Greek to all who are not of the gang;
Not her's the lights by pride and passion bred
From the deep quagmires of a muddy head:
Not her's the fool-born jest and stifled sigh
With which Philosophers prepare to die—
Her talk was lofty, yet 'twas humble too;
How much she had to hope, how much to do—
How little she had done, how much remained
To do, before the victory was gained—
To run, to fight, to wrestle, to endure,
To make her calling and election sure.
She spoke with gratitude of trials past,
And calmly dared anticipate the last:
She, when by care o'erwhelmed, by doubts distress'd,
Looked to the cross for peace, to Heaven for rest;
And confidence in him who cannot lie,
Had made her patience strong, her courage high.
"Well," said I, "dashing off a single tear,
"'Tis surely good for us to have been here:

Such lively faith, such patient hope to see,
Does more than tomes of Dutch divinity—
Not for the world these visits would I miss,
If all your sick-list cases be like this."
" Like this! I would they were.' pp. 43—45.

Art. XV. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Mr. Accum has in the press; a Treatise on the Adulterations of Food, and Culinary Poisons; exhibiting the fraudulent sophistications of bread, wine, beer, tea, coffee, cream, spirituous liquors, cheese, mustard, vinegar, olive oil, confectionary, and other articles employed in domestic economy, and the methods of detecting them. The work will form one vol. 12mo. containing upwards of 300 pages and will be published early next month.

On the first of February will be published, Part I. of Illustrations of Hudibras: a series of portraits of celebrated political and literary characters, impostors and enthusiasts, alluded to by Butler in his Hudibras—and adapted to the illustration of any 8vo, or 4to. edition of that work. Engraved by Mr. Cooper, from the most authentic originals. To be completed in Ten Parts, each Part containing Six Portraits.

Mons. Cottu's new work, on the Administration of Criminal Justice in England, and on the Spirit of the British Constitution, is printing in 8vo.

The Rev. H. J. Austen is printing a volume of Sermons on the book of Genesis.

Memoirs of the late Richard Lovel Edgeworth, Esq. partly written by himself, and continued by his daughter, Maria Edgeworth, will shortly appear in two 8vo. volumes.

The Rev. H. J. Todd will soon publish, Memoirs of Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester, and editor of the London Biblia Polyglotta, with important notices of his coadjutors in that illustrious work; also a description of several Greek biblical manuscripts, lately brought from the East, and deposited in the library at Lambeth palace.

J. B. Fraser, Esq. has in the press, in royal quarto, a Journal of a Tour through part of the snowy range of the Himalaya Mountains, and to the sources of the rivers Jumna and Ganges, in 1815.

Davison Turner, Esq. is preparing for publication his Tour through Normandy, to be illustrated by numerous etchings of Antiquities and other interesting subjects, by Mrs. Turner and Daughters.

The Rev. T. F. Dibdin has in the press, a volume of Sermons, doctrinal and practical, preached at Quebec, King-street, Fitzroy, and Brompton Chapels.

The Rev. Dr. Povah will soon publish, in 8vo. Sermons on the principal Festivals of the Church of England.

Dr. J. Barclay will soon publish, an Inquiry into Opinions, ancient and modern, concerning Life and Organization.

Mr. S. F. Gray has in the press, in two 8vo. volumes, a Natural Arrangement of British Plants, according to their mutual Relations; preceded by an Introduction to Botany, with illustrative figures.

M. G. Mollien's Travels to the Sources of the Senegal and Gambia, are printing in a 4to. volume, with plates.

The Rev. Cornelius Griffin has in the press, the Institutes of National Theology, the Christian Religion, and Moral Philosophy.

In the press, Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands, in a series of Letters, descriptive of Manners, Scenery, and the fine Arts. By H. W. Williams, Esq. In 2 vols. 8vo. with numerous Engravings.

In the press, Travels in the North of Germany, describing the present state of the social and political institutions, the agriculture, manufactures, commerce, education, arts, and manners of that country; particularly the Kingdom of Hanover. By Thomas Hodgskin, Esq. In 2 vols 8vo.

Also, Specimens of the Living British Poets, with Biographical Notices, and Critical Remarks. By the Rev. George Croly, A. M. author of " Paris," a Poem, &c.

Also, Private Correspondence of David Hume, the Historian, with the Countess

de Boufflers, the Marchioness de Barbentane, J. J. Rousseau, and other distinguished persons, between the years 1760 and 1776, now first published from the originals, 4to.

☞ The appearance of this work has been delayed, in order to allow time for obtaining some biographical particulars respecting the writers. It will certainly appear early in 1820.

Prince Maximilian's Travels in Brazil, during the years 1815, 1816, and 1817. Handsomely printed in 4to. with maps, and numerous engravings.—This work will be found to be one of the most important that has yet appeared respecting this interesting, but hitherto imperfectly known country. It may for the present suffice to state, that the Prince has examined the totally unknown regions along the East Coast of Brazil, between the 13th and 23d degrees of South Latitude, which had not yet been penetrated into by any traveller, with a scientific view, and that with his numerous and important zoological observations, he has connected the most particular and interesting remarks on the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants.

Travels to the Sources of the Senega and Gambia, undertaken by order of the French Government, and performed in 1818, by M. G. Mollien. Edited by T. E. Bowdich, Esq. author of the History of the Mission to Ashantee, 1 vol. 4to. with a Map of the Route, and several Engravings.

The Hermit in London: or Sketches of English Manners, Vols. IV. and V.

In the press, and will be published in February, an Inquiry on the Duty of Christians respecting War, including an Examination of the Principle of Peace Societies. By Mr. John Shepard, author of "Letters descriptive of a Tour in 1816."

In the press, A Mother's Journal during the last illness of her Daughter, with a Preface by Miss Jane Taylor.

In the press, Sunday School Sketches: a memoir descriptive of the benign operation of those institutions.

Preparing for the press, The Unknown Director. By Sarah Renou, author of "Village Conversations or the Vicar's Fire-side, and of "The Temple of Truth," a Poem.

ART. XVI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

A Sketch of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Baroness de Stael-Holstein. By Madame Necker de Saussure. Translated from the French. With a beautiful Portrait, engraved by Scriven. 8vo. 12s.

Athenæ Oxonienses: the history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford, from the year 1500. To which is added, Fasti Oxonienses, or, the annals of the said University. First written by A. A'Wood, M.A. of Merton College, and now very considerably augmented, in text and notes, by Philip Bliss, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Very handsomely and closely printed in columns, in 4 vols. royal 4to. with complete Indexes. 15l. 15s.

The Life, Deeds, and Opinions, of Dr. Martin Luther: faithfully translated from the German of John Frederick William Fischer, Superintendant at Plawney in Saxony, with an Appendix, by John Kortz. 12mo. 6s. [American.]

EDUCATION.

The Eskdale Herd Boy, a Scottish tale for youth, by Mrs. Blachford, with an elegant Frontispiece. 12mo. 5s. bound.

The History of Britannicus and his Sister Octavia; a story from the Roman History. By Miss Sandham, author of the "Twin Sisters." With an elegant Frontispiece. 12mo. 6s. bound.

Stories from the History of France; written in the same style as Stories from the English History. 2s. 6d. half-bd.

Nina, an Icelandic Tale. By the author of "Always Happy," &c. 2s. half-bd.

Scenes in Asia; for the instruction and amusement of little Tarry-at-Home Travellers. With 84 Engravings. 4s. plain, and 6s. coloured, half-bound.

☞ A new edition of the European Scenes, of which 4000 have been sold, is ready for delivery, and the Scenes in Africa is in preparation.

Stories from Modern History; chronologically arranged from the death of Charlemagne to the battle of Waterloo. By the author of "True Stories from

Ancient History," and other esteemed works for young people. 3 vols. 18mo. 7s. 6d. half-bound.

Stories selected from the History of Greece, for Children. By Miss Lawrence, of Gateacre. 3s. 6d. half-bound.

Questions adapted to Goldsmith's abridged History of Greece; designed for the use of schools, and particularly applicable from the minuteness of their subdivision, to those schools in which the pupils are arranged in classes, according to the national plan of instruction. 2s. 6d. bound.

Guazzaroni's (Professor of Italian) Companion to his Italian Grammar, being a selection from the most approved, novels, comedies, and tragedies in the Italian Language. With notes by Mr. Guazzaroni. 12mo.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1820.

Art. I. *The History of British India.* By James Mill, Esq. In Three Volumes, 4to. London. 1817.

FROM our infancy we have been accustomed to connect ideas of boundless magnificence and inexhaustible treasure, with the regions of the East; and nearly every document which, in maturer years, has been presented to our imagination or our understanding, has, in a greater or a less degree, contributed to sustain the illusion. The causes which have tended to confirm and to increase this, are various: the exaggerations of Eastern writers; the richness of Oriental dress and decoration; the passion for pomp and splendour which has distinguished many of the Asiatic monarchs, together with the highly wrought descriptions of travellers, dazzled by the glare of jewelry which adorned the persons of the Shahs and Rajahs of 'gorgeous Ind'; have all contributed to feed the vulgar taste for the marvellous, and to create and keep up a vague and undefinable, but universally diffused belief of the measureless wealth of the East. Subsequent events, and more distinct knowledge, have but imperfectly assisted in scattering these floating visions, by communicating more specific and far humbler notions on this point. Mr. Maurice, who, in language of singular self-complacency, assumed to himself the high office of historian of India, and who has been probably so considered by superficial readers, has contributed greatly to strengthen these misconceptions. He seems to have taken the Oriental writers for his models: his style is almost as florid and unimpressive as theirs; and he exhibits a similar disposition to receive with uncriticising admiration, the various exaggerations which it was his task to sift and to reduce. His work, however, was not without value, as it brought together much information that lay scattered; it was evidently, too, the com-

position of a scholar, and bore the marks of praiseworthy diligence. Had a somewhat severer discretion been exercised, could Mr. Maurice but have desisted from his perpetual puffs, his nauseous flattery, and his querulous intimations of public neglect; had he abstained from undignified complaints of an expense which nobody had asked him to hazard, from flourishing his bookseller's bill in the eyes of his readers, and from consuming in idle apologies for brevity, the space that would have sufficed for important but rejected details, he would have established a much stronger claim to what he rather too arrogantly anticipated, the thanks of posterity, than by weakly challenging comparison with Robertson and Hume.

But the romantic dream of Oriental wealth and magnificence will last no longer. The theories which have assigned a remote and refined civilization to the nations of Eastern Asia, and all the exaggerations on which those speculations are founded, have been brought down to their just dimensions by Mr. Mill, who has produced a work than which we never read any affording stronger and surer indications of a penetrating and powerful mind, and of extensive and accurate knowledge. He has evaded nothing. He has passed, with firm step and discriminating eye, through all the infinite entanglements of Hindu law, society, literature, arts, manners, religion, and government; with a mastery and decision of which we cannot sufficiently express our admiration, he has relieved his subject of all that was extraneous, steadily rejected all that had no claim to deference as authority, brought scattered and apparently incoherent particulars into order and arrangement, and, above all, by the clear, consistent, and determined application of principles, has given definition to the distressing vagueness, and thrown strong light upon the bewildering obscurity, which so greatly embarrass the most attentive reader, in the theology and literature of Hindustan. The condensation of matter and reasoning in these volumes, is altogether extraordinary; and the language, though occasionally awkward, is, on the whole, an admirable medium of thought and narrative: it is always clear, vigorous, and distinct, and not unfrequently characterised by as much of polish and ornament as can well consist with closeness and strength. The Author has kept in view, with unvarying constancy, the spirit of his motto: he has investigated and narrated *presse et distincte; sermone quodam activo et masculo, nusquam digrediendo, nil amplificando.*

In whatever direction the investigator of Indian history may prosecute his inquiries, he finds himself embarrassed, not only by the various and sometimes conflicting authorities to which he must recur, but by the extensiveness and irregularity of the ground which it is necessary for him to pre-occupy and clear, before he can make his way with steadiness and success. In these

preliminary operations, Mr. Mill has acquitted himself with great skill. His first volume contains, first, a rapid but distinct sketch of the history of British intercourse with India, previous to the consolidation of the different commercial interests into one Company, in the reign of Anne; secondly, a compressed but comprehensive digest of all the important particulars connected with the ancient history, manners, religion, laws, and situation of the Hindus; and thirdly, a history of the Mahommedan invasions and subjugations of Indian territory, carried down to the close of the Mogul dynasty. All this is preparatory to the subsequent portion of his work, which contains the history of the British connexion with Hindustan.

The chapter on the Chronology and Ancient History of the Hindus, is brief but instructive; and the notes contain the results of extensive research directed to the elucidation of this important point. Mr. Mill uses very little ceremony with the absurd pretensions of the Brahmens to high antiquity. Our readers are aware that, with exaggeration almost hyper-oriental, the fabricators of Indian history have indulged themselves in all kinds of extravagance in this particular. The progress of time is distinguished by four grand divisions, called Yugs, respectively denominated Satya, Treta, Dwapar, and Cali. The first of these comprehended a space of 1,728,000 years; the second, 1,296,000; the third, 864,000; and the fourth, in which we now live, and of which nearly 5000 years are past, will include 432,000.

'The character which the Brahmens assign to the several yugs, is a remarkable part of their system. The Satya yug is distinguished by the epithet of golden; The Treta yug by that of silver; The Dwapar yug by that of copper; And the Cali yug is denominated earthen. In these several ages, the virtue, the life, and the stature of man exhibited a remarkable diversity. In the Satya yug, the whole race were virtuous and pure; the life of man was 100,000 years; and his stature 21 cubits. In the Treta yug, one third of mankind were corrupt; and human life was reduced to 10,000 years. One half of the human race were depraved in the Dwapar yug, and 1000 years bounded the period of life. In the Cali yug all men are corrupt, and human life is restricted to 100 years. But though in the Satya yug, men lived only 100,000 years, Satyavrata, according to the chronological fiction, reigned 1,728,000 years; in the Treta yug, human life extended only to 10,000 years, yet fifty-five princes reigned, at a medium, more than 23,000 years each; in the Dwapar yug, though the life of man was reduced to 1,000 years, the duration of the reigns was even extended, for twenty-nine princes in this period held the sceptre each for 29,763 years.' Vol. I. p. 97.

We shall spare ourselves any comment upon these wholesale absurdities, or upon the minor orientalisms with which they are

dressed up. They are the monstrous and unnatural fictions of a 'people perfectly destitute of historical records,' and fully bear out the assertion, that 'the Brahmens are the most audacious, 'and perhaps the most unskilful fabricators, with whom the 'annals of fable have yet made us acquainted.' We have, however, little cause for regret that we have so few illustrations of the ancient history of the Hindus, since we are in possession of enough for all the material purposes of inquiry; the investigations of Europeans having afforded distinct elucidations of the state of society in Hindustan during a long lapse of years. Though the historian cannot trace the Indian dynasties, nor the achievements of their monarchs, yet, he is enabled to describe the social and political condition of the Hindus, their various arts, their creeds, and their manners, from authentic documents and satisfactory inferences.

The most remarkable feature of Hindu society, is, unquestionably, the institution of Caste, or the division of the social body into four grand classes, separated from each other by strong and, in the case of the lower tribes, oppressive distinctions. The Brahmens, or priestly caste, with whom this classification must have originated, occupy the principal station, and are represented by the sacred books as proceeding from the mouth of the Creator. The Cshatryas, or military tribe, sprang from his arm; the Vaisyas, or agricultural class, were produced from his thigh; and the degraded Sudras, the servile caste, came from his foot. These distinctions are fenced in by high privileges attached to the superior classes, and by arbitrary and appalling penalties denounced against those of the lower castes who shall violate, in the smallest degree, the dignities and immunities of the higher. Irreverent language to a Brahmen from a Sudra, is punished by thrusting a redhot 'iron style ten fingers long' into his mouth; and the audacity of an attempt on the part of one of the servile class, to give instruction to one of the priestly tribe, is to be visited by pouring hot oil into the mouth and ears of the offender. In addition to these, there is a tribe, or rather, a series of tribes, sprung from the forbidden and unhallowed mixture of the different castes. These are divided and graduated according to the difference in dignity and privilege of the parents; but the lowest of them all, is, the wretched child of a Sudra father and a Brahmen female. The individuals of this class, who are denominated Chandalas, are objects of perfect loathing and disgust. Such is the abjectness of their condition, that they are excluded from towns, and compelled to confine their abhorred association to sequestered spots. To them are assigned the contaminating offices: they are the buriers of the dead, and the executioners of the last extremities of law.

The Government of Hindustan has always conformed to the

Asiatic model, centering in one individual all the various attributes of arbitrary power, excepting those which are claimed and exercised by the priests. The monarch is described, in the records of Hindu law, in terms which leave no doubt of his uncontrolled supremacy. 'A king,' says the law of Menu, 'is formed of particles from the chief guardian deities, 'and consequently surpasses all mortals in glory. Like the sun, 'he burns eyes and hearts; nor can any human creature on 'earth even gaze on him. He, fire and air; He, the god of 'criminal justice; He, the genius of wealth; He, the regent 'of waters; He, the lord of the firmament. A king, even 'though a child, must not be treated lightly, from an idea that 'he is a mere mortal: No; he is a powerful divinity, who 'appears in human shape. In his anger, death. He who shews 'hatred of the king, through delusion of mind, will certainly 'perish; for speedily will the king apply his heart to that man's 'destruction.' The system of rule was, by the delegation of authority; the empire being divided into distinct provinces, over each of which presided a vicegerent, who exercised, within narrower limits, a dictation and dominion not less absolute than those of his sovereign. The plan of government and jurisdiction was the same in the section, as in the whole; and, where the province was of extent too great to be regulated by the personal administration of a single individual, the system of subdivision was resorted to; each of the parts having over it an inferior governor, deputed by the viceroy, and ruling with the same despotic and unlimited authority. A scheme of inspection, rudely conceived and inadequately executed, was established as a restraint upon the abuses to which this arbitrary rule was obviously and inevitably liable. The king is directed by the law, to select a council consisting of men noble, brave, and learned, and always to commit the office of chief minister to a Brahmen. Both the military and the judicial prerogatives and duties, belong to the monarch. The administration of the law is simple and direct in its forms of process, but, in its result, it was almost invariably determined by the grossest and most unabashed corruption. And although the judicial authority is ostensibly assigned to the sovereign, yet, in reality, it was wrested from his hand by the reservations and encroachments of the priesthood, who had successfully usurped the three great branches of the powers of government, the legislative, the judicial, and the administrative. The laws of the Hindus appear indeed to have been designed to give to the king little more than the labour and responsibility of government, while the Brahmens should remain possessors of the power. The following extract will afford a specimen of the clearness and acuteness with which Mr. Mill supplies, by reasoning, the incompleteness of his materials.

'The uncontrolable sway of superstition, in rude and ignorant times, confers upon its ministers such extraordinary privileges, that the king and the priest are generally the same person; and it appears somewhat remarkable that the Brahmens, who usurped among their countrymen so much distinction and authority, did not invest themselves with the splendour of royalty. It generally happens that some accidental circumstances, of which little account was taken at the time, and which after a lapse of many ages it is impossible to trace, gave occasion to those peculiarities which we remark in the affairs and characters of nations; and with this reflection it is found that we must very often content ourselves. Yet it is by no means unnatural to suppose, that to a people, over whom the love of repose exerts a wonderful sway, and in whose character aversion to danger forms a principal ingredient, the toils and perils of the sword appeared to surpass the advantages with which it was attended; and that the Brahmens thus transferred to the hands of others, what was a source of too much labour, as well as danger, to be retained in their own.

'So many, however, and important were the powers which this class reserved to themselves, that the kingly state appears reduced to that of a dependant and secondary office. We should expect to find the sovereign a mere cipher. With this inference the fact does not appear to correspond. The monuments of the Hindus, imperfect as they are, convince us that their monarchs enjoyed no small share both of authority, and of that kind of splendour which corresponded with the state of society. They had entrusted to them two engines, the power of which their history serves remarkably to display: They were masters of the army; and they were masters of the public revenue. These two circumstances, it appears, were sufficient to counterbalance the legislative, and the judicative, and even a great part of the executive power, reinforced by all the authority of an overbearing superstition, lodged in the hands of the Brahmens. These threw around the sovereign an external lustre, with which the eyes of uncultivated men are easily dazzled. In dangerous and disorderly times, when every thing which the nation values is placed on the soldier's sword, the commander, by universal consent, exercises unlimited authority. So frequently is this the situation of a rude and uncivilized people, surrounded on all sides by rapacious and turbulent neighbours, that it becomes in a great measure the habitual order of things. The king, by commanding both the force and the revenue of the state, had in his hands the distribution of gifts and favours; the potent instrument, in short, of patronage; aud the jealousy and rivalship of the different sets of competitors would of their own accord give him a great influence over the Brahmens themselves. The distribution of gifts and favours is so powerful an engine, that the man who enjoys it to a certain extent, is absolute; with whatever checks he may appear to be surrounded; even, as in the case of the Hindu sovereigns, though almost every power of government may appear to be lodged in other hands.' pp. 131—132.

The chapter on Laws is singularly luminous and instructive. The Hindu code seems to be a mass of incoherency, destitute,

at least in its divisions and attempts at arrangement, even of those minor pretensions to discrimination which are to be found in the legal systems of some other imperfectly civilized nations. The rude and obvious distinction between persons and things, was 'far above' the crude notions of Hindu legislators; and even the classification of laws under the designations of civil and penal, is unaccountably neglected in their most celebrated legal digests. Neither are the details, though excessively minute in certain instances, better entitled to admiration than the general distribution. On the contrary, the proofs of an imperfect state of intellectual development, multiply upon us in in all directions: for instance, a distinction is made, in estimating the value of evidence, between the father of male, and the father of female children. A still more gross and glaring instance of legislative absurdity, is presented in the positive recommendation, in certain specified cases, of perjury. The trial by ordeal, in various modes of folly more or less complicated, holds a high rank in the institutes of the Hindus. The spirit of retaliation pervades their penal laws to an extraordinary degree, dictating the most barbarous and revolting mutilations. The grossest violations of the principle of equality, must be expected to occur in such a code. Accordingly, as the criminality of an action is estimated by the rank of the person against whom the offence is committed, so, the scale of punishment is in all cases graduated to correspond with the rank of the offender. A Sudra is punished with the most revolting cruelty. Indeed, 'notwithstanding the 'mildness which has generally been attributed to the Hindu 'character, hardly any nation,' says Mr. Mill, 'is distinguished 'for more sanguinary laws.'

The system of Taxation which has prevailed in India, could not be otherwise than defective and oppressive, when the laws for the administration of justice were characterised by so much imbecility. That enlightened regard to the various resources of a country, that salutary anxiety to ascertain the least injurious modes of levying the supplies, which distinguish, or at least ought to distinguish, the operations of finance in European countries, are, in the East, wholly unknown. *Quocunque modo rem*, is the principle of Asiatic financiers: the *si possis recte*, never embarrasses their calculations. Hence result the most intolerable aggressions upon property, and the most oppressive imposts upon every article which it may please the needy despot to consider as a convenient source of revenue. The taxes were levied in kind, on the Ryot, or husbandman, by the Zemindar, who, deducting a stipulated portion for himself, transferred the balance to the king. The original and permanent property of the soil, is vested in the sovereign. Upon this point, it seems, there has been maintained a considerable difference of opinion, some intelligent

Europeans having assigned the ownership of the soil to the Zemindar, and others, to the Ryot. Mr. Mill has clearly shewn, that though the Ryot has, by long prescription, acquired an hereditary tenantship, equivalent to right of possession, the sovereign had always reserved the privilege of exacting as large a portion as he might choose to claim, of the produce of the land. 'All 'which is valuable in the soil, after the deduction of what is due 'to the sovereign, belongs of incontestible right to the Indian 'husbandman.' The claims of the Zemindar seem to rest on a very slender basis.

The Religion of the Hindus is an almost inexhaustible subject. We shall but very slightly allude to it in this place, as we shall shortly have occasion to make it the subject of more specific attention. Excepting in a few particulars to which we could not give an altogether unqualified assent, Mr. Mill has analysed and dissected the strange and bewildering mythology of Hindustan, with an interest, precision, and felicity of illustration not to be surpassed. His chapter on this subject, is replete with valuable information and instructive remark, and might almost be entitled a philosophical history of idolatry and superstition. His accurate distinctions, and just and able reasonings, tend to impress upon the reader's mind, although there are no express allusions to the subject, a deeper reverence for that pure and undefiled system of religious faith and duty to which every fresh exposure of the true character of heathenism affords a distinct testimony, and is a gratifying, though it may be an undesigned, homage.

The subject of the next chapter, is, Indian Manners. We must not, however, forget that we are still occupied with merely preliminary matter. Much of the social and individual character of the Hindus, may be inferred from the peculiarities of their religion, and from the influence of Caste: much, however, having no reference to either their religious or political institutions, would remain to be described. Though marriage is regarded by the Hindus as an act of piety, in fact, excepting in certain specified cases, as a part of religious duty, yet, in no portion of the globe are women held in greater contempt, or placed in a situation of more humiliating dependence: they are considered as subservient to little more than the gratification of appetite, and the perpetuation of the human race. The excessive grossness of Eastern language, even in the presence, and from the very lips of women, is at once the proof and the consequence of this state of sexual intercourse.

In general, the Indian character is marked by an entire absence of the moral sense. The effeminacy of his person, and the gentleness of his address, are not more remarkable in the Hindu, than his propensity to servile flattery, and his audacious and systematic contempt of truth. In addition to these vile qualities, he is in-

hospitable, hardhearted, timid, yet ferocious, and to a remarkable degree litigious and abusive. Indolence, avarice, and personal filthiness, may be thrown into the scale, to supply any deficiency in this hideous estimate.

In the Arts,—those, at least, to the exercise of which they were excited by the exigencies of life, the love of shew, or the influence of superstition, the Hindus had made some progress; though by no means to the extent which the exaggerations of travellers have imposed upon European credulity. In Architecture, magnitude, costliness, and minute elaboration of details, are intimations rather of unrefined notions, than of real science; and the Hindus appear to have realized nothing beyond these. In all their representations of the human form, we have never been able to discover any real knowledge of the figure; though we have seen metal casts which have indicated a sufficiently correct observation of its general outline and proportions. The fineness and delicacy of the cotton fabrics of Hindustan, are proofs of great dexterity and pliability of finger, and contrast strangely with the rudeness of the loom in which they are wrought. The implements of husbandry are of the most awkward kind. 'Every 'thing which savours of ingenuity,' says Mr. Mill, 'even the 'most natural results of common observation and good sense, 'are foreign to the agriculture of the Hindus.' The art of cutting and polishing jewelry, and of producing fine goldsmith's work, which they possess in great perfection, furnishes no evidence of high civilization, since it has been common among nations who have exhibited, in every important respect, but little signs of advancement.

An investigation of the Literature of Hindustan, furnishes Mr. Mill with additional illustrations of the characteristically low attainments and barbarous taste of the Hindus. Dr. Buchanan's sentiments on this subject are strongly, and, we believe, correctly expressed. 'No useful science,' he remarks, 'have the Brahmens dif-'fused among their followers: history they have abolished; morality 'they have depressed to the utmost; and the dignity and power of 'the altar, they have erected on the ruins of the state and the rights 'of the subject.' Mr. Mill has bestowed great and successful attention on the abstruse questions connected with the Astronomy of India. The hypothesis of its antiquity and its decisive attestation of an advanced progress in science, was first maintained by the celebrated and unfortunate Bailly, and strenuously supported by Voltaire and others of that school, as an unanswerable invalidation of the statements of the Hebrew Scriptures. Witnessing the evils of Popery, and confounding them with the effects of Christianity itself, these eminent though misguided men

'embraced with extreme credulity and actual enthusiasm, the

accounts of the great antiquity of the Chinese and Hindoos, as disproving entirely the accounts in the books of Moses, of the duration of the present race of men. When a case occurred in which it appeared that this favourite conclusion could be established on the strength of astronomical observations and mathematical reasoning, the grand object seemed to be accomplished. The argument was laboured with the utmost diligence by Mons. Bailly, was received with unbounded applause, and for a time regarded as a demonstration in form of the falsehood of Christianity.'

Professor Playfair, of Edinburgh, embraced the doctrine of Bailly, and has, in the Philosophical Transactions, and in the Edinburgh Review, endeavoured to establish its truth, and to repel the arguments by which it is assailed. Mr. Bentley, 'who 'has paid more attention than any other European to the books 'of Hindu astronomy,' affirms, that they are all modern, and that the pretended proofs of their antiquity are 'founded only 'on forgery.' In addition to this statement, we have the high authority of Laplace, and that of 'an eminent ornament of our coun-'try,' who 'not only reject the inference of the great antiquity 'and perfection of the Hindu astronomy, but, from the evidence 'offered, draw a conclusion directly the reverse; viz. that this 'science is in the very same state of infancy among the Hindus 'with all the other branches of knowledge.' On this point, the comments of Mr. Mill himself, are full of force; and a very admirable specimen of candid and conclusive reasoning is added, in the form of an appendix, from the pen of the 'great mathe-'matician' before alluded to.

The General Reflections with which Mr. Mill concludes and sums up the rich and varied matter of his second Book, we must pass by with little more than the expression of our scarcely qualified admiration. He has, so far at least as we are enabled to judge, accurately and definitively ascertained the true rank of the Hindus on the scale of civilization, and has for ever demolished the exaggerated opinions put forward on this subject, by men who had the means of forming a juster estimate. The very crude notions entertained on the general subject by European scholars, were mixed with much misconception introduced by the highly coloured representations of early travellers. Having witnessed the dazzling magnificence of the Mogul court in the splendid reigns of Akbar, Aurungzebe, and their immediate successors, they accepted this 'gorgeous exterior,' this 'air of 'grandeur and power,' as the signs of national wealth and the marks of a high state of civilization. The theory was taken up in later times by Sir William Jones, and his great reputation as a fine writer and as a richly furnished orientalist, procured for it an almost universal reception. But Mr. Mill has made it appear, by strong facts and unanswerable reasonings, that the

nations of India, so far from having attained the elevation assigned to them, ' have in reality made but a few of the earliest steps ' in the progress to civilization.' In noticing the gratuitous assumption, that, although the present condition of the Hindus is little removed from that of half-civilized nations, yet, they were formerly in a state of high civilization, whence they have been degraded by the afflicting consequences of foreign invasion and conquest,—he urges, in addition to other arguments, the nature of their government, the character of their institutions, the ceaseless agitations of Ancient India, its continual revolutions, and its habitual division into numerous states and kingdoms, as concurring to demonstrate its obvious fallacy.

India, when first reached by European navigators, had been for a considerable time under a foreign dominion. Repeated invasions by the Mahommedan powers from the North-western regions, had terminated in the establishment of their sway, supported by a Musulman soldiery, over the Hindu population. This subjugation, though it had not greatly affected the texture of native society, had introduced new forms into some of the principal departments of the State, had transferred to foreigners the command of the army, and had mingled with the original inhabitants, a considerable mass of residents differing in manners, character, and religion. Mr. Mill's review of the leading circumstances of the various invasions of India, is brief, but extremely luminous and interesting, and he has not failed to institute a rigid scrutiny into the exaggerations and mistatements of his authorities, respecting the treasures of Hindustan.

The North-western frontier of India has always been her vulnerable quarter. A considerable portion of territory within this limit, was appended to the empire of Darius Hystaspes, and is supposed by Major Rennel to have extended to Delhi, and to have included the whole of the Punjab. After the expedition of Alexander the Great, the first memorable invasion, or rather series of invasions, of India, was planned and executed by the celebrated Mahmood of Ghizni, one of the most warlike and successful, and, at the same time, one of the most liberal and splendid of Eastern princes, a lover and a patron of literature. It was at his court that the illustrious Ferdosi was entertained. Mahmood was a strenuous assertor of the doctrines of Islam, and a zealous iconoclast. Connected with this part of his character, we have the following amusing anecdote.

' Arrived at Sumnaut, which was a strong castle, situated on the promontory of Guzerat, near the city of Diu, washed on three sides by the sea, Mahmood met with a more serious resistance than any which he had yet encountered in Hindustan. Not only did the priests and guardians of the temple defend it with all the obstinacy of enthusiasm and despair; but a large army collected in the surrounding

kingdoms was brought to its defence. Having triumphed over all resistance, the religious sultan entered the temple. Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol, he aimed a blow at his head, with his iron mace. The nose was struck from its face. In vehement trepidation the Brahmens crowded around, and offered millions to spare the god. The Omrahs, dazzled with the ransom, ventured to counsel acceptance. Mahmood, crying out that he valued the title of breaker, not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. At the next blow, the belly of the idol burst open: and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies and pearls; rewarding the holy perseverance of Mahmood, and explaining the devout liberality of the Brahmens.' pp. 490, 491.

After various vicissitudes in their fortunes, the Ghaznevide dynasty yielded to the superior power of the Princes of Gaur a hardy race of military chieftains who, descending from the Gaurian mountains, northward of Cabulistan, at the head of their followers, ultimately overwhelmed the feeble successors of Mahmood. In the year 1289, the line of monarchs belonging to this race, some of whom had displayed considerable abilities, was superseded by Feroze, the founder of the Afgaun or second Gaurian dynasty. It was during the continuance of the line which Feroze originated, that Timur or Tamerlane made his irruption into India; but it was not until 1525, that the house of Gaur was finally crushed by the successful invasion of Baber, a descendant of Timur. The Mogul dynasty, which commenced in Baber, retained, from this period, at least a nominal authority throughout a large portion of India, until nearly the present time. The history of this race is replete with interest. The splendid reigns of Akbar, Jehanguire, and Shah Jehan, the administration of Aurungzebe, under whom the Mogul power attained its zenith, together with its decline after the destructive invasion of Nadir Shah, would furnish, had we room, matter for most entertaining narration.

In the closing chapter of the first volume, Mr. Mill enters into a comparative view of the state of civilisation among the Hindus and among their Mahommedan conquerors. Upon the clearest evidence, he decides in favour of the latter. In manners, he ascribes to the Musulman a decided superiority, and attributes to their operation, a partial effect in lessening the evils of despotic power. 'There was,' he remarks, 'in the manners of the 'Mahommedan conquerors of India, an activity, a manliness, 'an independence, which rendered it less easy for despotism to 'sink, among them, to that disgusting state of weak and pro-'fligate barbarism which is the natural condition of government 'among such a passive people as the Hindus.' His comparison of the Mahommedan Law with the English system, by which it has been superseded, is peculiarly valuable, as tending to ex-

pose those glaring defects in the latter, which ignorance, prejudice, and selfishness, have so long combined to conceal, but which cannot, we are persuaded, remain much longer without correction.

'Little more than two centuries have elapsed since a few British merchants humbly solicited from the princes of India permission to traffic in their territories. The British dominion now embraces nearly the whole of that vast region which extends from Cape Comorin to the mountains of Tibet, and from the mouths of the Brahmaputra to the sources of the Indus.'

The Portuguese were the first European navigators who, braving the terrors of the stormy Cape, commenced, and for a considerable time carried on alone, the trade with India. The English, somewhat tardy in pushing their enterprises in this direction, at length entered with spirit, though with much mismanagement, into a series of commercial combinations, which, after much contention, terminated in the establishment, by the decision of Lord Godolphin, of a United Company, trading upon a joint stock, and monopolizing every branch of Indian commerce. We must refer our readers to Mr. Mill's volumes for the particulars of the several changes which have taken place in the constitution of the India Company. Our Author's historical statements are always given with distinctness, and he reasons upon them with great ability and force. In the first constitution (1708), no power of control was reserved to the Crown, the whole being vested in the Proprietors, to whom when assembled in court, appertained the prerogative of making laws, declaring dividends, and granting money, as well as of choosing annually, the Directors of their affairs. In this system, Mr. M. detects a general resemblance to the British constitution: the Court of Proprietors representing the people; the Court of Directors, an aristocratical senate; and the Chairman, the sovereign. The comparison, though not quite exact, is sufficiently accurate for the purpose for which it is introduced. It is followed up by some important general remarks.

'In the constitution of the East India Company, so much power was allotted to the democratical part, that a small portion appears to have been reserved to the other two. Not only were the sovereignty and the aristocracy both elective, but they were elected from year to year; that is, were in a state of complete dependence upon the democratical branch. Nor was this all; no decrees but those of the democracy were binding, at least in the last resort; the aristocracy, therefore, and monarchy, were subordinate and subject. Under the common impression of democratic ambition, irregularity, and violence, it might be concluded that the democratic assembly would grasp at the whole of the power, would constrain and disturb the proceedings of the Chairman and Directors, would deliberate with violence and

animosity, and exhibit all the confusion, precipitation, and imprudence, which are so commonly ascribed to the exercise of popular power. The actual result is extremely different from what the common modes of reasoning would prompt common minds to infer. Notwithstanding the power which, by the theory of the constitution, is thus reserved to the popular part of the system, all power has centered in the Court of Directors, and the government of the Company has been an oligarchy in point of fact. So far from meddling too much, the Court of Proprietors has not attended to the common affairs even sufficiently for the business of inspection: and the known principles of human nature abundantly secured that particular result. To watch, to scrutinize, to enquire, is labour; and labour is pain. To confide, to take for granted that all is well, is easy, is exempt from labour, and to the great mass of mankind comparatively delightful. On all ordinary occasions, on all occasions which present not a powerful motive to action, the great mass of mankind are sure to be led by the soft and agreeable feeling. And if they who transact have only sufficient prudence to avoid those occurrences which are calculated to rouse the people for whom they transact, the people will allow them abundant scope to manage the common concerns in a way conformable to their own liking and advantage. It is thus that all constitutions, however democratically formed, have a tendency to become oligarchical in practice. The more numerous body who constitute the democracy, see the objects of ambition at so great a distance, and the competition for them is shared with so great a number, that, in general, they make but a feeble impression on their minds; the small number, on the other hand, entrusted with the management, feel so immediately the advantages, and their affections are so powerfully engaged by the presence of their object, that they easily concentrate their views, and pour their energies with perfect constancy in the selfish direction. The apathy and inattention of the people on the one hand, and the interested activity of the rulers on the other, are in politics two powers, the action of which may always be counted upon; nor has the art of government as yet exemplified, however the science may or may not have discovered, any certain means by which the unhappy effects of that action may be prevented.'

Strongly as this is put, and forcibly as it is argued, the Author's instances do not appear to us to be happily chosen. The East India Company and the Bank proprietors are bodies of men made up of very different materials from the usual composition of popular masses: a large proportion, at least, consists of men of business, men of property, of education and reflection, persons, on the average, more advanced in life, than would be found in a casual assemblage of individuals. With respect, also, to the 'apathy and inattention' of the people, considered as a political 'power' of which the action may be always counted upon, it is important to bear in mind, that the disturbing powers are numerous, irregular, and violent; and that, though the negligence and insensibility of the people are admitted to be characte-

ristic qualities, yet, they are liable to be roused, and small and unforeseen causes may produce a sudden and destructive e uption. The torpor of the multitude is little more to be relied on than the tranquillity of a volcano.

The business of the Company was at first managed in India, by the three separate and independent presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. Each president was assisted by a council, varying in number, and appointed by the Directors at home. About 1716, an embassy was despatched at great expense to the court of the Mogul; but the intrigues of court prevented its access to the imperial durbar, until a fortunate suggestion directed them to a favourite eunuch, through whose dexterous management they obtained considerable privileges from the Vizir. In 1746, Madras was taken by a French force under Labourdonnais, one of those rare men who are endowed by Providence with talents convertible to all purposes.

'In 1734, he was nominated Governor general of the isles of France and Bourbon; where he arrived n June, 1735. So little had been done for the improvement of these islands, that the people, few in number, were living almost in the state of nature. They were poor, without industry, and without the knowledge of almost any of the useful arts. They had neither magazine, nor hospital, neither fortification, nor defensive force, military or naval. They had no roads; they had no beasts of burden, and no vehicles. Every thing remained to be done by Labourdonnais, and he was capable of every thing. With the hand to execute, as well as the head to contrive, he could construct a ship from the keel; he performed the functions of engineer, of architect, of agriculturist. He broke bulls to the yoke; constructed vehicles, and made roads. He apprenticed blacks to the few handicrafts whom he carried out with him. He prevailed upon the inhabitants to cultivate the ground; and introduced the culture of the sugarcane and indigo. He made industry and the useful arts to flourish; contending with the ignorance, the prejudices, and the inveterate habits of idleness, of those with whom he had to deal, and who opposed him at every step. To introduce any degree of order and vigilance even into the management of the hospital which he constructed for the sick, it was necessary for him to perform the office of superintendant himself, and for a whole twelvemonth he visited it regularly every morning. Justice had been administered by the councils, to whom that function regularly belonged, in a manner which produced great dissatisfaction. During eleven years that Labourdonnais was governor, there was but one lawsuit in the Isle of France, he himself having terminated all differences by way of arbitration.'

At this time, the celebrated Dupleix was governor of the French settlements, and had begun already to revolve those mighty projects which, after having repeatedly threatened with utter ruin the English interests in India, terminated in disaster to the French. Labourdonnais had agreed to restore Madras to the English on stipulated terms; but Dupleix refused to sanction

the convention, and shamelessly violated the capitulation. His subsequent attack on Fort St. David, failed; but a counter attempt on Pondicherry by Boscawen and Lawrence, was likewise unsuccessful. Soon after, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle terminated all hostilities between France and England.

It was during this war, that the superiority of European over Indian soldiers was first established. A numerous native army having been opposed to 1200 French troops, was entirely defeated, principally by the precision and rapidity with which the artillery was manœuvred. The two grand engines for the subjugation of India, were discovered and first used by the French; namely, 'lst, The weakness of the native armies against European discipline. 2nd, The facility of imparting that discipline 'to natives in the European service.'

At this time too, began those complicated disputes and intrigues respecting the Nabobship of the Carnatic, which again involved the presidencies of Pondicherry and Madras in the calamities of war. Into this labyrinth we could not very profitably enter, and we shall confine ourselves to a brief summary of the leading events.—Dupleix, being desirous of gaining accessions of power and territory by taking part in the quarrels of the native princes, armed in favour of the pretensions of Chunda Saheb, a man of talents, while the presidency of Madras espoused the cause of Mahomed Ali. As both the European nations were in a state of peace, the war in India was carried on by the governors of Madras and Pondicherry under the guise of auxiliaries. The war, for some time, and in one quarter, assumed the character of a contest for the possession of the strong town of Tritchinopoly, held by the English for Mahomed Ali. The principal manœuvres and engagements took place in the neighbourhood of this fortress; and, in our opinion, they reflect the highest honour upon the British commander as an officer of admirable skill. We are quite at a loss to know what Mr. Mill means, when he denies to Lawrence the character of a 'man of talents,' while he admits that he was 'an active and clear-headed soldier.' To our apprehension the latter implies the former; and though Mr. M.'s restricted but spirited narrative does not altogether enable the reader to form a full estimate of the Major's merit, yet we think that enough appears to prove him a man of great abilities. But it is in the interesting volumes of Orme, that we have the clearest and most detailed account of Major Lawrence's achievements, and we think it impossible to read them without being satisfied that he possessed a mind of a very high order; steady and cool in danger, fertile in resources, persevering in its purposes, and prompt and skilful in enterprise. We think too, that, excepting the instance of the abandonment of Shunda Saheb when prisoner, he displayed considerable political sagacity and tacti-

tude. The contest under the walls of Tritchinopoly, terminated in the surrender of the French army to Lawrence, and the assassination of Chunda Saheb by the Tanjorine commander to whom he was prisoner. The supercession of Dupleix in his government, suspended for a season the military movements of the two European powers. On the commencement of hostilities between France and England, the French ministry determined to strike at our Indian possessions, and despatched the celebrated and unfortunate Count de Lally, with a considerable armament, for that purpose. This officer had obtained a high degree of military reputation: his bravery had been signally proved, and his talents were acknowledged, but he was rash, head strong, and presumptuous. When he reached Pondicherry, the French interests were on the whole in a favourable state; and dexterity and prudence might have established a permanent superiority over the English company. M. de Bussy, an officer of the highest merit, had secured a commanding influence at the court of the Subahdar or chief of the Deccan. He had obtained important cessions of territory, and among them the northern Circars, and was in the immediate command of a respectable force, besides having the disposal of the military and financial means of the Subahdar. The impetuous and overbearing spirit of Lally, however, ruined all: he quarrelled with his countrymen, disgusted his coadjutors, exhausted, instead of husbanding, his very scanty resources, and finally, by hazarding every thing, lost all. After having taken and razed Fort St. David, and engaged unsuccessfully in various military operations, he besieged Madras, but was repulsed, lost the decisive battle of Wandewash against Colonel Coote, was driven within the walls of Pondicherry, and ultimately compelled to surrender that fortress. He had previously ruined the French cause in the Deccan, by recalling Bussy. His fate was as dreadful as it was unmerited. On his return to France, he was thrown into the Bastile, and the popular clamour being easily excited against him, after a little better than mock trial, he was infamously condemned to an ignominious death. Mr. Mill expresses his opinion that he was a man of considerable natural abilities, and accuses the French East India Company, of having 'within a few years, destroyed 'three, the only eminent men who had ever been placed at the 'head of their affairs in India,—Labourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally. The first two were persecuted till their spirits were broken; the last perished on a scaffold.

The brilliant administrations of Clive and his successors, must be reserved for our next number.

[illegible] whom, indeed, [illegible]

[illegible] portray base [illegible] of a class, [illegible] hypocrisy [illegible] Writer's 'own [illegible] when [illegible] with all [illegible]

[illegible] the 'Tales,' [illegible] readily [illegible] informed [illegible] gross pro- [illegible] whenever an [illegible] In 'the [illegible] Frederick [illegible] successively [illegible] infidel, and a [illegible] that he drew [illegible] the verisi- [illegible] the Author [illegible] with an apostate [illegible] to which Frederick is attached [illegible] Mr. Crabbe would be likely to obtain through such a channel. It is at least from witnesses just as competent and as credible, that he has obtained the materials for his portraiture of Methodism.

> 'He told his flight from superstitious [illegible]:
> But first what [illegible]—
> "The tender [illegible]—
> "The strong [illegible] of the brethren all—
> "The threats of [illegible] enthusiasts, bound to keep
> "The struggling mind, and awe the straying sheep—
> "From these, their love, their curses, and their creed,
> "Was I by reason and exertion freed."' Vol. i. p. 308.

When a writer, disclaiming any graver purpose, avows that 'his first intention is, to please,' he may seem to claim some license in the use he makes of the materials of his narrative. We will not, therefore, stay to point out the beneficial effect which such a relation as the history of Frederick *might* have been made to subserve, in the hands of a poet who, to Mr. Crabbe's genius, should add certain qualifications which Mr. Crabbe does not possess. We would merely remark, that it is not the delineation of such a character, that is reprehensible, but the obviously unfair and pernicious use which [illegible] Such lines as the following, [illegible] Author [illegible]

" And what," they said, as having power, " are now
" The inward conflicts? do you strive? and how?"
Themselves confessing thoughts so new and wild,
I thought them like the visions of a child.
" Could we," they ask, " our best good deeds condemn?
" And did we long to touch the garment's hem?
" And was it so with us? for so it was with them." '

' Of his conversion he with triumph spoke
Before he orders from a bishop took.'

——————— ' I gave two precious hours
' To hear of gifts and graces, helps and powers.'

A man who boldly ridicules that cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, Justification by Faith, and who can bring in for the purpose of burlesque, so beautiful a Scriptural allusion as the one introduced in the first of these specimens, may with great consistency, himself being a clergyman, sneer at conversion as a substitute for episcopal ordination. After this, it is perfectly unnecessary to comment on any want of liberality discovered in his estimate of the Dissenters from that Church whose priest he is; such, for instance, as is implied inthe sentiments of the Squire, who

——' viewed the Church as *liberal* minds will view,
And there he fix'd his principles and pew.

' He saw, he thought he saw, how Weakness, Pride,
And Habit, draw seceding crowds aside:
Weakness that loves on *trifling* points to dwell,
Pride that at first from heaven's own worship fell,
And Habit *going* where it went before,
Or to the Meeting or the Tavern Door.'

This is much in the same enlightened spirit as Judge Blackstone's language: ' If, through weakness of intellect, through ' misdirected piety, through perverseness and acerbity of temper, ' or, which is often the case, through a prospect of secular ad- ' vantage in *herding* with a party, men quarrel with the Eccle- ' siastical Establishment,' &c. Except, indeed, that Mr. Crabbe leaves no room for the supposition, that piety, however misdirected, can have any share in diverting men from either the Church or the Tavern, to the Meeting-house.

Our Author prides himself on his knowledge of the world, and his insight into human character.

n, fair Truth! and let me clearly see
paint, as they are seen in thee;
merits and their faults impart;
, " frail being! such thou art."
me view the naked human heart.'

ss in a very extraordinary degree, the power

Art. II. *Tales of the Hall.* By the Rev. George Crabbe, LL.B. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. xxiv. 679. London. 1819.

MR. CRABBE has written a long preface to these Tales, for the singular purpose of shewing that no preface was necessary; that the reasons which induce an author to bespeak the attention of his readers to a prefatory address, do not at all apply to his own case; that he is not uninformed of the place assigned him as a writer, and that with the degree of public favour which he enjoys, he has no reason to be dissatisfied. His motive for writing it, was, he tells us, the fear 'that it would 'appear to his readers like arrogancy, to send two volumes of 'considerable magnitude from the press without preface or 'apology.' This fear was assuredly groundless; but for our own part, we are always glad to meet with a preface: it is often the most characteristic part of a volume, and how uninteresting and superfluous soever in every other point of view, it seldom fails to discover to us some trait of the writer's mind, which renders us better acquainted with the man. We were, however, unfeignedly surprised to find Mr. Crabbe disclaiming 'the tone of a moralist,' and, diffident of any beneficial effect from these 'relations,' contenting himself with the hope, that nothing in his pages would be found of a mischievous tendency. Though not sanguine ourselves as to the moral benefit likely to result from his labours, we had candidly given our reverend Author credit for worthier intentions. This did not arise from our thinking, as he is aware some will think, 'that a minister of 'religion in the decline of life, should have no leisure for such 'amusements as these,'—for whom, he says, 'I have no reply,'—but from our imagining that an individual sustaining the responsibility of the sacred office, superadded to that which attaches to every possessor of distinguishing genius, would naturally propose to himself some moral purpose as the end even of his amusements, were it only that to himself he might seem something better, in the decline of life, than a trifler. Why Mr. Crabbe should have deemed it advisable to undeceive us on this point, we find it difficult to conjecture; but we subjoin what purports to be an explanation.

'For them I have no reply;—but to those who are more indulgent to the propensities, the studies, and the habits of mankind, I offer some apology when I produce these volumes, not as the occupations of my life, but the fruits of my leisure, the employment of that time which, if not given to them, had passed in the vacuity of unrecorded idleness, or had been lost in the indulgence of unregistered thoughts and fancies, that melt away in the instant they are conceived, and "*leave not a wreck behind.*"' p. xx.

It is obvious, that in reference to the productions of a writer of acknowledged talent and established fame, who has, to a

certain extent, the command of the public attention, the moral tendency of what proceeds from his pen, forms the most interesting consideration, more especially as it can scarcely be of a negative character. And Mr. Crabbe has laid himself so very open to severe censure by the injurious and even irreligious tendency of some of his former Tales, that we should have been glad to find him disposed, on appearing again before the public after the lapse of six years, to repair, or offer some atonement for, the wrong. And he does affirm that 'there is nothing in these 'pages which has the mischievous effect of confounding truth 'and error, or confusing our ideas of right and wrong.'

'I know not,' he adds, 'which is most injurious to the yielding minds of the young, to render virtue less respectable by making its possessors ridiculous, or by describing vice with so many fascinating qualities, that it is either lost in the assemblage, or pardoned by the association. Man's heart is sufficiently prone to make excuse for man's infirmity; and needs not the aid of poetry, or eloquence, to take from vice its native deformity. A character may be respectable with all its faults, but it must not be made respectable by them. It is grievous when genius will condescend to place strong and evil spirits in a commanding view, or excite our pity and admiration for men of talents, degraded by crime, when struggling with misfortune. It is but too true, that great and wicked men may be so presented to us, as to demand our applause, when they should excite our abhorrence; but it is surely for the interest of mankind, and our own self direction, that we should ever keep at unapproachable distance, our respect and our reproach.'

These remarks are exceedingly just, and do the Writer credit. His poetry is, to an exemplary degree, clear of the offence he reprobates, that of rendering vice fascinating. We wish we could wholly acquit him of the opposite offence. But although he is not chargeable with rendering virtue less respectable by the direct method of ridiculing its possessors, yet, under the pretence of lashing hypocrisy and fanaticism, he has not scrupled to countenance the most unjust and pernicious prejudices against those whose religious profession singularizes them from their neighbours. The ridicule and obloquy which he has taken every opportunity to lavish on the believers in the 'birth divine,' is sufficiently indiscriminate in its application; but a large proportion of his readers, still less conversant with theological distinctions than himself, will not fail to apply it even more extensively than he has designed it; and will thus be hardened in those opinions of all persons of resolute and decided piety, which Scripture refers to a brutal enmity of mind. That man's heart is prone to make excuse for man's infirmity, must be admitted with some qualification. The world loves its own; but there

are those in whom it tolerates no infirmity; in whom, indeed, it can scarcely be said to tolerate any good.

It is 'grievous' when genius will lend itself to portray base and evil spirits, as the representatives and specimens of a class, or to connect with the tenets of any particular school, hypocrisy and meanness. The 'interest of mankind,' and the Writer's 'own 'self direction,' are surely left quite out of consideration, when what ought to conciliate our respect, is thus identified with all that is reproachful to our nature.

There is less of this in the present volumes, than in the 'Tales,' or the 'Borough;' a circumstance which we should readily have set down to the account of the Author's better informed judgement, or improved taste, were it not for the gross profaneness which still characterizes his ridicule whenever an opportunity of the kind appears to present itself. In 'the Maid's Story,' Frederick, a young collegian, is successively exhibited as a Methodist teacher, a soldier, an infidel, and a strolling player. Mr. Crabbe would probably say, that he drew the character from real life; and the character has all the verisimilitude of life. We think it the more probable that the Author has, at some time or other, become acquainted with an apostate of this description, because his notions of the 'Sect' to which Frederick is attached, are precisely such as Mr. Crabbe would be likely to obtain through such a channel. It is at least from witnesses just as competent and as credible, that he has obtained the materials for his portraiture of Methodism.

'He told his flight from superstitious zeal;
But first what torments he was doom'd to feel:—
"The tender tears he saw from women fall—
"The strong persuasions of the brethren all—
"The threats of crazed enthusiasts, bound to keep
"The struggling mind, and awe the straying sheep—
"From these, their love, their curses, and their creed,
"Was I by reason and exertion freed."' Vol. i. p. 308.

When a writer, disclaiming any graver purpose, avows that 'his first intention is, to please,' he may seem to claim some license in the use he makes of the materials of his narrative. We will not, therefore, stay to point out the beneficial effect which such a relation as the history of Frederick *might* have been made to subserve, in the hands of a poet who, to Mr. Crabbe's genius, should add certain qualifications which Mr. Crabbe does not possess. We would merely remark, that it is not the delineation of such a character, that is reprehensible, but the obviously unfair and pernicious use which is made of it. Such lines as the following, sufficiently evince the utter incapacity of the Author to treat with propriety the subject of religious apostacy, or, indeed, any subject connected with religion.

" And what," they said, as having power, " are now
" The inward conflicts? do you strive? and how?"
Themselves confessing thoughts so new and wild,
I thought them like the visions of a child.
" Could we," they ask, " our best good deeds condemn?
" And did we long to touch the garment's hem?
" And was it so with us? for so it was with them." '

' Of his conversion he with triumph spoke
Before he orders from a bishop took.'

——————— ' I gave two precious hours
' To hear of gifts and graces, helps and powers.'

A man who boldly ridicules that cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, Justification by Faith, and who can bring in for the purpose of burlesque, so beautiful a Scriptural allusion as the one introduced in the first of these specimens, may with great consistency, himself being a clergyman, sneer at conversion as a substitute for episcopal ordination. After this, it is perfectly unnecessary to comment on any want of liberality discovered in his estimate of the Dissenters from that Church whose priest he is; such, for instance, as is implied inthe sentiments of the Squire, who

——' viewed the Church as *liberal* minds will view,
And there he fix'd his principles and pew.

' He saw, he thought he saw, how Weakness, Pride,
And Habit, draw seceding crowds aside:
Weakness that loves on *trifling* points to dwell,
Pride that at first from heaven's own worship fell,
And Habit *going* where it went before,
Or to the Meeting or the Tavern Door.'

This is much in the same enlightened spirit as Judge Blackstone's language: ' If, through weakness of intellect, through ' misdirected piety, through perverseness and acerbity of temper, ' or, which is often the case, through a prospect of secular ad- ' vantage in *herding* with a party, men quarrel with the Eccle- ' siastical Establishment,' &c. Except, indeed, that Mr. Crabbe leaves no room for the supposition, that piety, however misdirected, can have any share in diverting men from either the Church or the Tavern, to the Meeting-house.

Our Author prides himself on his knowledge of the world, and his insight into human character.

' Come then, fair Truth! and let me clearly see
The minds I paint, as they are seen in thee;
To me their merits and their faults impart;
Give me to say, " frail being! such thou art."
And closely let me view the naked human heart.'

And he does possess in a very extraordinary degree, the power

of describing with anatomical accuracy, as well as picturesque force, every morbid variety of the moral subject. He has been a diligent observer, and he is a no less skilful dissector. But his knowledge is purely that which is derived from close observation; and the field of his observation has exclusively been what we must designate by that equivocal phrase—the world. It is, in other words, the worldly,—the polite and gay, or the base and mean, the careless or the hopeless worldling,—that supply the materials of his parish registers. It is the world in all its naked barrenness and dreariness, it is the human character in its native weakness and obliquity, it is life as a tissue of vanity and vexation, that he unfolds to us. His tales are all half elegy, half satire. He tells us what he has seen, and he *must* have seen what he paints so well. But the heart of a reflecting man would often faint at what he sees, were it not for the relief afforded by recurring to what he can imagine and what he loves to believe. Mr. Crabbe, however, sternly sets himself to combat the illusions which imagination would throw over the scene. He is for banishing fiction even from poetry. He would have us walk through the world with the sobriety and self possession with which we should walk the hospital, treasuring up all the dirty facts and painful occurrences we meet with, as so much knowledge that may turn to our private use in practice. What is displeasing, what is disgusting, is not the less acceptable to him if it presents some fresh variety of human nature. Dugald Stewart has remarked on the traces of early habits of association, which may be detected in writers upon abstract subjects, in their frequent recurrence to some one favourite method of analogical illustration: as for instance, the writer who shall be perpetually speaking of coils and springs and regulating principles in reference to the phenomena of mind, shall prove to be the son of a watchmaker; and in another, who is for ever borrowing his metaphors from the art of healing, we shall recognise the medical student. In like manner, in our clerical Poet there still survives the Surgeon and Apothecary of Aldborough. Not that his phraseology smells of the "Pharmacopeia," but his poetical system, though he disavows any specific theory on the subject, bears the marks of a professional view of men and things, strikingly analogous to that with which the medical practitioner is doomed to be familiar. This is a view the very reverse of that which would seem to favour the purpose of the poet; but it suits Mr. Crabbe, and, if we admit it as an axiom of 'Common Sense,' that

> 'None but a bard his own true line can tell,
> 'He chooses right who executes it well,'—

we must congratulate him upon a choice of subject so peculiarly adapted to that modification of taste and that passion

forbare reality, which his early habits may be supposed to have induced.

But if the ideal was of necessity to be excluded from his Tales, a relief might still have been obtained from another source, which should have been in perfect harmony with the soberest hues of life. If we are forbidden the boyish indulgence of fancy, we might at least be allowed the manly consolations of faith. But this same professional habit of viewing things, is apt to render a man insensible of the want of any such expedient. Besides, Mr. Crabbe tells us that he does not assume the tone of a moralist, and we must, therefore, take him as he is.

What he is, as a poet, our readers cannot require to be informed. As a didactic writer, he is pointed, axiomatic, and often energetic, yet not unfrequently trite and feeble. His descriptions have generally the merit of a Dutch accuracy: sometimes they are strikingly picturesque and even beautiful. But in the delineation of character, lies his distinguishing excellence; and in some of his narrations, which vary from the humblest degree and kind of interest, (sometimes, indeed, bordering upon the tiresome,) to a style of the deepest pathos, he has perhaps never been surpassed. The present volumes will not detract from his reputation, as a powerful, though far from being always a pleasing writer.

The plan, or story, which serves to connect these Tales into a series, is, as in the case of Mr. Crabbe's former productions, slight and inartificial. Two brothers meet, after the separation of many years; the elder, as the lord of the 'Hall,' his recent purchase, the younger as his guest. Their adventures since they parted in early life, together with the lives and characters of the Squire's old friends or newer neighbours, supply the subjects of the successive narratives with which the visit of Richard to his wealthier brother is enlivened. In the last Book, Richard prepares to depart, but the Squire has in the mean time taken measures for securing him as a neighbour for the rest of his days, and introduces him to a snug mansion, not far from the 'Hall,' as his future home.

> " 'Tis to thy own possession that we go;
> " It is thy wife's, and will thy children's be,
> " Earth, wood, and water! all for thine and thee!
> " Bought in thy name—Alight, my friend, and come,
> " I do beseech thee, to thy proper home;
> " There wilt thou soon thy own Matilda view,
> " She knows our deed, and she approves it too;
> " Before her all our views and plans were laid,
> " And Jacques was there t' explain and to persuade.
> " Here, on this lawn, thy boys and girls shall run,
> " And play their gambols when their tasks are done;

" There, from that window, shall their mother view
" The happy tribe, and smile at all they do;
" While thou, more gravely, hiding thy delight,
" Shalt cry ' O! childish!' and enjoy the sight.' " Vol. ii. p. 352.

Books I and II make us acquainted with the two brothers. Book III, under the title of ' Boys at School,' contains sketches of the boy-tyrant, and the patronized boy, and the story of Harry Bland. This last contains a moral, if the reader will be at the pains of finding out; but we fear that the narration will, upon most persons, have the effect of making the boy-moralist seem ridiculous, rather than of awakening any salutary reflections on the utter inadequacy of mere sentiment or knowledge, unconnected with genuine religious principle, to secure an adherence to virtue. Doubtless it is a very childish question:

' Do all the wicked people go to Hell?'

The death of the once patronized boy, now the deserted and broken down artist, is a more favourable specimen of Mr. Crabbe's peculiar talent, and exemplifies his skill in the simply pathetic.

' Years past away, and where he lived and how,
Was then unknown—indeed we know not now;
But once at twilight walking up and down,
In a poor alley of the mighty town,
Where, in her narrow courts and garrets, hide
The grieving sons of Genius, Want, and Pride,
I met him musing: sadness I could trace,
And conquer'd hope's meek anguish, in his face.
See him I must; but I with ease address'd,
And neither pity nor surprise express'd;
I strove both grief and pleasure to restrain,
But yet I saw that I was giving pain.
He said, with quickening pace, as loth to hold
A longer converse, that the day was cold,
" That he was well, that I had scarcely light
" To aid my steps," and bade me then good night!
I saw him next where he had lately come,
A silent pauper in a crowded room;
I heard his name, but he concealed his face,
To his sad mind his misery was disgrace:
In vain I strove to combat his disdain
Of my compassion—" Sir, I pray, refrain;"
For I had left my friends and stepp'd aside,
Because I fear'd his unrelenting pride.

' He then was sitting on a workhouse bed,
And on the naked boards reclined his head;
Around were children with incessant cry,
And near was one, like him, about to die;
A broken chair's deal bottom held the store
That he required—he soon would need no more;

A yellow tea-pot, standing at his side,
From its half spout the cold black tea supplied.'

* * * * *

'Once more I saw him, when his spirits fail'd,
And my desire to aid him then prevail'd;
He shew'd a softer feeling in his eye,
And watch'd my looks, and own'd the sympathy:
'Twas now the calm of wearied pride; so long
As he had strength was his resentment strong,
But in such place, with strangers all around,
And they such strangers, to have something found
Allied to his own heart, an early friend,
One, only one, who would on him attend,
To give and take a look! at this his journey's end;
One link, however slender, of the chain
That held him where he could not long remain;
The one sole interest!—No, he could not now
Retain his anger; nature knew not how;
And so there came a softness o'er his mind,
And he forgave the usage of mankind.
His cold long fingers now were press'd to mine,
And his faint smile of kinder thoughts gave sign;
His lips moved often as he tried to lend
His words their sound, and softly whisper'd "friend!"
Not without comfort in the thought express'd
By that calm look with which he sank to rest.'

Vol. I. p. 48—52.

The succeeding three Books are occupied with the younger brother's recital of his adventures. And here, we have some very fine painting, in the description of Richard's escape from drowning, and in his detail of the wayward pursuits and associations of his boyhood. The growth of the maritime passion in his mind, is well depicted. The following sea-shore sketch is evidently a study from nature.

'I loved to walk where none had walk'd before,
About the rocks that ran along the shore;
Or far beyond the sight of men to stray,
And take my pleasure when I lost my way.
For then 'twas mine to trace the hilly heath,
And all the mossy moor that lies beneath.
Here had I favourite stations when I stood
And heard the murmurs of the ocean-flood,
With not a sound beside, except when flew
Aloft the lapwing, or the gray curlew,
Who with wild notes my fancied power defied,
And mock'd the dreams of solitary pride.

'I loved to stop at every creek and bay
Made by the river in its winding way,

And call to memory—not by masks they bare,
But by the thoughts that were created there.

'Pleasant it was to view the sea-gulls strive
Against the storm, or in the ocean dive,
With eager scream; or when they dropping gave
Their closing wings to sail upon the wave;
Then as the winds and waters raged around,
And breaking billows mix'd their deafening sound;
They on the rolling deep securely hung,
And calmly rode the restless waves among.
Nor pleased it less around me to behold
Far up the beach, the yesty sea-foam roll'd;
Or from the shore upborn, to see on high,
Its frothy flakes in wild confusion fly:
While the salt spray that clashing billows form,
Gave to the taste a feeling of the storm.' Vol. I. p. 82.

The story of Ruth is one of those deeply tragical and, at the same time, revolting tales which it is an insult to the reader's feelings for the narrator to offer as mere amusement. Nothing short of a valuable moral lesson, as the evident purpose of the recital, can compensate for having the imagination disturbed with such images of disgusting horror. Of the moral tendency of this tale, our readers shall judge. Ruth was the sweetheart of a sailor boy; the day was fixed for their marriage, but not so soon as it ought to have been; and before it arrived, a press-gang bore off the seaman, without allowing him one day to repair the wrong, by making Ruth his wife. He is slain, and Ruth is left with a fatherless infant, dishonoured and disconsolate. The Methodist teacher upon whom her father attends, endeavours, however, 'to win her mind to peace, by drawing off the sin' that disquieted her. He succeeds: 'her griefs began to heal.' Let not the simple reader imagine that the Reverend Mr. Crabbe is about to pay a reluctant tribute to the well-meant and salutary zeal of the enthusiasts. True, the weaver, for such was this teacher's trade, restored the poor girl to reason and comfort, but what was the motive of all his pains? Base, of course, and selfish. He wished to marry the girl, and having the father's authority on his side, he brutally resolves, in spite of her increasing aversion, to make her his.

'If Ruth was frail, she had a mind too nice
To wed with that which she beheld as vice;
To take a reptile—'

and so she drowns herself, and, as the narrator piously hopes, went to heaven!

We must again remind our readers that the Reverend Mr. Crabbe does not assume 'the tone of a moralist,' and, therefore, if this tale should seem intended to palliate the crime of suicide,

and to sanction the pernicious delusion that misfortune will claim a retributive compensation in the world 'where frailty mercy 'finds, and wrong has right;' they must recollect that he does not 'promise that his relations shall be beneficial to mankind.' And further, if it should appear to them, that 'a minister of re-'ligion, in the decline of life,' might find some worthier amusement than holding up the teachers of any religious sect to suspicion and reproach, not as the promulgators of false doctrine, but specifically as hypocrites, as gross, and vulgar, and sensual, thus siding with the vilest of mankind in their blind and malignant hostility against the ministers of religion, and becoming a pander to their bigotry and hatred,—for them, be it remembered, Mr. Crabbe has 'no reply.'

Other readers, when they find an author is making a profligate use of his talents, may, at the first impulse of disgust or indignation, throw away the volume; but the critic must proceed. We felt ourselves continually to stand in need of this inducement in persevering through Mr. Crabbe's volumes; so often was the pleasure he is always capable of affording, suspended by the positively disagreeable qualities of the narration, or the worse than ill-chosen nature of his subject. We will not deny that we found ourselves repaid for our perseverance. The reflections suggested by such passages as the one above cited, were so much the more painful, as they were accompanied with the conviction that these Tales, with all their faults, are likely to become a permanent accession to our poetical literature, which will thus receive a fresh portion of that deleterious matter by which its moral tendency is already rendered too adverse to the spirit of the religion of Christ.

The next Tale, which concludes Richard's adventures, and details the progress and successful termination of his courtship, is of a more pleasing cast. There is a great deal of natural feeling in the relation. A lover's recital is apt, however, to border so closely upon the ridiculous, from the causeless fears, the unreasonable jealousies, and what seems to others the amusing eagerness and abstraction of mind, incident to the period of his probation, that it is scarcely susceptible of deep interest. We scarcely know whether the Poet means that we should listen in sober gravity, or with the smile of a grey-haired senior on looking back upon the pleasing frenzy of his youth. Mr. Crabbe cannot be *amatory* with grace; nor can he be sportive. In the succeeding Tale, the 'Elder Brother's' narrative of his strange romantic passion for a beauty whom he one day rescued from danger, and is unable to meet with or hear of again, till he accidentally discovers her in London, ruined and depraved,—the reference *en badinage*, to the 'lunacy sublime' which so long enthralled his reason, is quite in character, and the character

suits Mr. Crabbe. But the love song which has been adduced as an instance of his success in a style hitherto unattempted by him, we regard as affording a decided proof of his inadequacy to the attempt: it has little point, little propriety or elegance, and no feeling, and the 'Damon' is almost burlesque. No sooner, however, does Mr. Crabbe arrive at that period in the story which affords scope for pathos, than he is all himself again. The idea in the last three lines of the following extract, is extremely beautiful.

'—— There came, at length, request
That I would see a wretch by grief opprest,
By guilt affrighted—and I went to trace
Once more the vice-worn features of that face,
That sin-wreck'd being! and I saw her laid
Where never worldly joy a visit paid:
That world receding fast! the world to come
Conceal'd in terror, ignorance, and gloom;
Sin, sorrow, and neglect: with not a spark
Of vital hope,—all horrible and dark—
It frighten'd me!—I thought, And shall not I
Thus feel? thus fear?—this danger can I fly?
Do I so wisely live that I can calmly die?'

'Twas in that chamber, Richard, I began
To think more deeply of the end of man.'

* * * *

'Still as I went came other change—the frame
And features wasted, and yet slowly came
The end; and so inaudible the breath,
And still the breathing, we exclaim'd—'tis death!
But death it was not; when indeed she died,
I sat and his last gentle stroke espied:
When—as it came—or did my fancy trace
That lively, lovely flushing o'er the face?
Bringing back all that my young heart impress'd!
It came—and went! she sigh'd and was at rest.'

Vol. I. pp. 164—6.

'The Sisters' is an interesting and not uninstructive story: the characters are very natural and well discriminated, and the incidents are of a kind with which real life has of late but too much abounded. Like most of the Tales, it leaves a melancholy impression upon the mind, such as the Writer seems to delight in producing. Melancholy is the very element of his fancy, and in this instance it has seemed to supply an inspiration which has called forth the unusual effort of some lyrical stanzas. They are in the moodiest strain, and breathe all that is morbid in feeling; but some of the verses have a redeeming beauty, and the last in particular is very striking. As Mr. Crabbe so rarely indulges in this style of composition, we must do him the justice of extracting some of the stanzas.

'Let me not have this gloomy view,
About my room, around my bed;
But morning roses, wet with dew,
To cool my burning brows instead.
As flow'rs that once in Eden grew,
Let them their fragrant spirits shed,
And every day the sweets renew,
Till I, a fading flower, am dead.

'Oh! let the herbs I loved to rear,
Give to my sense their perfumed breath;
Let them be placed about my bier,
And grace the gloomy house of death.
I'll have my grave beneath a hill,
Where, only Lucy's self shall know;
Where runs the pure pellucid rill
Upon its gravelly bed below.

'There violets on the borders blow,
And insects their soft light display,
Till, as the morning sunbeams glow,
The cold phosporic fires decay.
In virgin earth, till then unturn'd,
There let my maiden form be laid,
Nor let my changed clay be spurn'd,
Nor for new guest that bed be made.

'I will not have the churchyard ground,
With bones all black and ugly grown,
To press my shivering body round,
Or on my wasted limbs be thrown.
I will not have the bell proclaim
When those sad marriage rites begin,
And boys, without regard or shame,
Press the vile mouldering masses in.

'Say not, it is beneath my care;
I cannot these cold truths allow;
These thoughts may not afflict me there,
But, O! they vex and tease me now.
Raise not a turf, nor set a stone,
That man a maiden's grave may trace,
But thou, my Lucy, come alone,
And let affection find the place.

'O! take me from a world I hate,
Men cruel, selfish, sensual, cold;
And in some pure and blessed state,
Let me my sister minds behold:
From gross and sordid views refined,
Our heaven of spotless love to share,
For only generous souls design'd,
And not a man to meet us there.'

Vol. I. pp. 212—15.

In our opinion, the poem would not have lost any of its beauty if it had appeared in the form in which we have given it, with the omission of the intermediate twelve lines.

Book IX. 'The Preceptor Husband,' narrates the disappointment of a man who determined to choose a learned wife, but was seduced by a pretty face, to marry one without either learning or mind.

'The Old Bachelor' is the subject of Book X. and the opprobrious name is well vindicated in the person of the hero. In this Tale, the Author seizes an opportunity of describing, with his own inimitable force and vividness, the morbid operations of the perturbed intellect. The sudden death of the lady to whom the narrator was engaged, is followed by an interval in his history, a blank which he confesses himself to be unable to fill.

> 'It is a puzzle and a terror still.
> I was desirous from myself to run,
> And something, but I knew not what, to shun.
> Yet did I *feel* some intervals of bliss
> Ev'n with the horrors of a fate like this;
> And dreams of wonderful construction paid
> For waking horror.'

The autumn tints of *forty-six* upon human character, have never perhaps been more accurately and naturally traced, than in this Old Bachelor's narrative; and the lover of sixty is a good portrait.

'The Maid's Story,' which concludes the first volume, is replete with that interest which arises from the minute delineation of human character and the manners of the world. It is for the most part a satire, abounding with the marks of shrewd observation, and not destitute of a kind of cynical humour. We have by anticipation animadverted on the chief deformity in the tale in a moral point of view, the character of Frederick. That of Grandmamma, and the humble one of Biddy, claim a more honourable distinction.

> 'Poor grandmamma among the gentry dwelt
> Of a small town, and all the honour felt;
> Shrinking from all approaches to disgrace
> That might be mark'd in so genteel a place;
> Where every daily deed, as soon as done,
> Ran through the town as fast as it could run;—
> At dinners what appear'd—at cards who lost or won.
>
> 'Our good appearance through the town was known,
> Hunger and thirst were matters of our own;
> And you would judge that she in scandal dealt,
> Who told on what we fed, or how we felt.
>
> 'We had a little maid, some four feet high,
> Who was employed our household stores to buy;

For she would weary every man in trade,
And tease t'assent whom she could not persuade.

'Methinks I see her, with her pigmy light,
Precede her mistress in a moonless night;
From the small lantern throwing through the street
The dimm'd effulgence at her lady's feet;
What time she went to prove her well-known skill
With rival friends at their beloved quadrille.
"And how's your pain?" inquired the gentle maid,
For that was asking if with luck she play'd;
And this she answer'd as the cards decreed,
"O Biddy, ask not—very bad indeed;"
Or, in more cheerful tone, from spirit light,
"Why, thank you, Biddy, pretty well to-night."'

Vol. I. pp. 287—9.

The old lady dies, and her furniture serves but to pay 'the 'bills, the burial, and the rent.' Our heroine, in her exigency, accepts of a temporary asylum in the humble cottage of the faithful Biddy.

'In times like this the poor have little dread,
They can but work, and they shall then be fed;
And Biddy cheer'd me with such thoughts as this,
"You'll find the poor have their enjoyments, Miss!"
Indeed I saw, for Biddy took me home
To a forsaken hovel's cold and gloom;
And while my tears in plenteous flow were shed,
With her own hands she placed her proper bed,
Reserved for need. A fire was quickly made,
And food, the purchase for the day, display'd:
She let in air to make the damps retire,
Then placed her sad companion at her fire;
She then began her wonted peace to feel,
She bought her wool, and sought her favourite wheel,
That as she turn'd, she sang with sober glee,
"Begone, dull Care! I'll have no more with thee;"
Then turn'd to me, and bade me weep no more,
But try and taste the pleasures of the poor.'

'At night we pray'd—I dare not say a word
Of our devotion, it was so absurd;
And very pious upon Biddy's part,
But mine were all effusions of the heart;
While she her angels call'd their peace to shed,
And bless the corners of our little bed.'

Vol. I. pp. 294—6.

The adventure with a youthful admirer, in the sequel, may possibly have its moral use. We recommend to those whom it may concern, the prudent counsel and the firm decision of this princess of old maids. Rupert, the sentimental boy, is most

delightfully portrayed: it has the humour of caricature, yet it is strictly within the line of the natural.

We shall have less temptation to multiply our extracts in proceeding to give an account of the second Volume. With the exception of the first story, the tales are all of inferior interest, the subjects being, for the most part, instances of uninstructive distress, or of uninteresting and disgusting folly and meanness. For example, 'Delay has Danger,' is the title of a narrative which shews how a silly young fellow was half-entrapped, half induced by pique, to break his engagement to a woman he loved, by marrying one, in far inferior circumstances, whom he despised, and how he thereby had to endure for the rest of his days, a burden of self-contempt, in addition to the contempt of all his friends, in which the reader sincerely participates. The 'Natural Death of Love,' is a conversation rather than a tale, which contains some wholesome but rather common-place doctrine and advice on the subject of conjugal happiness. 'Gretna Green' is a revolting picture of an extreme case of duplicity and folly, terminating in a more than usual measure of domestic unhappiness. 'Lady Barbara, or the Ghost,' is a warning against indiscreet second marriages, where the disparity of years adds impropriety to the venture. It is rather obscurely and feebly written, and has little merit of any kind to compensate for the unpleasing nature of the story. Mr. Crabbe tells us, that he was indebted to a friend for the outline of the tale, which may partly account for the inferiority of its execution, as he had to work upon the ideas of another, instead of following the bent of his own fancy. He acknowledges a similar obligation with respect to the story of Ellen in Book XVIII. The obligation does not, in this instance, any more than in the former, appear to be very considerable. The story, even if it be true, we should still pronounce improbable; and the inexplicable perverseness of the lady is irreconcileable either with the common forms of social courtesy, or the natural operations of feeling. We cannot concede our pity to folly so wilful, and to suffering so entirely self-inflicted. Cecil's is a more natural character, and a more likely fate.

The thrice-married Widow is another of those unpleasing Tales which this Writer is fond of telling; not deficient in shrewd remark, and lively description, and knowledge of the world, but wholly destitute of those qualities which are adapted either to captivate the fancy or to interest the feelings. The prominent character is vulgar, heartless, and insipid; the incidents are the common business of common life; and the tone of the Narrator is as frigid, and cynical, and dry, as divinity grafted upon physic may be expected to make a man. If this, and the

Tales just adverted to, can answer any beneficial purpose, it is well; and their unpleasing character becomes in that case a consideration wholly subordinate; but as poetry, a person must have a strangely modified taste, not to say, a sensibility a little the worse for wear, who can experience in the perusal, any of that pleasure which works of taste are adapted and designed to awaken. The same remarks will apply, with some qualification, to the remaining stories of William Bailey, the Cathedral Walk, and Smugglers and Poachers. In the last, however, there is more of the poet displayed in the vivid description of the workings of imagination, and the strong beatings of the 'naked 'human heart.' The subject is the very reverse of pleasing, but the terror and gloom which hang over it, have charms for the imagination, which supply the deficiency of other sources of interest.

We have reserved for our concluding extracts, the story of Sir Owen Dale, to which we referred as an exception to the inferior character of the second volume. It is one of the best in the work, and its moral tendency is excellent. Sir Owen has resolved upon a singular method of revenging himself, but, as the parties are circumstanced, an efficient one, upon a fair coquette who had first tempted, and then rejected, the offer of his hand. While bent upon the execution of his plan, he calls upon a tenant who had had far more ample provocation to vengeance, in his wife's infidelity; and from him, Sir Owen receives a lesson which sends him home determined to revoke his purpose, thankful that the object of his old attachment had not been stolen from him after her hand had become his.

The character of Ellis, the easy, not refined, but affectionate and unsuspicious husband, is very true to life. He, 'a thriving 'man,' would sometimes quit the parlour fire for the town inn, while his wife, left to muse at home in sullen discontent, soon began to yield to the wish that some social spirit would come to the farm to relieve her solitude. One of kindred mind at length presents himself, in a young man placed with a neighbouring farmer in order to learn the business. He finds in farmer Ellis, a man of information and sense; in his wife,

> 'A lovely being who could please too well;
> And he was one who never would deny
> Himself a pleasure, or indeed would try.
>
> 'Early and well the wife of Ellis knew
> Where danger was, and trembled at the view.
> *So evil spirits tremble, but are still*
> *Evil, and lose not the rebellious will.*'

* * * * *

'Friendship with woman is a dangerous thing—
Thence hopes avow'd and bold confessions spring:
Frailties confess'd to other frailties lead,
And new confessions new desires succeed;
And, when the friends have thus their hearts disclosed,
They find how little is to guilt opposed.'

With steady and delicate hand, Mr. Crabbe traces the steps by which the domestic happiness of Ellis is for ever blasted, not forgetting his own just remark, that there are crimes which 'they almost share who paint them well.' Vice is never fascinating in his pages, nor does the description supply an impulse at variance with the moral of the Tale.

—'While the Farmer read of public crimes,
Collating coolly Chronicles and Times,
The flight was taken by the guilty pair,
That made one passage in the columns there.'

Sir Owen's visit to his tenant, is supposed to happen some years after the event, and he goes in expectation of hearing from him a tale of vengeance. The picture which Ellis draws of the abject misery in which he, two years after, discovered the lost pair, is horrible and loathsome, such as Mr. Crabbe excels in enabling the reader to realize, and such as in this instance he may be forgiven for delighting to paint, on account of the lesson it supplies.

'"What indeed I meant
"At first was vengeance; but I long pursued
"The pair, and I at last their misery view'd
"In that vile garret, which I cannot paint—
"The sight was loathsome, and the smell was faint;
"And there that wife,—whom I had loved so well,
"And thought so happy, was condemned to dwell;
"The gay, the grateful wife, whom I was glad
"To see in dress beyond our station clad,
"And to behold among our neighbours fine,
"More than perhaps became a wife of mine;
"And now among her neighbours to explore,
"And see her poorest of the very poor!—
"I would describe it, but I bore a part,
"Nor can explain the feelings of the heart;
"Yet memory since has aided me to trace
"The horrid features of that dismal place.
"There she reclined unmoved, her bosom bare
"To her companion's unimpassioned stare,
"And my wild wonder:—Seat of virtue, chaste
"As lovely once! O! how wert thou disgraced!
"Upon that breast, by sordid rags defiled,
"Lay the wan features of a famish'd child;—
"That sin-born babe in utter misery laid,
"Too feebly wretched even to cry for aid;

" The ragged sheeting o'er her person drawn,
" Served for the dress that hunger placed in pawn.

" At the bed's feet the man reclined his frame:
" Their chairs were perished to support the flame
" That warm'd his agued limbs; and, sad to see,
" That shook him fiercely as he gazed on me.

" I was confused at this unhappy view:
" My wife! my friend! I could not think it true;
" My children's mother,—my Alicia,—laid
" On such a bed! so wretched,—so afraid!
" And her gay young seducer, in the guise
" Of all we dread, abjure, defy, despise,
" And all the fear and terror in his look,
" Still more my mind to its foundation shook.
" At last he spoke: 'Long since I would have died,
" 'But could not leave her, though for death I sigh'd,
" 'And tried the poison'd cup, and dropt it as I tried.
" 'She is a woman, and that famished thing
" 'Makes her to life, with all its evils, cling:
" 'Feed her, and let her breathe her last in peace,
" 'And all my sufferings with your promise cease!'
" Ghastly he smiled:—I knew not what I felt.
" But my heart melted—hearts of flint would melt
" To see their anguish, penury, and shame,
" How base, how low, how groveling they became:
" I could not speak my purpose, but my eyes
" And my expression bade the creature rise.

" Yet, O! that woman's look! my words are vain
" Her mixed and troubled feelings to explain;
" True, there was shame and consciousness of fall,
" But yet remembrance of my love withal,
" And knowledge of that power which she would now recal.
" But still the more that she to memory brought,
" The greater anguish in my mind was wrought;
" The more she tried to bring the past in view,
" She greater horror on the present threw;
" So that, for love or pity, terror thrill'd
" My blood, and vile and odious thoughts instill'd.

* * * * *

" And you relieved?"

" If hell's seducing crew
" Had seen that sight, they must have pitied too."

" Revenge was thine—thou hadst the power, the right;
" To give it up was heaven's own act to slight."

" Tell me not, Sir, of rights, and wrongs, or powers!
" I felt it written—Vengeance is not ours!"

" What didst thou, man?"

"I brought them to a cot
"Behind your larches,—a sequestered spot,
"Where dwells the woman: I believe her mind
"Is now enlighten'd—I am sure resign'd:
"She gave her infant, though with aching heart
"And faltering spirit, to be nursed apart."
"And that vile scoundrel——"
"Nay his name restore,
"And call him Cecil,—for he is no more:
"When my vain help was offer'd, he was past
"All human aid, and shortly breath'd his last;
"But his heart open'd, and he liv'd to see
"Guilt in himself, and find a friend in me."
"But, Ellis, tell me, didst thou thus desire
"To heap upon their heads those coals of fire?"
"If fire to melt, that feeling is confest,—
"If fire to shame, I let that question rest;
"But if aught more the sacred words imply,
"I know it not—no commentator I."
"Then did you freely from your soul forgive?—"
"Sure as I hope before my Judge to live,
"Sure as I trust his mercy to receive,
"Sure as his word I honour and believe,
"Sure as the Saviour died upon the tree
"For all who sin,—for that dear wretch and me,—
"Whom never more on earth will I forsake or see."

Vol. II. pp. 39—46.

Passages such as these, make us the more deeply regret that the Author should ever have lost sight of the noble purpose to which his extraordinary talents might, with so much honour to himself, and so much advantage to his readers, have been uniformly dedicated.

Compared with Mr. Crabbe's former volumes, the Tales of the Hall, exhibit, we think, no marks of decay or exhaustion of faculty, and they are, upon the whole, less obnoxious to criticism than some of his productions. A few inadvertencies, and an occasional negligence of style, may have been noticed in our extracts; but upon these, we have deemed it perfectly unnecessary to remark. The Author is himself too old a practitioner to stand in need of hints from any of our profession, relative to the *minutiæ* of composition; and, of all the writers of the day, he is the one the least likely to tempt into a reproduction of his faults, a tribe of imitators. Although a mannerist, his manner is not of a kind to seduce a copyist: it is, in general, too cool, too dry to take even with his admirers as a model, nor would it be endurable at second hand. But what places Mr. Crabbe peculiarly beyond the reach of imitation, is

not so much his manner, as his style of thought, and his materials for thinking. Few poetical writers are more entirely free from egotism, or seem to have their own feelings and concerns so little implicated in their productions; and yet, there are few whose works bear more decided marks of individuality of character. To be the author of these Tales, a man must have passed through a noviciate of no ordinary kind, must have been subjected to the modifying process of circumstances which serve to account for whatever is morbid in his feelings, and for much that is excellent in his faculties; and he must have lived long, and seen much of life, in order to have acquired that treasure of good and evil knowledge from which Mr. Crabbe draws his seemingly inexhaustible materials. On all these accounts, we deem him safe from the impertinence of imitation; and an originality of this substantial nature affords, perhaps—the best security for the permanence of a Writer's literary existence.

Art. III. *The Connexion between the Sacred Writings and the Literature of Jewish and Heathen Authors*, particularly that of the Classical Ages, illustrated, principally with a View to Evidence in Confirmation of the Truth of Revealed Religion. By Robert Gray, D.D. Prebendary of Durham and of Chichester, and Rector of Bishop Wearmouth. Second Edition, 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 368, 504. Price 21s. 1819.

IT is not often that the Dedication of a work attracts so much of our attention as to detain us in the examination of any of its sentiments or statements. Nor should we, in the present instance, notice the pages in which the Author pays his acknowledgements to his patron, the Bishop of Durham, but for the sake of shewing how effectually the doctrine of the following passage is invalidated by a declaration of the learned Prebendary, which occurs in the body of "The Connexion."

'It is impossible,' says Dr. Gray, 'not to be convinced, that we must look to those who early imbibe sound knowledge under institutions in which a due regard is paid to religious instruction, for that firm and cordial defence of our constitution, both in church and state, which is necessary, when there is often so much cause to lament a vague latitude of opinion, as to doctrines essential to the preservation of truth; and a coldness with respect to institutions sanctioned by the example of the purest ages, compacted with the frame of our constitution and laws, and indispensable to the maintenance of our civil and religious interests.'

We do not mean to examine this passage for the purpose of determining how far 'a due regard to religious instruction' is paid, in the institutions alluded to; or whether 'a vague latitude of opinion as to doctrines essential to the preservation of truth,'

is, or is not, to be found among those very persons who share fully in all the advantages of those institutions: we shall content ourselves with enabling our readers to compare the entire spirit and purpose of the preceding representation, with the declaration of the learned Author in the following extract.

'It should be observed that the Romans, by the destruction of Jerusalem, made way for the establishment of Christianity, *which was not to be implicated with a political institution*, but was designed to preserve a spiritual church, capable of administering to the moral and spiritual interests of men *under every government*.' Vol. i. p. 118.

A more correct delineation of the nature and design of Christianity, language cannot convey. But how entirely is it opposed to the statements and opinions contained in the Dedication! Whenever occasion shall present itself for trying the merits of such questions as involve the nature and design of Christianity, we shall appeal to no other principles than those which are so admirably exhibited by Dr. Gray. There is, we are well convinced, much higher authority than even his, for maintaining the position, that 'Christianity was not to be implicated with a 'political institution, but was designed to preserve a spiritual 'church, capable of administering to the moral and spiritual 'interests of men under every form of government.' This is a concession, however, for which, we imagine, Dr. Gray will not receive the thanks of his brethren, the dignitaries of the Church of England.

The subject of Dr. Gray's work, is one of much curiosity, of considerable importance, and, it must be granted, of great difficulty. Nothing, it is true, could be more easy, than to collect from the copious sources of ancient literature, passages of a striking and interesting character, imbodying facts and opinions that might be successfully used for the purpose of Scriptural illustration. For such an undertaking, scarcely any higher qualifications are requisite, than the ability to read the numerous works of heathen writers which have come down to the present times, and which are almost every where accessible. Services of this kind, we would by no means undervalue, as we cannot but be sensible how much the evidences of the truth of the Bible history are multiplied and confirmed by the testimonies which they have been the means of eliciting. The fidelity of the Jewish and the Christian records, is strongly supported by the details of writers who, in their selection and transmission of facts, were not governed by any feelings of interested regard in favour of the cause of Revelation. To collect those details, and to exhibit them in connexion with the circumstances in the Scriptures which they corroborate or explain, is unquestionably a service worthy of being warmly commended, and which, we would

gratefully remember, has been frequently and well performed: it does not, however, require the employment of extraordinary talents. But to examine ancient literature for the purpose of tracing to their sources, the facts, the circumstances, the opinions, the rites, and the institutions which the various writings of antiquity disclose; to shew the origin of such as are unborrowed, and to render evident the manner in which others have been derived from the records of Scripture; is an undertaking of the most arduous description. In addition to very extensive learning, it would require the exercise of a judgement unusually discriminating, a high degree of natural penetration and acuteness, and the individual should have been trained to habits of accurate and comprehensive comparison. A correspondence may often be found to exist between ordinances which had their origin in Divine communications, and observances which rest solely on human authority.—Resemblances may be traced between the sentiments of inspired writers, and those of moral teachers who had never received the illuminations of the Spirit of God.—There may be detected a coincidence between the institutes and the worship of a people among whom they had been established by the supreme authority of the Most High, and those of nations who were not within the circle of its directions.—The fears of mankind may have suggested the practice of religious ceremonies, in some particulars identical with the customs of a revealed ritual. —Many of the heroes celebrated in Pagan fables, may be found to have had their prototypes in the eminent persons whose names are preserved in the sacred records; and the exploits of the former, to be only exaggerated or distorted representations of the achievements of the latter. Now, to treat these several cases, and others of a similar kind, so as that what is imitation, may stand out distinctly from what is original, and that posterior circumstances may not be invested with the attributes proper to anterior ones, would seem to be the bounden duty of an author who should undertake, according to the higher view we have suggested of the subject, to establish a connexion between sacred and profane literature. And the competent execution of such a work, would require the exercise of talents far above mediocrity.

Dr. Gray occasionally enters this higher walk of the Biblical scholar, but his progress in it is slow and hesitating: its obscurities are too dark to be dissipated by the light which he carries with him, and its difficulties are too formidable to be overcome by his strength. His mind is too little imbued with the spirit of philosophical research, to afford the promise of results that shall delight us by their novel and felicitous character. Where the subject is so intricate, and where the facilities of arriving at satisfactory conclusions are by no means obvious or abundant, a writer has, however, every claim to our indulgence;

and it is but equitable, that our judgement of his work should be governed by the consideration of the design which he has proposed to execute, rather than by any ideal standard. The following statement of the Author's plan, it will be perceived, does not altogether limit it to the inferior department of authorship to which we have referred, but very fairly places it, in some measure at least, in relation to the higher class of objects. Dr. Gray proposes to sketch out from Jewish and Heathen literature,

'an abstract of some of the particulars which throw a light on the history, the prophecies, the doctrines, and the institutions of religion, following, where it may be, the order of time in the production of the extracts. He trusts that he shall be able to shew, that the whole range of ancient learning presents a wide scope for such important disquisitions, though it is his intention to take rather a popular view, than any elaborate survey of the subject. He is desirous—not to investigate every circumstance which bears a resemblance to objects described in Scripture, or to examine all the channels of intelligence which the heathens possessed, but only to give a general relief to particulars which exemplify the connexion between the sacred and profane writings; and by interesting the attention of the classical student, to lead him to prosecute enquiries, which may be carried with advantage far beyond the limits of the present work.

'In proceeding to explore what remains of the structures of ancient times, it is not meant to search for every broken or defaced character, or to consider all the just maxims of Pagan philosophy, as transcribed from entablatures on the Jewish or Christian temples; but only to bring forward a general collection of the proofs, which the Heathen writings afford, of an acquaintance with many of the circumstances described in the Scriptures, and of the extent of information, which they derived from them, and which proofs occasionally are to be discerned, half concealed in mythological and corrupted accounts.' Introd. pp. 5, 29.

If, on entering the field of inquiry before us, we put ourselves under the guidance of the early Christian writers, we shall be, in the easiest possible manner, conducted to the most ample conclusions. They do not hesitate to attribute to the whole system and apparatus of Gentile philosophy, a Jewish origin. To their conclusions, we should not offer the least objection, would they but have condescended to our infirmities so far as to reveal the steps by which they may be safely reached. The assumptions of even Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus, are but sorry substitutes for propositions resting upon proof. We must therefore try in other directions, to obtain a clew that shall guide us through the mazes of a subject most perplexing in the investigations which are related to it.

It is obvious, that, to whatever extent a correspondence is supposed or proved to exist between the accounts of profane writers and the records of the Scriptures, the methods of re-

counting for the former, as being derived from, or coincident with, the latter, must be the following: the early circulation or knowledge of the Scriptures among the other nations of the world; the opportunities afforded by migration, and other means of intercourse between the Jews and other people; or, the knowledge of particular facts and truths, received in both cases from very early traditions. This last source we are disposed to regard as the most prolific of the apparent or real coincidences. Dr. Gray apprehends that there is reason to believe, that the Law and The Prophets, if not other parts of the Scriptures, were translated into Greek before the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. For our own part, we see no reason to believe this. It is, however, admitted on all hands, that, towards the beginning of the third century before Christ, the Greek version known under the name of the Septuagint, was in existence, though of its history, little that can be depended upon, has been preserved. It is very remarkable, that so early a writer as Clemens Alexandrinus should speak with so much indefiniteness of this translation: 'The Scriptures of 'the law and the prophets were translated into Greek in the 'time of Ptolemy Lagus, or, as others say, in the time of Ptolemy 'Philadelphus.' We are inclined to think that this version was made for the service of the Alexandrian synagogue, and that the exaggerated accounts which ascribe so large a portion of its merits to the patronage of the sovereign, originated with persons who were quite as much disposed to flatter him as to speak the truth. The history of some other Bible translations, affords sufficient ground for believing, that anterior facts may be so concealed, and subsequent ones so misrepresented, that the honours due to a primary version, may be transferred to the editor and patron of a more fortunate, but less meritorious, publication.

In whatever manner, the Septuagint was produced, it laid open the sacred writings to all who could speak and read a language in extensive use; and from this source, it is extremely probable that profane writers drew several of their representations. Nor is it altogether devoid of probability, that where the circumstances which are supposed to correspond to Scriptural accounts, were not immediately copied from the Bible, they may have been transmitted to the writer through the medium of documents which had received, with great alterations and colouring, the most striking incidents of the sacred records. There are, in some of the pages of classic authors, passages of so remarkable a kind, that we scarcely know in what other manner the details which they contain, could have found a place in them. From the intercourse which subsisted between the people of foreign nations and the Jews, and which was probably less limited than many persons suppose, an acquaintance with the laws and history of the latter, could not but be obtained by the former, to some cou-

siderable extent. During the captivity in Chaldea, and in subsequent changes of their fortunes, the knowledge which the descendants of Jacob possessed, could not be so completely concealed from their neighbours or their masters, as that no part of it should be directed into new channels. In every instance, then, in which the details of the classic authors can be traced to the Scriptures as the immediate or remote sources of the facts which they narrate or the opinions which they deliver, a testimony is furnished to the authenticity of the Bible. In other cases, where the coincidence is to be accounted for by traditionary statements, the classic authors become independent witnesses: the agreement not being the consequence of any derivation of accounts from the sacred writings, proves the truth of its history by a distinct species of evidence. The business of a writer who attempts the investigation of these several cases, is not, therefore, merely to collect from the various works in which the materials of his inquiry are to be found, instances of apparent agreement with the facts and doctrines of Revelation, but, by comparison, to separate or identify the respective sources of testimony. In this department of his labours, the present Author has been but partially successful; and he has principally failed, where the subject is most intricate, and stands in the greatest need of being cleared from the obscurities in which it has so long been enveloped; where, consequently, investigation was most desirable, and the assistance of an able expounder most wanted.

Chapter I. treats very briefly, of the connexion subsisting between the religious opinions of different nations, which demonstrates often a common origin. It contains scarcely any other remark than, that with respect to the religious opinions and religious rites of antiquity, a sufficient outline may be drawn from the various records which have been preserved, to establish an original identity as to facts, and a common correspondence as to many fundamental convictions. In the following chapters, the Author proceeds to illustrate at large this leading proposition. They exhibit considerable industry; and the work, on account of its interesting and useful contents, is well entitled to our recommendation. We cannot, however, but express how much its value would have been increased by a minute examination into the credibility of the authorities which are so copiously adduced. Alexander Polyhistor may possibly have been a man highly esteemed among the Grecians for his erudition (p. 43.); but we should have been glad if he had provided us with the means of estimating the credit due to him when he represents Artapanus to have related, that Abraham went from Syria to Egypt, and remained there twenty years, teaching the Egyptians astronomy. (p. 72.) We are not disposed unnecessarily or hastily to reject

statements of any kind; but we confess that with respect to many of the representations of both Josephus and Eusebius, we wish to see them submitted to the process of an enlightened and honest criticism before we receive them to our confidence. As a case in point, we shall extract from the second chapter, On the Remains of Chaldean History which confirm the sacred accounts, the Author's notice of Berosus.

'The great antiquity of the Assyrian empire, and the connexion, which from the earliest periods subsisted between the inhabitants of Nineveh and Babylon, and the Israelites, must naturally lead us to expect traces of correspondence between those few memorials which are to be found in the fragments of their history still preserved, and the reports of the sacred historians.

'Berosus, the Babylonian historian, appears to have been a priest of Belus at Babylon, and a native of that city; he wrote a history of the Chaldeans, in three books. When the Macedonians, under Alexander the Great, took possession of Babylon*, he acquired from them the Greek language, and quitting Asia, settled at Cos†, and thence removed to Athens, where he became distinguished by his astrological productions, and where a statue was erected to him. His history was collected from ancient records carefully preserved in the temple of Belus‡, and was dedicated to Antiochus Soter, king of Assyria, who began his reign B. C. 279; or, as some suppose, to his son, Antiochus Theos It was esteemed of high authority by the Orientalists and Greeks. It contained an account of the first ages of the world from the creation, and of the dynasty of the kings who reigned in Chaldea before the flood. The chronology is obscure, and extended beyond all truth and reasonable limits Josephus and Eusebius have preserved many fragments of it, from the Greek of Alexander Polyhistor, which concur, in some respects, with the accounts of Scripture. There are five books of a spurious history under the name of Berosus, which contradict, in many points, the genuine fragments of Berosus, and which were composed, probably, by a later writer.

'Berosus appears to have given a narrative of the creation of the earth and of the heavens from chaos, of the destruction of mankind by the flood, of the preservation of one family in the ark, of the building of Babel, and of the genealogy of the sons of Noah, which exhibits a resemblance to the relations of Moses, but which is disguised often by fiction. He represents it as a report, that some remains of the ark were to be seen on the Cordyæan mountains in Armenia, in his day; and states that the people were accustomed to scrape the pitch from the planks, and carry it about for an amulet§.

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* Tatian contr. Græc. Biblioth. Patrum, Vol. i. p. 184. Ed. Paris, 1624.

† Vitruvius, lib. ix. c. 7. Edit. Amstel. 1549.

‡ Joseph. contra Apion, lib. i. Varreni censur. in quendam auctorem qui sub falsâ inscriptione Berosi circumfertur. Rom. 1765.

§ Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. c. 3. s. 6. Edit. Hudson, 1720. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 11. Huet. Demon. Prop. 4. c. 2. § 18. Edit. Paris, 1679.

'He seems to describe Abraham without naming him, as a just* and great man, who lived among the Chaldeans, in the tenth generation after the deluge, and who was skilled in celestial matters; and he appears to relate the account of the destruction of Sennacherib's army under Rabshakeh, stating, in conformity with Scripture†, that one hundred and eighty-five thousand men, with their leaders, were exterminated in one night by a pestilential disease, from the Divinity; and that Sennacherib, panic-struck and agonized by this calamity, fled with the remainder of his force to Nineveh, his capital, where, after a short time, he was slain in his own temple of Arasca (Nisroch,) by the treachery of his elder sons, Adrammelech and Sarasar (Sharazer,) who being driven into banishment for the murder of their father, went into Armenia; upon which Assaræhaddas (Esarhaddon,) succeeded to the kingdom‡. He mentions the conquest of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar, the demolition of the temple, the leading away of the Jews to captivity, and the order issued by Cyrus that the temple should be rebuilt, in perfect consistency with the accounts of the sacred historians||.'

To make out the claim of authority for Berosus, so far as regards his accounts of the first ages of the world from the Creation, and of the dynasty of the kings who reigned in Chaldea before the Flood, would be no easy task. The alleged preservation in the temple of Belus, of ancient records referring so minutely to those times, is not well adapted to facilitate our credence in the statements of the history of Berosus. Nor is it very probable, that Chaldean accounts would preserve the memory, much less contain so particular a narration, of the destruction of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. It is much more probable, that Berosus had access to the Septuagint translation, which agrees with the Hebrew text in the number of men exterminated, and that he mixed up with current or invented fables, the accounts which he borrowed from that version. If his history was not published before the time of Antiochus Theos, the Greek Bible was already in circulation.

The succeeding chapters of Dr. Gray's work, treat—Of Zoroaster and the Religion of the ancient Persians.—On the Phœnicians and Sanchoniatho.—Of the connexion which subsisted between the Jews and the Egyptians.—On Hermes Trismegistus.—On Hecatæus, Manetho, Artapanus, and others.—On the Intercourse which the Grecians enjoyed with the Jews, and the knowledge they derived from it.—On the Intercourse which subsisted between the Romans and the Jews, and on the Means of Information which the former possessed. On these several topics,

* Joseph. Ant. lib. i. c. 7. † 2 Kings. xix.

‡ Antiq. lib. x. c. 1. et 2. Biblioth. Patrum, lib xv. p. 117. Colom. 1622.

|| Antiq. lib. x. c. 2. Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. i. § 19. Euseb. Præ. Evang. lib. ix. c. 40. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. p. 392. Vol. ii. Edit. Potter.

the Author does not strike out any new lights. He is satisfied with collecting together the most general accounts, and he repeats them with less of that caution with which they should be regarded, than we could sometimes wish. For instance, in his enumeration of the circumstances from which he deduces the probability that the Greeks were indebted for a part of their knowledge and institutions to the Mosaic records, Dr. Gray states, that many of the ancient laws of Attica, might be supposed to have been borrowed from the statutes of Moses; as that which Sopater mentions, and to which Terence refers, which directed that the nearest of kindred should marry the widow of a deceased person. This example is exceedingly ill chosen, since it does not admit of doubt, that the particular statute referred to, was not, in the code of the Hebrew legislator, an original enactment. The custom which it sanctioned, had been in existence long before the times of Moses, as most clearly appears from the history of Judah, Gen. xxxviii. 8.

The tenth chapter and several subsequent divisions of the work, relate to—The religious Doctrine and Worship prevailing among different nations, in the early ages of the world.—The Existence of a Supreme Being.—The Doctrine of the Trinity.—The Creation of the World, and the Origin of Man.—The Immortality of the Soul.—The Origin of Evil, the Existence of Spiritual Beings, and the Corruption of the Human Race. Several chapters are employed in considering the events described in Scripture, and the knowledge of them which was preserved among the Heathen. The Morality of the Heathen; Sacrifice; Prayer; and the Expectation of a Divine Reformer of Mankind; are the subjects of other portions of the first volume of the work. The last two chapters are on Philo and Josephus. We extract

'Chap. XIII. *On the General Belief of the Divine Origin and Immortality of the Soul, among the Heathen.*

'A belief in the divine origin and immortal nature of the soul is to be found among the earliest and most general persuasions of all nations. There is no antiquity so remote, and no people so barbarous, as not to manifest some indications of these persuasions: they are to be regarded, however, rather as speculative opinions, mixed with error, than as pure and efficacious principles. Homer opens in his poem (*Qu. what poem?*) some intimations of a future state, in which his heroes were to exist. Herodotus relates that the Egyptians first believed in the immortality, together with the transmigration of the soul*, and the same persuasions were received by the Brahmins†, Indians, and Thracians. Cæsar represents the Druids to have anxiously instilled the doctrine of the unperishable nature of the

* Lib. ii. § 123. Diodor. Sicul. lib. i.
† Strabo, lib. xv. Porphyry, lib. iv.

soul, which they also supposed to pass from one body to another after death*.

'The belief in a transmigration, here ascribed to the Egyptians and Druids, is illustrated by Virgil, who represents Æneas to have contemplated in the Elysian fields, souls preparing to enter into other bodies, by drinking of the oblivious streams of Lethe, and in a noble episode which Milton (and perhaps Shakspeare) has imitated, the succession of the distinguished descendants of the Trojan prince is made to pass in review before him. The conviction, however, was not so general, as not to require a frequent renewal of argument upon the subject, nor so strong as to exclude doubt, even from minds of enlarged capacity, and considerable attainments. Individuals often expressed their scepticism or their fears†, and some sects publicly denied the doctrine. The best and ablest men, however, maintained it with the strongest assurance. The reasonings of Socrates, Plato‡, and Xenophon§, were urged with the greatest impression among the Grecians, and Cicero‖ deemed himself justified in considering it as a doctrine admitted by the consent of all nations.

'Juvenal speaks of man as capable of divine things, and as having derived an understanding from heaven such as brutes do not possess¶.

'Pliny commends Hipparchus for having proved the relation of man with the stars, and maintained that the soul was a part of heaven**. Lucian also supposes the soul to have emanated from divine wisdom.

'The learned among the primitive Christians insisted with great effect on these and other passages, which contained intimations of the divine nature and immortality of the soul, received as axioms, or κοιναὶ ἔννοιαι, observing that the main particulars and foundations of Christianity were thus granted by the philosophers as universal truths. It must, however, always be remembered, that these persuasions were received only as reasonable and probable conjectures, and did not generally operate to practical and moral effects. They were supported by poets and philosophers, but they wanted the confirmation of divine authority. It is to Revelation alone, that we are indebted for that assurance which has left no excuse for doubt. The persuasions were affirmed with increased confidence among the Heathens, after the promulgation of the Gospel.' pp. 153—156.

That the principles of actions approved by the philosophers of the heathen world, and consecrated by the priests of its multiplied superstitions, were false and mischievous [vol. i. p. 166.]; that selfish passions were recommended as glorious, and vices regarded as virtues (*ib.*); we do not dispute. A redundancy of proof establishes the gross depravity of mankind, as one of the most evident facts that constitute our knowledge

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* Lib vi. cap. 13. Strabo, lib. iv. Amm. Marcell. lib. xv. cap. 9.
† Sallust Bel. Cat. Orat. C. Cæsaris.
‡ Phædo, passim, et Mela, lib. ii. Grot. de Verit. lib. i. cap. 22.
§ Memorabilia et Cyropædia. ‖ Tuscul. Quæst. lib i. cap. 16.
¶ Sat. xv. l. 143—156. ** Nat. Hist. lib. ii. c. 24.

of the human race. But is it not worthy of the most serious attention, that, in this very age of the world, in countries where the priests of Heathenism are not existing, and where the authority of Revelation is considered as having superseded the instructions of philosophy, selfish passions are still recommended as glorious? The history of mankind has not yet ceased to be a detail of crimes. What periods of time can be selected as more fruitful in the atrocities of war, than the times that have been passing over us? And to what species of wickedness can the religion of Christ be more opposed, than to that of war? A state of warfare, and the cherishing of those passions which stimulate and support the bloody contests of nations, are as remote as possible from the condition in which the Christianity of the Bible would place mankind. What other conclusion, then, is it possible to draw from the extensive prevalence of war in our own times, than that the influence of Christianity is narrow and limited? The profession of it, indeed, is general, but what other proof can be required to demonstrate the very partial subjection of mankind to its spirit and its principles, than the sanguinary hostilities which have for so many years been receiving the patronage and support of declared Christians? Dr. Gray seems himself to be impressed with the feeling, that this opposition exists between the design and tendencies of the Gospel, and the practice of modern states; for though he refers distinctly to both the Grecian and the Roman governments as being directed by the principles of an exceptionable policy, (pp. 217, 218,) and represents correctly the salutary effect which Christianity would produce in the councils of nations, he does not supply us with examples of its forming the rule of practice in modern cabinets. What might be, and ought to be, rather than what is, appears to have been in the mind of the Author when he wrote the following sentence.

'It is the spirit of Christianity alone, which moderating the views of sovereigns and states, and directing the measures of government to the legitimate objects of its institution—the promotion of the welfare of society, and the preservation of its moral interests, leads to an equitable consideration of the rights and independance of other nations, and to an unremitted regard to the well being of the community over which it presides.' p. 219.

Suicide is mentioned at p. 230, as being, in ancient times, the consequence of a want of just information on moral questions among the Heathens; which may be true. But when Dr. Gray remarks, that if the Heathens had understood the considerations upon which afflictions are dealt out in a probationary state, 'suicide would not have been deemed noble, and Cato would 'not have inflicted death upon himself;' an action which Se-

'neca mentions not only without censure, but with appa-
'rent admiration,'—he seems to have forgotten that both Eusebius and Chrysostom were the encomiasts of persons who had sought deliverance by self-destruction, from the evils of the world. It would appear that the considerations in question had operated as little upon these Fathers, as they had upon Seneca himself. Christianity, we know, furnishes the most ample and sufficient motives to induce and perfect a patient endurance of the afflictions of the present life; and is, therefore, not chargeable with the strange deviations from its spirit and principles, which are to be found in the conduct of the individuals to whom we have referred, who, in this particular, as in several other respects, had very imperfectly learned the doctrine of Christ.

In treating the Sibylline Verses, the subject of the twenty-sixth chapter, Dr. Gray affords us no assistance towards the formation of a decisive opinion on their merits. 'It would be 'extremely difficult,' he states, 'if not impossible, to deter-
'mine, which are to be deemed original, and which are to be 'considered as spurious additions of later times.' From compositions of this very doubtful character, there can be derived no evidences entitled to any regard, in support of the truth of Revelation. After perusing such an account of them, we were not prepared to meet with the following passage.

'While we reject the verses which bear such evident marks of forgery, we must still admit that those which were extant before the time of our Saviour, must have contained many allusions to the Messiah, which cannot be explained, but on the supposition either that they were drawn directly or indirectly from the oracles of Hebrew revelation; or that God vouchsafed to impart some rays of prophetic knowledge to gild the distant prospects of the Heathen world.'

This seems to us hardly reconcileable with the opinion previously delivered, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the original from the spurious lines. On subjects of this kind, with Dr. Gray for our ὁδηγος, we find ourselves under the guidance of a leader who does not, we must confess, inspire us with confidence.

The value of such accounts as the following, will be appreciated by the honest inquirer into the truth of the Gospel history.

'Pilate's wife, (who is by some called Claudia Procula) is spoken of by St. Matthew, as being then with her husband, in Judea, and is stated to have suffered many things in a dream on account of Christ, and to have admonished the Governor to have nothing to do with the persecution against him. The governors of provinces under the republic had not often been allowed to take their wives with them to their præfectures. Augustus did not approve that the custom should

be established*. Tiberius, however, allowed it in some instances. Agrippina accompanied Germanicus into Germany and Asia †; and Plancina was with Piso, and contributed to inflame the insolence of her husband towards Germanicus ‡. A motion was afterwards made in the Senate by Severus Cæcina, to prohibit the indulgence, as attended with inconveniences, but it was rejected §. These statements tend to demonstrate the accuracy of the Evangelists, whose books even Julian allowed to be authentic ¶.' Vol. I. p. 274.

The second Volume contains an account of the Greek and Roman Classics, commencing with Hesiod, and concluding with Macrobius. This portion of Dr. Gray's labours will, we doubt not, prove very acceptable to his readers; particularly to the less erudite part of them, who will find in these pages a popular description of the works of the most celebrated ancient writers. In this survey of the classics, it is the Author's object, 'to point 'out what interest appertains to them in a religious point of 'view,' and to deduce from them proofs of the necessity of Revelation, but principally to confirm, by their testimony, its several and important claims. From some of the works brought under examination, no evidence of this kind is deduced; their insertion, therefore, would seem to be rather for the purpose of completing the view of ancient literature, than on account of their relation to the subject of the book. We do not, however, wish to see any name struck out from the catalogue. Dr. Gray's account of the various writers, though by no means profound, is valuable and interesting.

The works of Hesiod, the Author remarks, bear the character of earlier production, and of a ruder age, than the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. This opinion implies a nicety of critical perception rather unusual. Hesiod is said by Dr. Gray to have lived about twenty-seven years before Homer. The perspicacity of a critic must be not a little extraordinary, who, in judging of two nearly contemporary authors who flourished in times so remote as nine or ten centuries before Christ, can by a comparison of their works, settle the question of priority in the way signified by the learned Author. If the Ascrean bard belong to a ruder age than that in which Homer lived, he must obviously have preceded the latter by a greater number of years than is here assigned as the interval between them.

'Hesiod's account of Pandora, who was endowed with gifts from the gods to deceive Epimetheus, though he was warned against the

* Suet. August, l. 2. c. 24.
† Tacitus Ann. lib. 2. c. 55. lib. 1. c. 40, 41. lib. 2. c. 54.
‡ Ibid. l. 1. c. 40.
§ Ibid. l. 3. c. 33, 34.
¶ Cyril, l. x.

danger, and who deprived mankind of all good, leaving only hope, is supposed by Hales, in conformity to the opinion of many writers, to be an allegorical fiction, built on the circumstances of the fall, which introduced all evil, and left men destitute of every thing but the hope of redemption, through the seed of the woman.

'The poet in his Theogony, mentions the cruel serpent, who in the obscure parts of the earth, guarded the golden apples in spacious borders, alluding, there can be little doubt, to some descriptions of the serpent, near the tree in paradise.

'There are striking passages in Hesiod, the general spirit of which reminds us of the strains of inspired piety.'

The preceding extract is a short, but fair specimen of the manner in which the Author exhibits the contents of the classics, as related to the objects of his investigation. In the chapter on Homer, he excites the curiosity of his readers beyond the fair measure of gratification which is prepared for them.

'Considering the machinery of Homer, as exhibiting, if not the earliest, at least the most interesting system of classical mythology, which antiquity has bequeathed to us, we may naturally expect to discover, in the objects of superstition which he has disclosed, many proofs of that imitation of the characters of Oriental history, which we know to have prevailed among the Greeks; allusions, indeed, to circumstances of sacred record are occasionally made both in the Iliad and Odyssey.'

In the historical digressions of the Odyssey, Dr. Gray traces no direct connexion with the events of sacred history. Referring to passages which speak of the attributes of the Deity, and the immortality of the soul, he remarks, that on these topics, experience and reflection might every where deduce and circulate some just and elevated sentiments. On the correspondence between the delineations of ancient manners in the pages of Homer, and the sacred descriptions of the patriarchal ages, he seems to allow that 'no argument is to be built.'

'There are particulars, however, which are not to be explained but upon a supposition of some acquaintance with written or traditionary memorials of truth.

'The description of the shield of Achilles has been thought to argue some knowledge of the Mosaic account of the Creation,* and that of the garden of Alcinous to have been borrowed in some respects from what is related of Paradise†.

'Be these admitted or not, we cannot but allow that the passage in the eleventh book of the Iliad, in which the Poet speaks of the rainbow as a wonder or sign, (τηας) of, or for man, fixed by Jove in

* Clemens. Alex. Strom. lib. v. c. 255. p. 709.

† Compare Odyss. lib. vii. l. 112. with Gen. ii. and lib. v. v. 70. with Gen. ii. 10.

the cloud *, corresponds with somewhat more than casual connexion, with the account of the covenant which God made with Noah when He declared, "this is the token of the covenant which I have esta- "blished between me and all flesh that is in the earth †;" it should be further observed also, that the bow was in general supposed to threaten war or some wintry tempest‡, an apprehension which might possibly arise from some remembrance of the destruction of the waters which had overspread the earth.' Vol. 2. p. 35.

The *Prometheus Vinctus* is noticed at some length in the account of Æschylus. That production is indeed a remarkable one: the character, the sentiments, the sufferings of Prometheus, are strikingly exhibited in that noble drama; but to what facts or personage the fable may have reference, or how much of it is mere poetical creation, it is impossible to determine. The comparisons on which some writers have founded a resemblance between the hero of the play and the Divine Mediator of the Scriptures, are properly represented by Dr. Gray as 'too precarious, if not too presumptuous, to authorise any 'peremptory conclusion.' We are somewhat surprised that he has entirely overlooked the very ample use which Milton has made of the Prometheus.

Perhaps Dr. Gray had not considered all the bearings of the following passage, which occurs in his account of Flavius Claudius Julianus. We are, however, happy to exhibit the liberal and just opinions which he advocates, and to assign him a place among those enlightened persons who discountenance exclusive systems of education, as being at variance with 'rules 'of good government' and 'principles of true philosophy.'

'By depriving the Christian priesthood of the privileges which they claimed of exemption from the civil power, and by reprehending the dissensions of party zeal, he did real service to the cause of religion, while he maintained the just rights of the temporal authority. He offended, however, as much against all rules of good government, as against all principles of true philosophy, when, upon observing that the Christians who made any progress in human learning, employed it with great success in refuting the errors of the Heathens, "piercing them as it were by their own pens," he forbad rhetorical and grammatical instructors from teaching in the schools, unless they would worship the deities which were publicly reverenced: thus interdicting the cultivation of literature, except under Heathen institutions, and alleging the pretence, that it was absurd that those who explained Homer and other ancient writers should be permitted to dishonour the gods, which these writers revered§.' Vol. II. p. 289.

* Comp. Iliad. lib. xi. v. 28. with Gen. ix. 12, 13.
† Gen. ix. 17.
‡ Iliad, lib. xvii. v. 547.
§ "Epist. xlii. p. 423. Edit. Spanheim."

These volumes are by no means free from blemishes. To the instances which we have already noticed, we may add the following. Menander, we are told, (Vol. I. p. 178.) 'relating the acts of Ithobal, king of the Tyrians, mentions the 'drought which happened in the time of Elias.' This should have been set down as the opinion of Josephus, that a drought described by Menander, corresponds with a fact of the same kind recorded in Scripture. Pausanias relates, that, at the Battle of Marathon, the Athenians received assistance from a man who appeared in a rustic form and attire, and, after having slain many of the Barbarians with a plough-share, disappeared; which relation, Dr. G. remarks, 'may be thought to bear some re-'semblance to the account of Shamgar in the book of Judges.' p. 184. The relevancy of such a remark to the subject of the Author's book, we are not so clear-sighted as to perceive. Dr. Gray is clearly mistaken in his assertion, (p. 204,) that Cyrus was named before his appearance, in a manner which does not occur in any other instance: Josiah was named in the same extraordinary manner, three hundred and twenty years before his birth. From the representation, (Vol. 2. p. 166,) that Aristotle 'went to Mitylene, being invited by Philip to his court, to 'undertake the charge of Alexander's education,' we should conclude that Philip resided and kept court at Mitylene: the fact is, that Aristotle was invited into Macedonia by Philip, from Mitylene, where he had spent two years in retirement. We would submit whether the language used at p. 291, in contrasting the character of Julian with that of M. Aurelius Antoninus, be properly measured: 'In the latter,' Dr. Gray says, 'we perceive 'the influence of Divine grace operating on the humble mind, 'and made unto it wisdom and righteousness.'

We regret that we cannot dismiss these volumes with the full measure of praise that we should have been glad to bestow upon them. Considered as a collection of passages from the numerous profane Authors whose writings contribute to the fulness of the evidences of Revelation, or assist in the illustration of Scriptural details, the work affords ample proof, as we have already stated, that Dr. Gray has laboured diligently in its compilation. It is, however, chiefly on account of this kind of accumulation that it is entitled to praise. It is not to be commended for either the lucid order in which its materials are arranged, or the powerful light in which it places the results of the inquiry so conspicuously displayed in its title. If not less interesting, it is, we think, less instructive, than it was to be presumed a work of this kind would be, proceeding from a person of Dr. Gray's established reputation. The proofs of Connexion between sacred and profane literature, are far from being exhibited in this work to the greatest advantage: though the reader will

find the evidence of such a connexion in the numerous statements and quotations laid before him, he will not receive from the Author the means of distinctly perceiving its bearings, or of accurately appreciating its force. Dr. Gray must satisfy himself with the credit of having provided, in a convenient form, and for the use of general readers, a work which they will be disposed to receive with pleasure, and which they may peruse with advantage. Higher commendation he could have merited, only by the production of a work which we might have been able to describe as exhibiting proofs not merely of erudition, but of penetration and skill in the management of the subject, by which it might have challenged superiority over its predecessors in this department of Theology. The value of works of the present kind, is to be determined by the quality of their arguments rather than by the extent of their accumulations.

Art. IV. *A Dissertation upon the Use and Importance of Unauthoritative Tradition as an Introduction to the Christian Doctrines:* including the Substance of a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, May 31, 1818, upon 2 Thess. ii. 15. By Edward Hawkins, M. A. Fellow of Oriel College, 8vo. pp. 88. Oxford, 1818.

IN our last Number, we had occasion to shew, that human testimony is not only the sole means of our arriving at the knowledge of many truths, but, in cases in which it supplies no direct evidence as the basis of our belief, is capable of affording a presumption indefinitely strong in favour of what is proposed to the mind as true; a presumption arising from the fact of the prevalent belief, that is sufficient to render a scepticism previous to examination, wholly unjustifiable. It is evident, however, that, in reference to many subjects, testimony itself partakes of the nature of proof: indeed, in common usage, testimony and evidence are used as terms convertible or synonymous. And the tendency of testimony in its simplest form to inspire belief, or to excite that degree of attention which is requisite in order to the perception of evidence, arises from its constituting a degree of probability, upon which, however small in itself, when there is no opposing consideration to counterbalance it, it were irrational not to act. The disposition to confide in testimony under certain circumstances, is a law of human nature, and not wholly the result of experience. Were it not for this, the attainment of knowledge would be a work of hopeless difficulty; for how much of what we learn, are we compelled to receive without being capable of understanding the proof on which our knowledge rests! Teaching is a species of testimony, and were not testimony adapted to inspire belief, we should be incapable of being taught; for we cannot be said to know what we do not believe; and a very large proportion of our knowledge is derivable only from human testi-

mony. To reject the evidence of testimony, then, as the infidel does, when the degree of probability it supplies, multiplying in a compound ratio at every fresh concurrence of competent witnesses, has attained, by accumulation, a point at which it becomes undistinguishable from certainty,—is irrational, and betrays a disposition of heart wilfully opposing the reception of the truth. In rejecting testimony, he rejects the only means of knowledge, so far as the historical truth of Christianity is concerned, as well as the only medium of proof; and, as he cannot prove the negative, is left in a predicament of hopeless uncertainty.

There are many facts of which human testimony affords the only evidence of which the case admits. Such are the miraculous facts recorded in Scripture by the chosen eye-witnesses whose testimony is the foundation of our belief. The miraculous credentials with which they were themselves invested, proved the truth of those facts, only by establishing the credibility of the witnesses. But there is a very large proportion of our knowledge, originating in testimony, of which it does not supply the appropriate evidence. This is the case with regard to many of the most self-evident truths; that is, truths self evident when known, but the original discovery of which, was attended with considerable difficulty. The simplest laws of nature are, to a child, the matter of faith, long before he can be said, by perceiving for himself the evidence of their truth, to make them the matter of his knowledge. And he understands many facts in science, as to their nature, long before he becomes conversant with the demonstration of their certainty, obtainable from induction. A principal part of the business of the teacher, is, to direct his pupil to the means of certainty, or the sources of proof; but the matter of his instructions must, for the most part, in the first instance be received in the shape of simple testimony, inviting examination by its credibility, and commanding attention by its importance.

The object of the present Dissertation, is, to place in its true light the office of human testimony, or what is here denominated *tradition*, in reference to religious knowledge. The Author's attention was directed to the subject, by the perplexity arising in the minds of many believers, from the very *indirect method* in which the Christian doctrines are taught in the New Testament; 'many of the most important articles of faith' being 'rather implied than taught,' and the proofs which establish them, being of a very 'complex structure.' The circumstances under which the several books of the New Testament were composed, will easily account for the fact; but do not solve the alleged difficulty.

'The question still remains—how is such a style or method suited to our wants, which must be supposed to have been equally in the contemplation of the Divine Author of the Scriptures; how can these

writings be the best adapted to convey satisfactory information upon doctrinal points to Christians now, or in succeeding ages?'

The difficulty in question cannot, indeed, as the Author remarks, 'possibly amount to an objection to Revelation itself,' since 'no objection can lie against Revelation on account of any 'alleged obscurity or partial discovery of its truths, which does 'not equally lie against the tenets of pure deism.' Partially too, it receives an answer, in the 'utility' of an unsystematic delivery of Christian doctrine, and in 'its analogy with the mode of de-'livering the moral precepts also of the gospel.' This want of system,

'besides its extreme use in placing the *proofs* of those doctrines above the suspicion of corruption, may no doubt be useful as a mode of trying our humility and our faith; and evidently also answers a great purpose in promoting research, and raising the curiosity, of learned men especially, who might have slighted a study less intricate and arduous: whilst the very disputes and errors consequent upon obscurity, have kept alive the spirit of Christianity upon the whole; and however hurtful frequently to the individuals conversant upon them, (through their own fault,) have been eminently instrumental in spreading wider, or rooting more deeply the great truths of Revelation in other minds.' p. 15.

It might have been added, that, by its leaving room for a conscientious difference of opinion among believers, upon minor points, an occasion is presented for the exercise of that spirit of mutual tolerance and charity, which, how foreign soever from the temper in which religious controversy has generally been conducted, is clearly required by the precepts of the gospel.

But still, as 'the important truths of Christianity were doubt-'less intended to be made out with great clearness by all its 'professors,' the difficulty seems not to be entirely removed by these considerations. Why, 'when more *direct* and *systematic* 'statements of the main points of faith might have been with 'equal ease delivered by the same authority,' are we left to gather them from incidental notices of them, and from arguments upon occasional topics in the sacred writers. With regard to the principles of moral truth, we have the aid of the moral sense and of reason, to enable us to comprehend the matter of preceptive instruction. But, adds our Author,

'we seem to look in vain for a corresponding guide to the higher principles of faith, confessedly opposed as these are to very many natural feelings, although perceived, *when known*, to be admirably adapted to the wants of human nature; and of whose very essence it is, although never contrary to our reason, yet to be undiscoverable by human capacity, and often to be above our reason.' p. 17.

This requisite 'aid and guide,' Mr. Hawkins contends, is to be found 'in *tradition*—the traditions conveyed from age to age

'by the Church in general.' As this term is exceedingly vague, and our Author does not himself appear to use it uniformly in exactly the same sense, we shall select from his pages all the passages which may serve to throw light upon his meaning, before we offer any remark upon his hypothesis.

'Common experience,' he says, 'and common practice seem to declare that some assistance of the kind is *needful* and *reasonable*; why may not this assistance have been designed for us from the first—as from the first *in fact* almost every Christian has been by such aid introduced to Christianity? In a word, why may it not have been the general design of Heaven, that by early oral, or traditional, instruction, the way should be prepared for the reception of the mysteries of Faith; that the Church should carry down the *system*, but the Scriptures should furnish all the *proofs* of the Christian doctrines; that tradition should supply the Christian with the arrangement, but the Bible with all the *substance* of divine truth?' p. 18.

'Any uninterrupted tradition indeed of any given doctrine brings with it a reasonable *presumption* in its behalf.' 'Even prior to the proof that any particular tradition is derived from a sacred and unquestionable authority, some slight, some faint presumption in its favour surely may be demanded, if the Church present it to our notice—and more than this is not claimed: it is only urged, that it was intended from the first, that we should receive from such traditions the rudiments of the Faith, and with this aid continually approach the Scriptures to ascertain the truth of the traditions; or, to speak generally, that the Church should *teach*, and the Scriptures *prove*, the doctrines of Christianity.' p. 22.

'It will be allowed by thoughtful members of the English Church, that it is a comparatively light and easy task to *prove* the important doctrines of our Faith from holy writ, when once we have received them in a definite form with that presumption, how low soever, in their behalf, to which they are justly entitled, even because they have been handed down to us through the medium of the Church.' p. 24.

'By the express provision which they (the Reformers) made for catechetical instruction, their opinion of the reasonableness of assisting the knowledge of divine truth by human and unauthoritative teaching, is evidently shewn.' p. 27.

'Yet though it were no overweening arrogance which should consider the ecclesiastical order as the main channel of traditional instruction for the good of the whole Christian Church in every age, even this is not asserted here; it has only been assumed that, as a provision, from the first, for the perpetuity of traditional instruction, the appointment of the ministerial succession may well be conceived to have been intended. There are offices indeed confided to the clerical orders alone: but they are by no means the sole depositaries, or sole vehicles, of unauthoritative tradition, although upon the whole they have been efficient guardians of it: here however the laity of both sexes will be guilty, if they also do not in this acknowledge the blessing of their inheritance, and the consequent duty imposed upon them of transmitting their trust to all who have a natural or civil right to

instruction from them. Every Christian, who receives the doctrines of his faith, becomes by the very nature of the case the keeper of tradition, so far as he knows the Christian doctrines; and it is not more his duty, than his glorious privilege, to assist in spreading wider the blessings which he has received. It were devoutly to be wished that every guardian, every master or mistress of a family, every mother, felt how much was due from them in this particular; for thus it surely is that Christ would have every faithful servant of his both interested, and *engaged*, in the great work of spreading the elements of Christian truth.' pp. 45—7.

In a note, the Author meets the objection to his confessedly loose manner of employing the term *tradition*.

'If it be admitted that the Scriptures really presuppose a certain knowledge of the Christian doctrines, which uninspired men must supply in all ordinary cases, and which men can supply to the complete satisfaction of the want or deficiency, the thing contended for will have been admitted, by whatsoever name we may choose to designate this communication and transmission of doctrines by human agency.'

If we might be allowed to subscribe to the truth of these positions in our own sense of the terms employed, disregarding in some instances the probable intention of the Writer, there are few of them to which we should hesitate in giving our assent. There appears to us to be a great deal of truth, and of important truth, contained in the general tenor of his remarks; and, without cavilling at his use of the term tradition, we shall state, in the first place, what we deem correct, and then endeavour to shew what appears to us to be objectionable in his statements.

Some of the points upon which our sentiments are in accordance with those of the present Writer, have already occupied our attention. It will be necessary, therefore, only to apply to the matter of Christian instruction, the remarks already suggested on the use of testimony, as the *means* of our arriving at the knowledge of truths of which it supplies no direct *evidence*. 'Even in the exact mathematical sciences,' as Mr. Hawkins remarks, 'it is useful to find the propositions simply stated, before the demonstrations are given.' And it is indeed absolutely necessary that we should have some knowledge of the thing taught, before we can be capable of understanding the proof by which it is established. Now, the truth of the Christian doctrines, is demonstrable only by the Scriptures; that is to say, their proper evidence is, their being revealed. The Divine testimony is, with respect to those things which could not have been known had they not been revealed, both the ultimate source of our knowledge, and, at the same time, the only possible evidence of their truth. But the knowledge of what is contained in Revelation itself, and to which the Divine testimony relates,

is ordinarily obtained by means of human testimony. The ordinance of preaching is the instituted means of our being put in possession of the knowledge of the truth, and of our being brought to recognize its Divine evidence and authority. Faith, the only basis of which is, the Divine testimony, "cometh by "hearing." It is by Faith we receive that testimony as the sufficient evidence that the things revealed are true: but, to the knowledge of what is actually contained in the Sacred Scriptures, we are introduced by human teaching. In this sense, then, we must admit with the present Writer, that the Church, using the word in our own sense, must *teach*, or *publish*, what the Scriptures are alone competent to *prove*.

That the Scriptures were not designed to supersede the necessity of a standing ministry, and that the mere reading of the Scriptures without the aid of human teaching, is not ordinarily sufficient for the instruction of mankind, are positions which few Protestant Dissenters will be found inclined to dispute. Among no class of society are Biblical commentaries and other theological writings illustrative of Scripture, held in so high estimation; and a very large proportion of this species of literature has been furnished by their own teachers. The importance of preaching and of catechetical instruction, may almost be termed a tenet of Nonconformity; so much so, that Hooker devotes a long section to shewing, that the public reading of the Scriptures, is an efficient species of preaching, in opposition to those controvertists who maintained the necessity of expository discourses as the ordinary means of saving men. Hooker was evidently in favour of the sufficiency of the Bible without note or comment. 'For I would know,' he says, 'by some special 'instance, *what one article of Christian faith*, or what duty 'required necessarily unto all men's salvation there is, which *the* '*very reading of* the Word of God is not apt to notify.' 'Reading doth convey to the mind that Truth without addition 'or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy 'Ghost.' Again: 'In belief there be but these two operations, '*Apprehension* and *Assent*. Do only Sermons cause belief, 'in that no other way is able to explain the mysteries of God 'that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive of them as 'behooveth? We all know that many things are believed al'though they be intricate, obscure, or dark, although they ex'ceed the reach and capacity of our wits, yea, although in this 'world they be no way possible to be understood. Many things 'believed are likewise so plain that every common person may 'therein be unto himself a sufficient expounder. Finally, to ex'plain even those things which need and admit explication, many 'other usual ways there are besides Sermons. Is it in regard 'then of Sermons only, that apprehending of the Gospel of

'Christ, we yield thereunto our unfeigned assent as to a thing 'infallibly true? They which rightly consider after what sort 'the heart of man hereunto is framed, must of necessity acknow-'ledge, that whoso assenteth to the words of life, doth it in re-'gard of his authority whose words they are.' 'Scripture is 'not so hard but that the only reading thereof may give life to 'willing hearers.'

It is singular how opinions rise and fall, and how sometimes they seem to change sides. The neglect of the *public* reading of the Scriptures, is certainly not chargeable upon Protestant Dissenters in the present day; and we suspect that even at the time that Cartwright wrote, the *private* reading of the Scriptures was a more general practice among the Puritans than among their adversaries. We know they laid no small stress upon catechetical instruction. The system exhibited in the venerable and masterly compilation of the Assembly of Divines, is precisely that which Mr. Hawkins contends for: the *doctrine* of the Church is accompanied in every instance with the *Scriptural proof*, and both were designed to be committed to memory together. In what is familiarly denominated the "Church "Catechism," on the contrary, the only *proofs* adduced, are, the Decalogue and the Paternoster, which contain no evidence of any one doctrine peculiar to Christianity.

The "Assembly's Catechism," is still in very general use among the Congregational Dissenters, as a part of that series of catechetical instructions which are adopted in their seminaries, their Sunday Schools, and in private families. An objection to its being taught prevails, however, among one denomination, but this is on account of its including the doctrine of Infant Baptism. In some quarters, we are aware that it is upon other grounds objected to. There are many respectable individuals who are for employing exclusively the language of Scripture, in teaching the doctrines of the New Testament. Aware of the mischief which has been done by schismatical contentions for particular phrases, and by the over-refinements of systematic theology, they run into the opposite extreme of rejecting all human explanations of Scripture, all articles of faith and formularies, as a part of private instruction. They seem to consider the mere teaching of these expositions of Divine Truth, as a sort of infringement of the right of private judgement; as if what was committed to memory, and repeated by rote, was in the least degree more *imposed* upon the belief, than the discourses of the pulpit! Yet, to the latter means of *prejudicing* the mind of the pulpit, these same individuals are not found to raise any objection. On the contrary, where catechisms and creeds are the most ostentatiously rejected, we have sometimes witnessed a more than ordinary anxiety that the opinions should in other ways be

trained in a certain direction, and that the learner should very distinctly be taught both what the Scriptures are held to contain, and what they are not allowed to prove.

In point of fact, the principle for which Mr. Hawkins contends, is, more or less, universally acted upon, except where religious instruction is altogether neglected. But we think that it may not be wholly unnecessary to have it thus distinctly brought forward before the public attention; more especially as the application of the principle, involves duties of no small importance.—Mr. Hawkins expresses his regret, that, in 'the English 'churches,' catechetical instruction has grown extensively into disuse; by which he means, not the disuse of the Church Catechism, but of the catechetical mode of public teaching; and he attributes mainly to this neglect, the familiar fact 'of persons of ta-'lent and general information in various branches of polite learn-'ing, frequenting our churches, moreover, joining in the Liturgy, 'listening to sermons, free from outward moral disqualifications 'for religious knowledge, but rather appearing to desire it—and 'yet, after all, ignorant of some main article of our faith or the 'foundation of a Christian's hopes.' Had Mr. Hawkins been conversant with the state of religious knowledge among the Dissenters, he might have enforced his argument, by adducing the superior degree of theological information which is found among their congregations, as an effect, in part, of the more general use of catechetical teaching.

With regard to the prejudice to which we have just alluded, respecting human expositions of the matter of belief, we should be grieved and alarmed to find it on the increase among them. The knowledge of Scripture is, like all other knowledge, obtainable in the first instance only through an expository medium; and the elements of knowledge systematically displayed, must be lodged in the memory, before the proof can be made palpable to the understanding. In that shape, they will not at first be understood; they must, therefore, be implicitly received, or not at all; they must partake of the nature of a prejudice, till the pupil is capable of having the grounds of his knowledge unfolded to him. But, says Hooker, 'as for those things which at the first 'are obscure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a 'time, judgement afterwards growing, explaineth them.' And we believe that the annals of Christian biography, would supply numberless instances in which religious truths thus laid up in the memory, at a time when they could not be understood, after long lying dormant, have put forth a seminal vigour, and originated the first salutary convictions that led to a change of character. Dugald Stewart has a remark which admits of useful application in this reference. 'In order to give a proper direc-'tion to our attention in the course of our studies, it is,' he says,

'useful, before engaging in particular pursuits, to acquire as fa-
'miliar an acquaintance as possible with the great outlines of the
'different branches of science.' This end, systematic theology, and that familiar mode of exhibiting it, more especially, to which we are adverting, are designed to answer with respect to the study of the Scriptures; and where this means is neglected, even in cases in which an evangelical ministry is at hand to supply the deficiency of previous teaching, the character produced will rarely be that of a very firm, a very intelligent, or even a very Scriptural believer. A man who has no system, no opinions—we may add, no prejudices, can have little knowledge; for these serve as the vehicle of knowledge, which cannot subsist in the mind otherwise than as combined with the individual's previous notions, according to some more or less arbitrary mode of association. Systems are merely attempts to arrange the matter of our knowledge, according to the agreement of truth with itself; for which, those who reject all system, do but substitute, in general, a less formal and less advantageous arrangement, founded on the agreement of truth with their own speculations.

It is very true, that the knowledge of the truths of religion is not religion; that although to believe in them, is, in the highest sense, to know them, there may be a very correct apprehension of the doctrines of Revelation, where the character exhibits none of the signs of faith. But still, knowledge is a good, and it cannot but be good in its tendency; and its relation, as a means, to a saving faith, will hardly be denied, unless by those who hold that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

Let every true Christian then, reflect that he is, by virtue of his faith, constituted a keeper of tradition. We believe this to be sound Protestant doctrine, such as we are glad to receive from a member of the University of Oxford, because it is utterly subversive of those wild and pernicious claims which in no very distant days have been set up, to an exclusive prerogative on the part of the clerical order, as the guardians and authorized interpreters of Revealed Truth. We cannot too warmly commend the language in which Mr. Hawkins urges upon every parent and every master, the obligation their very profession of belief lays them under, to assist in spreading the elements of Christian knowledge, and in handing down to the next generation the tradition of the truth. 'Parental and domestic teaching,' he remarks "possess obvious advantages in this respect above every 'other vehicle of tradition.' It was the opinion of one of our most practical and most devotional Nonconformist divines, that were parents to discharge their duty in this respect, private teaching would be employed by the Almighty as the ordinary means of conversion. Implicit faith in human testimony however venerable, is, in matters of religion, most perilous. Tra-

dition, let it come in what shape it may, yields no proof, has absolutely no authority. But yet, when it is thus presented in the form of parental teaching, commended to us by the experience, the affection, and, above all, the holy example of those to whom we owe our being, as the faith which served them to live by, and to die by,—the reasonable presumption which it affords in favour of those doctrines, is such as it were equally unwise and unnatural to reject; such as can scarcely mislead; and it is well adapted to dispose the mind to the attentive and submissive examination of that evidence which is authoritative and final.

But, further, Mr. Hawkins states, that 'any uninterrupted tradition of any given doctrine, brings with it a reasonable presumption of its truth.' Even prior to the proof that it is derived from the Scriptures, 'some faint presumption in its favour may be demanded, if *the Church* present it to our notice.' This position will require a cautious examination. What is meant by The Church? It is upon this point, that we suspect some discrepancy between the Writer's views and our own sentiments.

Were we, indeed, to take the word in the popular sense, as applying to the national profession of Christianity, we should have no difficulty in admitting, that a presumption in favour of 'the established religion,' quite strong enough to render a contempt previous to examination inexcusable, is supplied by that very circumstance. And this presumption would doubtless operate to a far greater extent than it does, in disposing men to embrace Christianity, were it not for other circumstances connected with an Ecclesiastical Establishment, which originate a presumption against Christianity, and give an opposite bias to the mind of the sceptic. The advice, however, which Mr. Hawkins offers to such persons, is excellent, supposing them to be inclined to enter upon religious inquiries. 'Let the first step be,' he says, 'to ascertain the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures;' and then, should they appear intricate, indirect, unsystematic, let him have recourse to unauthoritative tradition, and, by the Scriptures themselves, prove the correctness of what is proffered to him as the substance of the Scriptures by the Church. Let him

> 'try the validity of her system by what he had previously admitted as the only rule of faith, and thus abridge her creed, or add to it, or embrace it, as that rule shall give him occasion.'

This, again, is true Protestant doctrine. But will *The* Church allow of this freedom? Will that Church which claims 'authority in matters of faith,' and which denounces, in one of her creeds, eternal destruction upon all who hold not with her in the specified articles, suffer herself to be thus dealt with? No: and here is the radical fallacy of talking of *unauthoritu-*

tive tradition in reference to a Church which imposes her traditions as a standard of orthodoxy; makes the 'slight,' the 'faint' presumption they afford in favour of the doctrine, the ground of an authoritative demand of acquiescence; admits of no abridgement of her creed, no addition to it, on the part of her ministers; and brands all conscientious dissidents with the opprobrious names of heretic or schismatic.

It would seem to be a clear dictate of common sense, that what is in itself *unauthoritative*, should not be *authoritatively imposed.* But is not Mr. Hawkins aware that the opposition raised against the Church, originated in her compelling an unqualified assent to her traditions? Those traditions, Dissenters affirm to contain doctrines, not simply incapable of being proved by Scripture, but contrary to Scripture; the presumption supplied by their being presented by the Church, is, therefore, in their view, rendered nugatory. Are they to be allowed to judge of this, or are they not? If they are not, to what purpose is tradition represented as unauthoritative? If they are, wherefore is Dissent stigmatized as schism?

Mr. Hawkins adverts to the Bible Society controversy. He alludes to language occasionally employed by the advocates of an unrestricted distribution of the Scriptures, as implying a depreciation of other means of religious instruction. We are persuaded that he has misunderstood that language; and for this reason, that the most active members of the Bible Society have always manifested the deepest practical sense of the importance of preaching, of missionary labours, of catechetical instruction, and, to adopt the Writer's phrase, of the use of *Tradition.* Upon every one of these points, the opposers of the unrestricted distribution of the Bible, are left at a disgraceful distance by the men whom they charge with enthusiastic zeal.

Nay, even in the circulation of the Traditions of the Church —the Prayer Book and the Homilies, the clergy who have connected themselves with the Bible Society, have, if we are not greatly mistaken, discovered an activity quite equal to those who have made the alleged expediency of accompanying the Bible in every instance with a Prayer Book, a pretence for giving neither. The truth is, that the evangelical clergy are conscious of teaching, at least from the pulpit, no more than they can prove from the Scriptures; and they therefore regard without anxiety the freest circulation of the proof of what they teach. Without viewing the gift of the Scriptures either as their end, as Mr. Hawkins seems to imagine, or even as a complete means of effecting their end, they hold that, so far as it is a means, it is a means of pure, unmingled good; that, if it does not prove efficient for bringing men to the knowledge of the truth, neither can it possibly subserve the cause of error.

the Bible is 'incomplete' as an instrument for making men good Churchmen, it cannot in the end endanger the Church, should it conduce to making them good Christians. The uneasiness which their opponents betray, at witnessing the extended circulation of the *proof* of what they profess to believe and to teach, is, on the other hand, inexplicable, unless they are conscious, that they teach more than they can prove, or that Tradition and Scripture are at variance. If it be so, then, doubtless, the Bible only, may tend to make Dissenters. 'In a word,' says Mr. Hawkins, 'the Scriptures, although a sufficient rule 'of faith according to the principles of the English Church, 'appear *incomplete* for teaching the faith according to the sense 'of the same Church exhibited in her practice; and unauthoritative tradition seems required in general to introduce men to 'the records of salvation.' But if this be all the truth, the alleged incompleteness of the Scriptures, would not afford a rational pretext for refusing to concur in the general distribution of them. We need spend no words in shewing that it must be one condition of such *general* distribution, that the Bible only is the gift. We say, it is not a rational pretext, since, of the independent means of remedying this incompleteness, these objectors might, if they pleased, avail themselves. And one would think, that they ought to be glad to find at least half the work done to their hands. The plea is hollow; and therefore, we are justified in attributing this reluctance to trust people with the inspired *proof*, to a latent consciousness that it will not go all the way to support what the Church professes to teach.

But, says our Writer, 'the danger is not so much in what we 'do to others, as to ourselves, from confounding the end with 'the means.' He must bear with us, while we remind him there is an opposite danger, that of depreciating the means from mistaken views of the end. This danger has already begun to exist, when we are led to use such phrases as the *incompleteness* of Scripture as a rule of faith. We have admitted the necessity of unauthoritative tradition, or expository teaching, as a means of '*introducing* men to the records of salvation.' We admit that catechetical instruction is of the highest importance; that the preaching of the gospel is the ordinary means of converting sinners; that Biblical commentaries are an admirable help to the study of the Scriptures; and further, that what may in a sense be termed the traditions of the Church, that is to say, the theological writings of devout and learned men, are generally requisite in order to our forming correct views of inspired truth. We could specify particular human compositions, the usefulness of which, in introducing men to the knowledge of the faith, entitles their authors to rank among the greatest benefactors of the human race; and so long as the Bible freely circulates as the

test of tradition, there is little danger that too high a value will be set upon such auxiliary means of religious knowledge, or that any considerable degree of error will long pass current in this traditionary form, by virtue of any human sanction. Yet, we dare not speak of the Bible as *incomplete*, even for *teaching* the faith which it proves. This to us seems scarcely distinguishable from arraigning its sufficiency. We believe that it is not only complete, and sufficient, and certain as a rule, but even *adequate as a teacher*, where it is diligently studied with simplicity of mind and prayer for Divine illumination, to make the plainest reader wise unto salvation. We repeat with Hooker, that 'Scripture is not so hard, but that the only reading thereof may 'give life to willing readers.' We agree with Bishop Horsley, that 'the most illiterate Christian, if he can but read his English 'Bible' may 'not only attain all that practical knowledge which 'is necessary to his salvation, but, by God's blessing, become 'learned in every thing relating to his religion in such degree, 'that he will not be liable to be misled either by the refined 'arguments, or by the false assertions of those who endeavour 'to ingraft their own opinion upon the oracles of God.' In fact, the necessity of other means, arises not from any incompleteness or inadequacy in the Scriptures themselves, but chiefly from the influence of sophisticated opinions, and from the moral constitution of our nature, which disqualifies us for the due perusal of the inspired volume, and renders an infinite diversity in the mode of addressing the same truths to different individuals, necessary in order to secure their reception.

To instance the superior efficiency of preaching: 'The cause 'why sermons only are observed to prevail so much, while all 'means else seem to sleep and do nothing, is, in truth,' says the great champion of episcopacy, 'but that singular affection and 'attention which the people sheweth every where towards the 'one, and their cold disposition to the other.' And the reason of this, as he subjoins, is 'partly the especial advantages which 'Sermons naturally have to *procure attention*.' The same may be said of theological writings, the design of by far the greater part of which is, to accommodate the mode of exhibiting truth to the capacities and feelings of every description of character, and to impart a freshness to acknowledged and familiar truths. And those which have been found to constitute the most efficient means of introduction to the knowledge of the Christian doctrines, are such as make the least pretensions to novelty of information or remark.

The complaint of perplexity arising from the indirect and unsystematic way in which those doctrines are taught in the Scriptures, is, after all, we suspect, chiefly heard among persons who are not sufficiently aware that the key to the right under-

standing of them, is a spiritual mind. How fanatical soever the opinion may sound to scholars and professors, nothing is more clearly asserted in the Scriptures themselves, than that the knowledge of the doctrine can result only from a spiritual faculty of discernment, which is, in every individual, the effect of Divine illumination; that 'obedience is the only path to religious knowledge,' that an "unction from the Holy One" is necessary in order to our "knowing all things," and that this "wisdom" is to be asked for of God. No one but an infidel will deny, that a very high degree of intelligent apprehension and certainty, with respect to the matter of faith, may be attained to by means of Divine aid, by one whose natural capacity is far inferior to that of the perplexed and hesitating inquirer who neglects the previous qualification. We can assure Mr. Hawkins, that it is a fact—we leave him to assign his own cause for the phenomenon—that among plain, unlettered Christians in humble life, there is very frequently found a depth of knowledge with regard to the scope of Scripture, and a perception of its force, at which he would himself be astonished. To such instances, Bishop Horsley evidently alludes as very possible; and it is most likely that they had fallen under his own cognizance. It is surprising to find how little such individuals have been indebted to any kind of previous instruction.

Mr. Hawkins is, indeed, quite correct in stating, that the sacred writings, more particularly the Epistles, always imply that the churches to which they were addressed, had enjoyed previous oral teaching, and presuppose a degree of knowledge as the result of it, being designed rather to "stir up their minds "by way of remembrance," than to introduce them to the knowledge of the truth. Doubtless, the knowledge of the Gospel history, of the grand facts which constituted the basis of all their exhortations and all their reasonings, is presupposed by the sacred writers; and in those which are addressed to Jewish converts, an acquaintance with their own Scriptures is also taken for granted. Nevertheless, we meet occasionally with the most simple and explicit recapitulations of all the leading points of Christian doctrine. As the object of the Writer was not to add to their knowledge, so much as to excite their remembrance, and to persuade them to obedience, he could not but repeat the truths which it is implied they already knew. In the records of the Apostolic history, we have, moreover, several specimens of what was the substance of these oral communications. We have, in the writings of the Evangelists, the substance more at large, of their introductory instructions. St. Luke's Gospel was drawn up, as Mr. Hawkins remarks, that the noble individual to whom it is addressed, might know the certainty of the very things which were taught by the Apostles of Christ. We are

thus in possession of what constituted the previous oral teaching which the Epistles imply; and we have the further advantage of all the Jewish Scriptures, and of the whole of the writings comprehended in the canon of the New Testament, throwing light upon each other, and concurring in the great design of all inspired Scripture, that "the man of God may be perfect, tho-"roughly furnished unto all good works."

We maintain, then, that a competent degree of previous knowledge, sufficient to place the private Christian on a level with those who enjoyed the oral teachings of the Apostles, so far as regards the intelligent apprehension of the Christian doctrines, is within the reach of persons of the humblest attainments. But then, another circumstance is presupposed, which the sacred writers also imply, that this knowledge is accompanied with faith, with a subjection of the understanding to Divine teaching, and with the requisite qualifications for perceiving that peculiar kind of evidence in favour of the doctrines of Christianity, which results from their ascertained correspondence to our own character and our own wants. They presuppose, in fact, the formation of the Christian character,—a consciousness and perceptions answering to the truths revealed; and it is this internal testimony, the legitimate evidence of experience, which constitutes the only basis of certainty. To such a person, the unsystematic way in which the truths of Revelation are unfolded, occasions no perplexity. This indirectness not only places the proof of the doctrine above suspicion, but it serves to illustrate to him its nature as well as its truth, its practical bearings, its genuine influence, which he might otherwise have failed to perceive. 'An entire true scheme of Christian doctrines,' remarks John Howe, with his characteristic wisdom, 'will not enter into 'all minds; and for the most part, they are particular passages, 'or particular truths, that strike hearts, and that God makes 'use of to do souls good by.' This, in our view, affords of itself a satisfactory answer to the question which Mr. Hawkins sets out by proposing as a difficulty; and when taken in connexion with what he himself remarks as to the utility of such a method of revealing the doctrines of Christianity, may well discharge the Christian advocate from the imaginary necessity of apologizing for the *incompleteness* of the sacred Scriptures. We accept indeed Tradition as an *aid*; but the prerogative of a "Guide," Scripture itself refers to Him by whose inspiration it was dictated.

Art. V. *Letters from Palestine*, descriptive of a Tour through Galilee and Judæa, with some Account of the Dead Sea, and of the present State of Jerusalem. 8vo. pp. 251. Price 12s. London, 1819.

A TRAVELLER who has seen Jerusalem, would surely need no ordinary portion of self-denial, contentedly to refrain from publication. And yet it is little that a writer coming after Chateaubriand and Dr. Clarke, can be expected to add to our information with regard to the consecrated land. The Advertisement prefixed to these Letters, assures us, that 'no ordinary persuasion would have been sufficient to vanquish the 'scruples of an individual who has always sought retirement, 'and that in venturing to submit any part of his correspondence 'to the press, he has ultimately yielded to representations which 'he could no longer with propriety resist.' To this diffidence, we may probably attribute the suppression of the Author's name; a circumstance which is apt to prejudice, in some cases, the reader's confidence in the genuineness of the narrative. We are to regard the present volume, however, as the publication of an Editor, by whom it is dedicated to T. S. Jolliffe, Esq. the late member for Petersfield. It is not, therefore, entirely anonymous; and it bears sufficient internal marks of being an authentic journal.

It is a pledge of the Writer's good sense, that he permits his readers to set off with him at once from Tripoli, on the road to Acre. To explain the abruptness with which the letters begin, it is stated, 'that they are selected from a series written during 'the years 1816-17, and that none have been admitted but what 'relate exclusively to a country, which may eventually become 'an object of anxious research, though for many ages seldom 'visited by European travellers.' To those who are not acquainted with the works of preceding travellers, or to whom Dr. Clarke's extended series is inaccessible, the whole volume cannot fail to be highly interesting. The most valuable portions of the work are those which supply corrections of the previous relations.

Tyre and Sidon were both visited by our Traveller in his way to Nazareth. The latter, rising immediately from the strand, is described as presenting, when seen from a short distance, a 'rather imposing appearance,' but the interior is most wretched and gloomy. 'The portal is very massive, and has an air of 'military importance; but the instant it is unbarred, the delusion 'vanishes.' Tsour, the representative of ancient Tyre,

'became visible, at a considerable distance, from one of the elevated points beyond Sidon, and as the declining sun threw his beams

over the lofty turrets of the citadel, they appeared clothed with a radiance, which exceeded the most splendid illumination.'

All this magnificence of light rested, however, but upon 'some 'miserable cabins, ranged in irregular lines, dignified with the 'name of streets, and a few buildings of a rather better descrip-'tion, occupied by the officers of government.'

'It still makes, indeed, some languishing efforts at commerce, and contrives to export annually to Alexandria cargoes of silk and tobacco, but the amount merits no consideration.'—'The small shell-fish, which formerly supplied a tint to adorn the robe of kings and magistrates, has either totally disappeared, or, from the facility of procuring a dye by another process, become an object of comparatively little value. I have observed in several places on the Asiatic coast of the Mediterranean, something resembling a muscle, which, on being pressed, discharged a pink fluid; but the colour was not of that brilliant hue, which is described as peculiar to the shell-fish on the coast near Tyre: the liquor in these was contained in a small white vein, placed near the centre of the jaw. The colour of the fluid was not universally red; on the African coast it was of a dark violet, and hence possibly arose the indiscriminate application of the term *purple*. Sandys derives the word scarlet from this fish.' [Arab. *scat*.]

Lady Hester Stanhope is referred to, as having established her residence for some time about a day's journey from the coast, till driven, by the report of a pestilence, to make a temporary retreat into the interior. The absence of *Mi laddi*, (the title by which she is said to be known throughout a considerable portion of Syria) is for very substantial reasons regretted: 'she 'has distributed her largesses with such address, as to have ac-'quired a very considerable degree of popularity.'

The population of Nazareth is stated, upon the authority of a friar, to be 'chiefly Christian,' and to amount to between 1200 and 1400. The convent has, however, at present, but eight tenants. The church is preserved with singular neatness. The inhabitants are in the most deplorable state of moral and political degradation: the ground adjacent to the town is waste and neglected, 'the industry of the natives not being sufficiently 'protected to induce any effort at cultivation.'

We transcribe our Author's description of the Sea of Galilee.

'About mid-day we reached the summit of the hill, where our Saviour is supposed to have delivered his memorable sermon, inculcating a doctrine of elevated morality which no previous system of ethics had ever contemplated. From this eminence, the sea of Galilee appears spread out in the distant vale, a beautiful expanse of living water: no object can be imagined better calculated to administer refreshment to the eye or the spirits in a climate like this, where the traveller is almost constantly tempted to exclaim,

O qui me gelidis in vallibus Hæmi
Sistat, et ingenti *ramorum* protegat umbrâ!

The view also comprehends a very magnificent prospect of the mountains, which rise from the eastern shore of the lake, and stretch out in a northerly and southern direction; their extreme heights are crowned with snow, which the reflection of a burning sun renders insufferably dazzling.'

'When at some little distance from the town, I was invited by the transparency of the water to bathe in the lake, which I found as buoyant as the Hellespont. The greatest breadth does not appear to exceed six or seven miles, and its utmost length cannot be more than double that measure;* but as a sheet of fresh water in this arid district, its beauty and value are beyond all calculation. The surrounding scenery possesses many of the requisites of picturesque beauty and sublimity; the great deficiency is an almost total absence of wood. Chorazin and Capernaum are at the north-eastern extremity. Our ecclesiastical Cicerone was at some pains to correct my pronunciation of the latter place; which he maintained should be called Caperna-hoom: both towns are at present exclusively inhabited by Arab families. In the rocks facing the water there are some cavities hewn, which may possibly have been used as sepulchres: during the period of our Saviour's mission, it is probable that the wretched maniacs and victims of demoniacal possession made these their temporary haunts.'. (Matt. viii. 28.)

The Writer expresses his doubt whether Mount Tabor was the scene of the Transfiguration. He argues, from the sacred narrative, which describes our Lord as "departing thence" on his descent from the mountain, and, after passing through Gallilee, "coming to Capernaum,"—that, 'as Capernaum is in 'Gallilee, had the mount of transfiguration been situated in the 'same province, the Evangelist would hardly have described 'Christ's journey in these terms.' He offers, however, no conjecture as to the real locality of the scene. And little stress can, we think, be laid on the phrases cited from the frequently desultory narrative of the Evangelists. The statement given of Mount Tabor to Dr. Clarke, by his attendants, as having on its top a plain of great extent, finely cultivated, and inhabited by numerous tribes, is represented as 'wonderfully inaccurate.'

'The figure of the hill is that of a cone with the point struck off: the summit is very otherwise than an extensive plain, being only a *very few acres*, nearly covered with the ruins of a fortress, without one solitary tenant, and entirely destitute of the slightest symptoms of cultivation. The hills are rugged and precipitous, but clothed

* 'According to Pliny, it is sixteen miles long, and six wide: that author describes it as being encircled by delightful villas, amænis circumseptum oppidis, (lib. v. cap. 15.) but these have all disappeared so completely, as to leave no traces of their former existence. The lake was called the Sea of Gallilee, from its situation in that province —of Tiberias, from the city erected on its shore.—Gennesareth, from which it also derived one of its names, is no longer extant.'

with trees and brushwood. It was here that Barak was encamped, when, at the suggestion of Deborah, he descended with ten thousand men, and discomfited the host of Sisera, "So that Sisera lighted off his chariot, and fled away on his feet." (Judges iv. 14, 15.) At a few leagues to the east is mount Hermon, at whose base the village of Nain is situated, the place mentioned by St. Luke as the scene of Christ's miraculous restoration of the widow's son. Not far from thence is Endor, the residence of the soothsayer applied to by Saul. South of Hermon are the mountains of Gilboa; and the hills of Samaria, beyond these, terminate the view.'

The general aspect of those mountains, is described as exhibiting a greater degree of wildness and savage grandeur than any which the Author had previously traversed.

Most of our readers will probably recollect Dr. Clarke's animated description of his feelings on the first view of the 'magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches and 'monasteries,' which occupy the site of ancient Jerusalem. The present Traveller is exemplarily free from all attempts at fine writing, but he is by no means deficient in sensibility.

We must, in justice to him, make room for the following reflections.

'The first sensations, therefore, which fill the visitor of Palestine, are those of lassitude and dejection; but as he progressively advances in these sacred precincts, and perceives an interminable plain spread out on all sides, those sensations are eventually succeeded by feelings more exalted. A mixed emotion of surprise and awe takes possession of his faculties, which, far from depressing the spirit, elevates the mind, and gives vigour to the heart. The stupendous scenes that are every where unfolded, announce to the spectator, that he surveys those regions which were once the chosen theatre of wonders. The burning climate, the impetuous eagle, the blighted fig tree—all the poetry, all the painting of the sacred writings, are present to his view. Each venerable name reminds him of some mysterious agent; every valley seems to proclaim the warnings of futurity; every mountain to re-echo the hallowed accents of inspiration! *The dread voice of* THE ETERNAL HIMSELF *has sounded on these shores!*

'To tread the ground once trodden by the mightiest of mankind, and to read the history of nations in the mutilated fragments of those monuments which were consecrated to their glory, has been often, and with justice, stated as a source of the sublimest pleasure; but if considerations merely human can create these sensations, if the philosopher and historian feels himself overpowered with the weight of his reflections, as his eye glances on the spot "where Romulus *stood*, where Cicero spoke, and where Cæsar fell," with what increased emotions of awe and veneration will the Christian moralist contemplate

"Those holy fields,
"Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
"Which" eighteen hundred "years ago were nail'd,
"For our advantage, to the bitter cross!"
(SHAKESPEARE—Henry IV. Part I. Act. i. Sc. i.)

Oppressed with the varied movements, which throng and agitate his bosom, he will yield for a while to the heart's impulse, and, seeking religion in her own peculiar sanctuary, bow down before her altars in chastened, fervent adoration!'

He appears, however, to have contemplated the mosques and minarets of the once holy city, more in the spirit of the passage which he cites from Heber's exquisite poem on Palestine:

'Is *this* thy place, sad city, this thy throne?'

And the following account of the present appearance of its interior, is an expressive comment upon those lines. 'Jerusalem, 'under the government of a Turkish aga,' is, indeed, 'still 'more unlike Jerusalem as it existed in the reign of Solomon, 'than Athens during the administration of Pericles, and Athens 'under the dominion of the chief of the black eunuchs.'

'Were a person carried blindfold from England, and placed in the centre of Jerusalem, or on any of the hills which overlook the city, nothing perhaps would exceed his astonishment on the sudden removal of the bandage. From the centre of the neighbouring elevations he would see a wild, rugged, mountainous desart—no herds depasturing on the summit, no forests clothing the acclivities, no water flowing through the valleys; but one rude scene of savage melancholy waste, in the midst of which the ancient glory of Judæa bows her head in widowed desolation. On entering the town, the magic of the name and all his earliest associations would suffer a still greater violence, and expose him to still stronger disappointment. No "streets of palaces and walks of state," no high-raised arches of triumph, no fountains to cool the air, or porticos to exclude the sun, no single vestige to announce its former military greatness or commercial opulence; but, in the place of these, he would find himself encompassed on every side by walls of rude masonry, the dull uniformity of which is only broken by the occasional protrusion of a small grated window. "*From the daughter of Zion all beauty is departed.*"'

Our Author does not attempt a rigid examination of the traditions which the traveller is bound to listen to, relative to the 'holy places;' but contents himself with repeating the description given to him by the guide, protesting in general terms against being supposed to give implicit credence to the narration. Dr. Clarke's statements and reasonings are amply sufficient to shew, that no dependence whatever can be placed on these legends. The present Writer tells us, that he found it 'worse than useless to apply for information on points of this 'nature at the convent,' and that 'any attempt to investigate 'traditionary statements, seemed to be regarded by his hosts, as 'conveying an oblique reflection on their own credulity.' We were rather surprised, however, to find him gravely referring to 'the supposed place where our Saviour dictated the universal 'prayer,' and 'to the cave where the Apostles assembled to

'compose the creed which bears their name.' That creed is admitted by all Protestant writers of any consideration, to have no pretensions to an apostolic origin. He should have left such fables to Viscount Chateaubriand.

We must refer our readers to the volume itself for the particulars it contains relative to the present state of Jerusalem, while we accompany the Traveller to the Dead Sea, which Dr. Clarke was prevented from visiting. In opposition to Maundrell's statement as to the specific gravity of the water, he affirms that 'he found it very little more buoyant than other seas, 'but considerably warmer,' and 'so strongly impregnated with 'sulphur,' that he 'left it with a violent head-ache and swollen 'eyes.' His invalidation of Maundrell's account, whose general accuracy is unimpeachable, is rendered nugatory, however, by his admitting that he did not wade out of his depth. Chateaubriand had affirmed, that, owing to the heaviness of the waters, the most impetuous winds can scarcely ruffle their surface. This is a mistake. 'A light breeze,' says our Writer, 'is more than 'sufficient to ruffle the surface: the protection of the moun-'tains, renders any very violent fluctuation unfrequent, and not 'the density of the fluid.' He noticed also on the sand, several impressions of bird's feet, some of which appeared as large as the claws of an eagle, but none distinguished by the formation peculiar to water-fowl. Referring to the apples said to grow

'Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flamed,'

He says:

'I own I looked for these apples with unusual avidity, and after making a proper deduction for the rhetorical flourishes of Tacitus and Josephus, I am willing to fancy that I discovered the peculiar fruit mentioned by those writers They grow in clusters on a shrub five or six feet high, and are about the size of a small apricot; the colour is a bright yellow, which, contrasting with the delicate verdure of the foliage, seemed like the union of gold with emeralds. Possibly, when ripe, they may crumble into dust upon any violent pressure, but those which I gathered did not retain the slightest mark of any indenture from the touch. I found them in a thicket of brush-wood, about half a mile distant from the plain of Jericho.'

The Author is very laudably attentive to whatever may serve to verify the Scriptural narrative. He notices Volney's sarcastic remarks on the Jordan, as affording ground to suspect that he never saw the river. The stream, at its *embouchure*,

'is deep and rapid, rolling a considerable volume of waters; the width appears from two to three hundred feet, and the current is so violent, that our Greek servant who attempted to cross it, though strong and active, and an expert swimmer, found the undertaking impracticable. It enters the northern extremity of the Dead Sea,

which takes a south south-eastern direction visible for ten or fifteen miles, when it disappears in a curve towards the east.'

Another sneer of Volney's, relative to the cedars of Lebanon, he shews to proceed from an equal want of information, if it was not a wilful misrepresentation.

" Describing the cedars of Lebanon, he expresses himself thus: " Ces cedres si reputés, resemblent à *bien d'autres merveilles;* quatre ou cinq gros arbres, les *seuls qui restent*, et qui n'ont rien de particulier, ne valent pas la peine que l'on prend a franchir les précipices qui y mènent." This is far from a correct account: the place distinguished for possessing what remains of the original cedars is called *Arese;* the trees are spread over a knoll between three and four acres in extent, and may be visited by any persons at all accustomed to mountainous passes, without difficulty or personal inconvenience: at all events, such as are induced to pursue their route to the mountain's top, will find themselves sufficiently repaid for such additional exertion. The surface in some parts is certainly very precipitous, and as we approached towards the summit, an aerial current swept round the ascent, which, though resistless for the moment, was in the highest degree exhilirating in its effects.

' Perhaps no spot on the globe can present a spectacle so glorious as that which is unfolded from the apex of Mount Lebanon. A boundless horizon, glowing and radiant, is spread out before the view, and the sight expatiates almost uninterruptedly, from the waters of the Mediterrancan to the confines of the Persian Gulf. On such a scene the spectator loses for a while all sense of individual weakness; his faculties feel as it were an enlarged vitality; and he dwells with a rapturous enthusiasm on the splendours by which he is encompassed, till their united glories torture the imagination, and "the sense aches with gazing!" ' pp. 116, 117, *note.*

Some remarks deserving of attention, occur relative to the locality of the Crucifixion. The Scripture narrative is explicit, that " in the place where our Lord was crucified, there was a " garden, and in that garden a sepulchre,' in which, because it " was *nigh at hand*," his body was laid. The sepulchre itself was " hewn out of a rock," but what now bears the name of the holy sepulchre, corresponds in no respect, as Dr. Clarke has shewn, to this description: it is not composed of the same species of stone as the rocks of Jerusalem consist of, (' common compact ' limestone,') nor does it answer to the character of an excavation or *soros.* The present Writer is disposed to acquiesce in the accuracy of the legend, but he was not, as it should seem, aware of all the grounds of Dr. Clarke's scepticism. He states that what is now called Mount Calvary, has no appearance of having ever been set apart as a place of public interment, as the scene of the crucifixion is inferred to have been. It is, however possible, he remarks, that it might derive the name Golgotha, the *place of a skull*, from some other circumstance. A place of public interment would have been chosen *without the walls;*

but Mount Calvary is not far from the centre of the present town, and its exclusion from the walls, would, it is contended, 'occasion such a reduction in the city's extent as must have 'rendered it insufficient for the vast multitudes which composed 'the population.' To make this the more apparent, the Writer subjoins a rough sketch of the outlines of the city as seen from the Mount of Olives. But all his reasonings appear to us rather to confirm Dr. Clarke's suspicion, that the tradition relative to the spot on which these transactions took place, is altogether erroneous. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews expressly affirms that, as the bodies of the beasts sacrificed under the law, were burned without the camp, so Jesus suffered "without the "gate;" and he intimates that a degree of ignominy was attached to his being cast out of the holy city. The manner in which the Evangelists also describe his being "led away," and "going "forth," would authorize a similar conclusion as to "the place" being without the walls of Jerusalem; even if St. John had not added, that "the place where Jesus was crucified was *nigh* to the "city," which is decisive as to its not being within it. That it was on a *mount*, is no where affirmed in the sacred records: It is equally probable, that it was upon an open space, adapted to the assembling of a great concourse of people, and abandoned to the purposes of judicial executions and of public burial. In like manner, when Stephen was stoned, the Jews were first careful to cast him out of the city. It is by no means improbable, that the proto-martyr sealed his testimony in the very 'place' in which his Lord had recently suffered. In this wild waste, however, there was a garden, enclosed, as it should seem, by the proprietor, as a private cemetry; and in this garden was a sepulchre, formed, as Dr. Clarke with great plausibility conjectures, by excavating the lateral surface of a lofty rock. Of suchs epulchres or *soroi*, he witnessed numerous specimens. And to the door of this sepulchre was rolled a great stone; which answers to this idea of its structure. The watch set by the Jews, in order to prevent the body from being stolen, was evidently at a sufficient distance from Jerusalem, to allow of an interview taking place between our Lord and his disciples, before some of the watch came back into the city,* to inform the Chief Priests of what had occurred. What now bears the name of Mount Calvary, appears in no one respect to answer to these indications of the locality. Is it not very possible, that the original structure was designed rather to commemorate the transaction, than to mark the identity of the spot; that it was simply dedicated, in the first instance, to the Holy Sepulchre; that the name of the place where our Lord suffered, was subsequently

* Matt. xxviii. 11.

transferred to the mount which the Empress Helena chose to pitch upon for the purpose of the edifice; and that the block of white marble now shewn as the actual tomb of our Saviour, and what Dr. Clarke terms the 'huge pepper box,' represented in the frontispiece to the present volume, had an origin similar to that of the other undoubted relics which constitute the holy wealth of monasteries and churches? Cases analogous to the one we are supposing, are by no means of rare occurrence in the annals of the Romish Church. Many an abbey or cathedral has owed its erection to a relic, or some other ingenious invention for rendering a chosen locality productive to it possessors by its reputed sanctity. The present volume supplies numerous instances of like absurdities: e. g. About two miles from Jerusalem, is a cavern near the way-side, used as a reservoir for water. 'From thence,' said the conductor of our Travellers, 'arose 'the luminous spark which guided the Eastern sages to the place 'of the nativity!!' We need not remark on the obvious expediency of bringing all the 'holy places' as much as possible within the city, notwithstanding any trifling deviations from historical or geographical accuracy. Had the church of the Holy Sepulchre been erected out of Jerusalem, it would not have survived the fury of Mahommedan invaders. Nor would it have been so prudentially placed, as regards the convenience of the holy brotherhood its guardians; nor would it have been so completely under the watchful superintendance of the Turkish government, who, turning to good account the curiosity or zeal of the pilgrim, compel 'every person not subject to the Porte, who 'visits the shrine of Jesus Christ, to pay a tax of twenty-five 'sequins.' These considerations may serve to strengthen the conjecture, that historical verity would not be the only thing to determine the original discoverers and consecrators of the places marked out by tradition for the veneration of the faithful.

An accurate topographical survey of Jerusalem and its vicinity, is still a *desideratum*. 'Passing the valley of Gehinnon,' says the present Writer, 'I observed several excavations, which were 'probably the receptacles of the dead, though they want the 'distinctive marks of sepulchres.' We regret that he does not explain himself more fully. He adds,

'Further up the acclivity, there are some whose designation is less equivocal; but our dragoman was more than usually embarrassed by enquiries, of a nature seldom contemplated by his employers in the convent; and we were hurried on to those places of whose traditionary histories he was far better informed. The whole of *this ascent* is in great measure *new ground* to the antiquarian: and if the continuance of peace, by the facilities it may afford of exploring these remote regions, should induce future travellers to make Jerusalem an object of patient investigation, it is here probably that they

will find the amplest scope for the exercise of their various erudition.' p. 192.

Our Travellers proceeded from Jerusalem, to Jaffa, Gaza, El Arisch, and Damietta, whence the concluding letter is dated. At Jaffa, the Writer received from the British Consul, Signor Dammiani, who was resident there at the time of Bonaparte's invasion, a confirmation of the statement published by Sir R. Wilson, respecting the massacre of the Turks, but accompanied with a qualifying circumstance of no small importance, which the gallant General omitted to mention. The British agent was a witness to the proceeding, and on his authority rests the following narration.

'On the surrender of El Arish, the Turkish garrison were dismissed on their parole, and furnished by Napoleon with the pecuniary means of retiring to their respective habitations—at Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, Acre, &c. &c.; but it was expressly understood that they were not to appear in arms against the French, during the continuance of the war in Syria. In the mean time, the conqueror, pursuing his good fortune, pushed on towards Jaffa, which in six days afterwards fell into his possession; it then became evident, that the troops, who were released at El Arish, had thrown themselves into the town, and by such reinforcement added very materially to its power of resistance. The privates were soon identified by means of their respective leaders, all of whom were severally charged by Buonaparte, in the hearing of our consul, with this aggravated breach of faith. A council was immediately held, and under all the circumstances, it was adjudged an inevitable necessity to enforce the authorized practice of warfare: the delinquents were marched to the sand-hills above the town, and subjected to military execution.—It is for officers of long experience to decide, whether in this instance there was such a departure from the *principle* of martial rigour, as must for ever place the act beyond the reach of palliation.'

The volume is very neatly got up, and contains, besides the plan already mentioned, a sketch of the Eastern Coast of the Mediterranean, a view of the Holy Sepulchre, and one of the Mount of Olives.

Art. VI. *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania.* To which are added, The Constitutions of the United States, and of Pennsylvania; and Extracts from the Laws respecting Aliens and naturalized Citizens. By C. B. Johnson, M.D. 18mo. pp. 192. Philadelphia, and London. 1819.

THE Author of these Letters, is one of those individuals whom Mr. Birkbeck's "Notes," was partly the occasion of tempting across the ocean; but who had the prudence to make preliminary inquiries at Pennsylvania, where he met with some of his countrymen who had returned from the Western wilderness, after a

journey of nearly three thousand miles by land. The result of those inquiries, satisfied him and his friends, as to the decided advantages of a settlement on the eastern side of the mountains; and at a meeting of British emigrants held at Philadelphia, the purchase of lands in the Susquehanna country was ultimately resolved upon. These Letters are dated from the infant settlement, and are to be considered as published under the direction of the society. In a prefatory address, they state that

'The object of the Society has been to secure an eligible situation for their countrymen; and by obtaining a large tract of land, to enable them to settle together. As the Society disclaim all speculations, they invite their countrymen to the spot which they have selected, on the terms of their contract.' It is added: 'That the difference or saving of expense of a family of seven persons, young and old, which, together with the sundry articles taken with them, should weigh a ton and a half, going to Susquehanna county; and the same family going to the state of Illinois; is sufficient to purchase one hundred and twenty acres of land in Susquehanna county, under the Society's contract. That the saving of a mechanic with a family of common size, between the expense of maintaining it in Philadelphia, or in Susquehanna county, will, in one year, purchase a hundred acres of land. That the work of the mechanic is proportionably more valuable. That the produce of the farmer will sell for double the amount it will bring in the Western states. That all imported articles are cheaper. That the settlement is removed from all danger in case of war.'

Besides other advantages; among which, not the least is that of turnpike roads to the two most important cities in the United States.

This publication will readily be seen to partake of the nature of an advertisement for settlers; and its statements will therefore require to be received with caution, and some 'grains of 'allowance.' To those, however, who have any intention of leaving their 'father's land', it offers some valuable information; and it will at all events lead them to pause before they set off in search of Mr. Birkbeck's *prairies*. The following remarks upon the Letters from Illinois, are extracted from the "Village Re-"cord", 'a very ably conducted newspaper,' published at West Chester, near Philadelphia, by Mr. Miner, lately a member of the legislature.

'We have before noticed Mr. Birkbeck's letters from Illinois. His calculations, showing the rapidity with which independence may be obtained, and even wealth accumulated, are well contrived to lead the sanguine in flocks to his neighbourhood. Whether all who go will realize the happiness and prosperity which their fancies have pictured, our deliberate judgment leads us much to question. That the prairies of which he speaks are rich in soil, and will be prolific of produce, we entertain no doubt: but fine land and good crops are not

the only considerations which a prudent man will take into the account, when he is about to remove his family, and to settle in a new situation. Health is better than riches; and the finest prairie in Illinois would poorly compensate for the sacrifice of half his family, and the reduction of the rest to debility and disease.

'New countries are generally healthy. When they are not so, when diseases make their appearance with the first settlers, the climate must be radically bad, and the situation extremely insalubrious. These observations have arisen from an impression left upon my mind by Mr. Birkbeck's book. In letter fourth, he speaks of *burials*—it is right enough, deaths take place every where—but when he adds, "These simple monuments of mortality, [graves over which trees "have been felled] are not *unfrequent* in the woods," it strikes me as quite unusual, and indicates a sickliness of climate justly alarming. To this, when it is added that he enjoins it on his friends again and again, as a thing of much importance, pressing, from its necessity, constantly upon his mind, that they should bring with them calomel and bark—Physic, physic, physic! I must confess that I am quite willing to give up all claim to his prairies, and to be content with plain Pennsylvania hills and valleys, uplands and bottoms, that will yield fifty bushels of corn, or twenty of wheat, to the acre.

'Another thing in Mr. Birkbeck's letters impressed me with no very favourable idea of his situation. He speaks of erecting a wind mill on his prairie! What! are there no mill seats in Illinois? Is the land so low; are the waters so sluggish, that fall enough cannot be found to turn a mill? Such we have reason to think is the fact. Is it then to be wondered at, if fevers and ague—bilious fever—yellow fever, and fifty other diseases, should be rife where the lands are low and the waters stagnant.

'For my own part—perhaps it is the effect of prejudice, but I can't help it—I prefer the running stream—the pure, sweet, lively water that gushes from the hill side, and the occasional cataract, all foaming and bounding, like a flock of white sheep from the mountain, imparting cheerfulness and health. I wish I had room to extract from a late work entitled "Rambles in Italy," a description of a spot, the most beautiful to the eye, but fatal to the occupant. The summer and autumn it was abandoned, for the miasma that rose from its putrid waters blighted human life as the frost withers the leaves of the forest. Such, I apprehend, will be the future description of many a fair promising prairie in the west.

'Well, there is one consolation: There are new lands enough nearer home—excellent in soil, having pure water, and advantageously situated. How apt we are to look at a great distance for happiness, overlooking the advantages near us! Nearly one half of Pennsylvania is yet uncultivated. From a point, beginning a few miles north of Easton, run a line longitudinally so as to intersect the western line of the state, passing a few miles north of Pittsburg, we divide Pennsylvania into two equal parts. South of this line 83 members of Assembly reside; north of it 15. Suppose the state to contain 900,000 inhabitants—750,000 live in the south half, and only 150,000 in the North. Yet the north part will admit a population

greater than that which now exists in the south There is ample room, therefore, for 600,000 inhabitants, or 100,000 families to settle in Pennsylvania, and lands can be obtained on terms quite as reasonable as in the west.

'Some parts of this territory are settling with great rapidity. Of Susquehanna county I can speak from personal knowledge, having been one among the first who made a settlement near where the present seat of justice, (Montrose.) is established. It was, 18 years ago, a wilderness; there was no road within eight miles of the spot which is now a handsome town. It has not, it is true, like some of the Alabama towns, increased 200 houses in a season; such places, of unnatural growth, will go like Jonah's gourd, as suddenly as they came; I have no confidence in them. But the growth of Montrose and the settlement of the country in the neighbourhood, have been natural and healthful. This county, lying within two days journey of the Hudson, and three of Philadelphia, and being nearly in a direction between those cities and the fine and flourishing Genessee country, rendered it an object deserving attention. Robert H. Rose, Esq. took an active part in its settlement. Enterprising, liberal and intelligent, he has, with the aid of several other gentlemen, produced an astonishing revolution in those forests. Various turnpikes extend through the county—At the seat of justice are erected very handsome public buildings; a Bank of superior credit, which has been some time in operation, is there established, and at the last election, they polled upwards of 200 votes at Montrose.

'The soil is of an excellent quality, favourable for all sorts of grain: and particularly productive of grass, promising to be one of the finest grazing countries in the Union. The timber is chiefly Sugar Maple, Beech, Ash, Hemlock and Birch. In its hills and valleys the land lies much like that of Chester county: the water abundant, lively and clear. In this fine county, lands may be bought on the turnpikes for five dollars per acre; or at a less price some distance from them. Mill seats are numerous and excellent; and above all, in point of health it cannot be surpassed. With the advantages of good roads, schools and society, and land at a moderate price so near; what thinking man would remove, with a pack load of calomel and jalap at his back, to the fever prairies of Illinois?

'I have spoken particularly of Susquehanna county: but the description, as it respects soil, products, timber, water, &c. will apply to all the counties on the north line of the state. But I have no more room at present. This subject must be resumed. The settlement of this great extent of territory is a subject of the highest importance to the state, and ought to engage its most serious attention.'

It is assuredly a further recommendation, which will go a great way to decide the preference of every true Englishman, that

'no slavery is permitted in Pennsylvania; the toleration of which in the southern states is an incalculable mischief; and it is an evil which it is extremely difficult to get rid of; for even those who are opposed to slavery, dread the effects of a universal emancipation of the blacks. A society has been established by some of the most dis-

tinguished men in the United States, for colonizing them, from whose efforts much may be hoped.'——'Mendicity (too) is so rare in this state, that, from my landing at Philadelphia to the present time, I have not seen a beggar.'

But we cannot follow Mr. — we beg pardon—Dr. Johnson, through his enumeration of all the advantages attending a settlement in Susquehanna county. We can readily believe that it holds out a more reasonable prospect of success than the Western counties. But we wish to make room for some general reflections suggested by the comparative perfection of the American navy.

'You will remember the mortification we used to feel, at reading the accounts of the capture of our ships of war, and the great unwillingness with which we gave credit to the facts; but I can now readily see the causes of our defeats, and should be surprised if such had not been the result of the different actions. The American ships are larger than ours of the same grade; in most instances they have had a greater number of guns; and in all cases, were manned with selected crews. Many of the sailors on board American ships are British subjects, and of whatever country they may be, they have all gone on board voluntarily—for in this country our disgraceful system of impressment is unknown. We opposed all these advantages, by ships of a less size, fewer guns, and smaller crews; and even those, in most instances, were composed in great part, of persons who had been compelled to serve. In such cases, the result must ever be as it was. Wars are always unfortunate, and disastrous; but they are particularly so when they occur between nations of the same language, religion, habits and morals. The Americans deserve great credit for the urbanity and kindness which they displayed after victory; and this was not confined to the officers, but extended to the rough tars, whose hearts melted at the sufferings of their foe. When the *Peacock* was sunk by the *Hornet*, and the crew of the former vessel escaped with nothing but their clothes, the sailors of the *Hornet* presented each man with another suit from their purser's stores. When the captured crews were landed on the shores of the United States, they were in many instances, permitted to mingle as they pleased with the citizens, and to become citizens themselves. The crew of the *Guerrier*, captured by the *Constitution*, was landed at New London, and many of them proceeded immediately into the country, and became farmers or labourers of different kinds. A gentleman who was at New London at the time they were landed, met a dozen of them some miles out of town, proceeding merrily along, with their bundles on their backs; he asked them, where they were going: "to see our uncles," said one of them laughing. Indeed, I fancy they found more "uncles" in this country, if hospitality could create a relationship, than they left behind them in Old England. Is it any wonder, therefore, that our sailors should not fight with their accustomed spirit against such a country as this; when they felt that a defeat might bestow upon them an invaluable blessing, by placing them on a soil which is emphatically the land of freedom?'

The Writer vindicates the conduct of Judge, *alias*, General Jackson, from the charge of unnecessary severity against the Indians, of whose merciless ravages an 'Englishman,' he says, 'can form no idea;' an enemy whose mode of warfare 'is an 'indiscriminate massacre of every age, and to whom the mother 'and the infant plead alike in vain.'

'Jackson, 'tis true, retaliated severely; but his vengeance fell on the warriors alone; no woman or child was touched; and had he ordered otherwise, no American militia man would have been found to execute his commands.'

When General Pakenham 'led the flower of the British army 'against New Orleans as to a certain conquest,' a place without walls, troops, or cannon, this same General Jackson was sent there to confront him.

'He found a few militia, hastily collected; more were expected. In the scattered state of population, some had to come above a thousand miles. These were mostly volunteers, without skill or tactics, unable to form or to march by rule; but marksmen, whose aim was almost a fatal certainty. In this situation, which called for the most prompt decision, and when it was more than suspected, that there were persons in the city deeply in the British interest, Jackson did the only thing which could have saved the place; he seized the power of the bench, and placed the town under military law. At this moment the advance of the British army was landing, accompanied by custom-house and police officers, already arranged to organize a government of the place, in the good old way to which they had been accustomed in their warfare with other enemies.

'Without giving them time to pitch their tents, Jackson attacked them at night with the few troops he had. Our officers were surprised by such a reception, at a place where they had expected no resistance, and they halted till the rest of our troops joined them; by which time numbers of the militia had arrived. The cotton bags were taken from the warehouses, and placed round the town as a rampart. How this would have been ridiculed by a Cohorn or a Vauban! and probably it was equally ridiculed by our officers, accustomed to the entrenchments on the European continent. They led on their troops with the valour of British officers, under a heavy cannonade, and with clouds of rockets.

'Who could believe that the result should be, the defeat of our troops, with the loss of nearly three thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners; and that the raw militia, behind the ramparts of cotton bags, should have only *thirteen* men killed and wounded! Yet so it appears to have been. Our troops retreated to the swamps, by which New-Orleans is surrounded, where they had another enemy to encounter, the diseases attendant on such a situation. When they were gone, Jackson restored to the judges their suspended power, (cedunt arma togæ), and was called before them and fined for suspending it. Before he could leave the court house, the grateful citizens had paid the fine for their deliverer. He has been again lately called into

activity. The Indians on the Florida frontier had begun their massacres. Jackson marched against them; they fled into the Spanish province; he followed them there; he found them protected; he did not hesitate, but attacked and captured the Spanish forts, and sent the governor and garrison off in transports, which he hired to receive them. At the same time he told the governor that when the king of Spain should send a sufficient force to quell the Indians and keep them in subjection, the province should be restored to him.' pp. 120—122.

The following remarks are highly important and seasonable, and we readily give them all the circulation in our power.

'It has been observed by Talleyrand, that there was a natural connexion between England and America, which must operate in favour of the former, and against France. This I believe to be strictly the case: and wars between Great Britain and America can only arise from an astonishing ignorance in the British ministry, of the feelings and habits of this country. The more I see of America, the more I am convinced, that instead of an absurd jealousy of the growing power of this country, we ought rather to *promote* it. It has been very correctly observed, by one of our statesmen, "that not an axe falls in an American forest which does not put in motion some shuttle, hammer, or wheel, in England." This is truly the case. The amount of British manufactures consumed even in this place, so lately established, is wonderful. In the village of Montrose are already six or eight shopkeepers. One of these lately sent off nine waggons to bring in goods from one of the maritime cities: and these goods are principally of British manufacture, and to be consumed by backwoods-men! It is usual for the store-keepers to supply themselves twice a year, spring and autumn; therefore, it is probable that this storekeeper sells eighteen loads of goods in a year. Multiply eighteen by six, and you have one hundred and eight loads of goods sold in the village of Montrose alone; besides shops in other parts of the country. Instead of prohibiting the emigration of farmers and mechanics to this country, an enlightened ministry would urge it. A man who for want of employment with you, is a burthen to the parish, here purchases a lot of new lands; his labour supplies his family with food and raiment, and the latter is principally British manufacture. As his children increase, his wealth increases, and his demand on the shops, or, as they are here called, stores, increases with it. These stores are supplied from Great Britain with the articles he consumes. The result is obvious; the man who is a weight on his fellow subjects at home, when abroad, becomes one of those who enhance the prosperity of his native country, by the consumption of its manufactures. These things are too plain to be mistaken; and a British minister must shut both his eyes and his ears, who does not perceive that the increase of population here, is of the utmost importance to the interest of the mother country. The concourse of idle and expensive paupers in England, if sent to this country, would become a fountain of wealth, pouring its fertilizing stream on you from a lavish urn. It is mortifying to know, that these sources of prosperity should have been prevented from flowing upon our country by the sneering letters of

Canning, or the unbending pride of Castlereagh, and a host of others of the same character.

'When the French decrees denationalized the vessels of America, for suffering the search of a British cruiser, what a fortunate time it would have been for our country, had our minister been sufficiently wise to have seen that his true policy should have led him to protect and guard the American vessel; to do every act of kindness, and to afford every protection in his power, while our enemy was absurdly provoking the hostility of the nation, whose agriculture was at the very moment affording him the most important aid. What would have been the result of such conduct? Undoubtedly a war between France and America; and a league between the latter and Great Britain; between the parent and the child, as it ought to have been. In monarchical governments, if an injury is done by one to another, a calculation may be made coolly and deliberately, of the sum necessary to quiet all animosity. This is not the case in a government of the people. Here their voice is heard; it is all powerful: and if such a case had happened, as I have supposed, the people would have compelled the government to declare war against France. The love of the heart of these people is naturally towards their English relations. An Englishman, if he behaves himself, has a thousand advantages, which no other countryman possesses; and if he is conscious of proper feeling towards the country of his adoption, he may at once consider himself at home among its citizens; by whom he will be received with every attention which cordiality and kindness can bestow.' pp. 122—125.

'Should not Great Britain,' says the Writer in concluding the chapter, 'look with exultation on the gigantic growth of 'her offspring—at the extent to which her language and her 'code of laws are carried by Anglo-Americans?'

Art. VII. *A Mother's Journal* during the last Illness of her Daughter, Sarah Chisman. With a Preface, by Jane Taylor. 12mo. pp. 171. Price 4s. London. 1820.

TO those persons who regard the principle of religion, as, in every instance of its real existence, the production of the Divine Spirit, there will appear nothing extraordinary in the degree of maturity with which it sometimes develops itself in the infant mind. At how early a period of incipient reason, the child is capable of religion, capable of being the moral subject of Divine influence, it would be the highest presumption to determine. That would be a very erroneous way of judging of the matter, which should make the degree in which the reason has unfolded, the measure of that capacity. We believe that the education of the heart, may have advanced to a point far higher than is generally deemed practicable, long before the intellect has fully developed itself. And so soon as the child is capable of the ordinary methods of moral education, it would be

impiety to deny that its spirit is susceptible of a higher influence. The necessity of a Divine change, is a doctrine which has no tendency to discourage the attempt to train up our children in habits of piety; but we fear that it operates on the minds of some religious parents, as an undefined excuse for a very languid discharge of their duties in this respect, as if they were less responsible than they really are, for the future character of their offspring. There is too much room still to address many individuals who are themselves disciples, in the language of our Lord's rebuke: "*Suffer* the little children to "come unto me." They would seem either to disbelieve or to forget, that "of such is the kingdom of Heaven."

Although the design of such a publication as the present, is the benefit of the young, rather than that of older readers, it is well adapted to open the eyes of those persons who think that a child may be too young to be religious, or that piety in a child must of necessity be childish. Exclude the aid of Divine teaching, indeed, and the task of accommodating Revealed Truth to the apprehensions of a child, becomes hopeless. It is, however, in fact equally hopeless to attempt to make the well-educated adult perceive, independently of such teaching, spiritual truths. Exclude Divine illumination as the source of the intelligent views and elevated feelings to which childhood has, in numberless instances, proved to be capable of attaining, and we will allow the phenomenon to be, not merely extraordinary, but inexplicable. A child may have by heart its catechism and its favourite hymns, and, like older formalists, be destitute of any intelligent notion of religion. But as we do not call that, religious education, which consists merely in cultivating the memory, so, we do not call that infant piety, which displays itself by no other marks than the recital of lessons. Where this is all the effect produced, we are, however, always apt to suspect a deficiency in the means which have been employed. At the point at which education stops short, it is no wonder if the child stops short also. But where the mind itself is cultivated, a child will not be a parrot; instinctive curiosity will of necessity operate; the feelings will be interested; and, under such circumstances, religion will be found in itself a most efficient means of forwarding the growth of the faculties. To this, its natural tendency, we are disposed to attribute in part what may seem the precocity of intellect sometimes attendant upon youthful piety; especially in cases where long or severe affliction has tended to fix the mind more attentively upon the objects of faith. A considerable maturity of mind is, indeed, the natural effect of early suffering, and its influence cannot but extend to the religious character.

Frequently, if a child is thought likely to die, its parents will

then be anxious that it should exhibit *symptoms* of piety; as there is then no room for apprehension that its natural vivacity, its delightful juvenility of feeling, will be destroyed, or repressed, or overcast by the *gloom* of religion, or that it should exhibit the formality of a 'little old man.' But is there really any tendency in religion adequately felt, to produce this baleful effect upon the temperament of a child? The most perfect artlessness, the most *rampant* boyishness, have been found compatible with all the ardour of youthful piety. Why are they not found more frequently in combination?

'It has been suggested,' says Miss Taylor, in her Preface to this very interesting record of maternal affection,

"whether more might not be done than is generally attempted in early education, in rendering the first impressions of religion cheerful and encouraging, rather than gloomy and apprehensive. Instead of a reluctant acknowledgement of the necessity of preparation for death, might not the young be taught, as their first lesson in Christianity, to exult in the thought of being born to an endless existence; and in the fact, that boundless happiness is freely offered to their acceptance? Perhaps the fascinations of the world would be more successfully counteracted, if, instead of *unsympathizing* lectures on its vanity and danger, the great objects of our faith and hope were more frequently, and more *cheeringly* exhibited, as *in themselves* infinitely desirable, and worthy of every sacrifice:—if their attention were particularly invited to those passages of scripture which bring Immortality to light; and they were taught to contemplate as words of wondrous and mighty import—"the promise that he has promised us,—ETERNAL LIFE."'

The volume itself presents 'a lovely specimen of confidential 'intercourse between a pious mother and a hopeful child.' In this view, it affords, as Miss Taylor remarks, 'an instructive 'and an encouraging lesson both to parents and children;' and on this ground, were there no other, we could not but express our satisfaction that this Mother's Journal has been suffered at length to meet the eye of the Public.

'A fear, on the part of a sorrowing parent, of obtruding her grief and her joy on the attention of strangers, has for five years confined this brief narrative to private perusal. In consenting, at length, to its publication, her design and desire are obvious.

'To young readers this affecting record may be more particularly interesting; and to *them* it is affectionately and solicitously presented; with an earnest hope that they will not suffer the only effect of its perusal to be a languid and solitary wish, that their last end may be equally happy.'

Religious readers will know what to expect in the unadorned narrative, which professedly contains little more than the artless expressions of a child during her last illness, but of a child who

was well able to give a reason of the assured hope which was in her. The simplicity of the relation, its freedom from technicality, the conspicuous prudence with which the conversations were sustained on the part of the parent, the careful abstinence from leading questions, and the discrimination and firmness which characterize the replies, will in their view amply justify the propriety of the publication. It is needless to add that the Journal, commenced under the prospect of the fatal termination of the disorder, was drawn up without any view to its appearing before the Public. We shall subjoin a short specimen.

'I read to her the "Memoirs of Mr. Russell:" in one place he says—'I am afraid I am a hypocrite:' she abruptly stopt me, and said—

'"That is what I fear sometimes."

'"My Sarah, do you doubt that you love me?"

'"Oh no."

'"Then if you know this, is it not possible, think you, to know whether you love God or hate him?"

'"Oh, I am sure I do not hate God; I know I love him better than any thing else."

'I read another expression of Mr. Russell's—"I would not be without religion for ten thousand worlds." She lifted up her hand, and with great earnestness exclaimed—

'"Neither, I am sure, would I."

'I remarked to her that she seemed more comfortable than she had been the day before.

'"Yes mamma, I am *very* happy."

'Instead of repeating expressions which I may have put down before, I may say that my beloved child very frequently evinced a deep and unfeigned conviction of sinfulness and unworthiness, and of her unfitness to appear in the Divine presence, except as freely justified, through the imputation of that righteousness, which is upon them who believe. She often referred to the 32d Psalm as a source of much comfort to her—"Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven; blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity;" and she was fond of repeating Dr. Watts's version of it.

'April 27th. In the morning, Mr. Bristow brought her Clark's Collection of the Promises: he pointed out to her those under the head of sanctified affliction; telling her at the same time, (alluding to the expression of his which had occasioned her some uneasiness, as mentioned above,) that there were more promises to Christians under affliction, than to those who attended public worship. She began to read the book with great delight; marking certain passages, and inserting papers at the heads—'Sickness;' 'Justification;' 'Pardon,' and 'Reconciliation.' Whilst reading to her, she remarked this verse—'Having predestinated us to the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ.' I said, "But, my love, do you understand what is meant by being *predestinated?*"

'"Why mamma, I think I know what it means, but I fear I cannot explain myself; but is it not, '*thought of before*'—there is another

word which expresses it better, and if I had my catechism I could tell you."

'The catechism was given her, and she pointed out the expression, "fore-ordained!" I then asked her what was meant by being "*called* according to his purpose."

'"Is not the meaning of it, called by grace—turned away from sin—brought to God?"

'Soon after she had Clarke's Collection of Promises given to her, she remarked that there was one sweet promise not contained in it. I told her I supposed she had not searched for it sufficiently; and that she would find it under some different head. She replied that she had looked the book through:—she referred to that promise—'In six troubles I will not leave thee,' &c. On careful examination I found that she was correct: I mention this as an instance of her diligence, and of her recollection of the Scriptures.

'On the evening of the 29th, sitting alone with her, she was beginning to express her feelings, when her aunts entered, and she could not be induced to continue the conversation. When she retired to rest, I asked her what it was she was about to tell me, when the entrance of her aunts had interrupted her.

'"It was this mamma—at the beginning of the week, you know, I was a little better, and I felt *such* a wish to know if I should recover—it was a sinful thought—that verse came to my mind—

'My God, I would not wish to see
My fate, with curious eyes,' &c."

'"And why did you cease speaking, when your aunts entered the room?"

'"I did not wish them to hear my sinful wishes and thoughts: with you I have a great deal of secret conversation, and, mamma, I confide in you."

'"Do so, my love. But I hope you are willing that your dear friends should know what the Lord has done for you, and how he is comforting you?"

'"Yes, but I should not like that what I say to you often, should be known."

A few minutes after this, she told me she had had many fears of death. Seeing her always so composed on this subject, I inquired if it was some time ago.

'"It was at the time when I used to be so well in the afternoon, though I had such bad nights. I was thinking of recovery then; but, at last, I began to compare myself at that time, with what I was when I came from school, and I was greatly surprised at the alteration."

'"Have you those fears now?"

'"Oh no, mamma, I prayed to God, and he took them away."

Soon after she added—

'"If mine be a death-bed affliction, it is very light. Oh, dear, it is *so* light—it is nothing—what a mercy—what a mercy. (She seemed at a loss to express her gratitude.) I think of poor cousin S. (a relative who was ill at this time, and who died soon after,) what pain is his!—and I suffer nothing scarcely. I do feel for him."

After three months' severe suffering, the young invalid expired at the age of twelve years and ten months.

'It is just possible,' remarks the Editor, 'that this little book may meet the eye of some individual, whose first impulse will be to consider all that was felt and expressed by the subject of it, as no more than the natural result of her having been trained in a particular system, and learned a phraseology peculiar to a creed. It would do credit, however, both to the candour and to the discrimination of such a reader, to admit, that the unsolicitous manner of the narrative, and the truly child-like style of expression, not only vouch for the authenticity of the record, but afford the strongest presumption in favour of the genuineness of the feelings expressed. And would it not be wise to suspend the exercise of ridicule, and to check the *bigotry of scepticism*, while he listens to the expression of elevated christian sentiment, and the high themes of a future world, uttered in the artless accents of childhood?'

Art. VIII. *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline.* Second Edition, 12mo. pp. 188. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1819.

VERY few words, if we can find any sufficiently emphatic, will serve to express our opinion of the merits of this little volume. To say that it deserves the attentive perusal of every mother, of every elder sister, and of every confidential nurse, is saying much; but it does not convey our full impression of its value. It is a manual in which all the important principles that should regulate early education, are, with inimitable simplicity and clearness, epitomized in the shape of a few golden rules of the most obvious practical application. It is the work of no theorist; it is the result of a mother's experience, who has verified her own philosophy. Were but these Hints followed up with steadiness and perseverance in every nursery, a happier childhood for its inmates, is the least advantage which we should confidently predict as the consequence. And we do not know why our prisons only should be submitted to such experiments of reform. We have domestic prisons, and infant culprits in them, upon whom the *Fry* system of discipline might be brought to bear—who knows with what success? And seriously, if any individual should be happily instrumental in bringing about an improvement in nursery discipline, resembling in any degree the almost romantic success which has crowned the calm perseverance of that inestimable individual, she would deserve to be scarcely less honoured as a benefactress to her country.

Lest any of our readers, however, should suspect that these "Hints" are designed to recommend a reformatory system of dull method and irksome restraint, we must transcribe the

Author's judicious remarks upon this very point, which occur in the Introduction.

'The principles touched upon in the following Remarks may be applied to education in general; although they are brought forward with a more *particular* reference to the earlier periods of childhood. It is probable that education may be begun sooner than is generally supposed. The sympathies, even of infants, are quick, and powerfully affected by the manner, looks, and tones of voice, of those about them. Something, therefore, may, undoubtedly, be done toward influencing the mind in the first two or three years of infancy; but this will be effected more by avoiding what is hurtful, as irritation or alarm, than by aiming at premature excellence. The minds of children, as their bodies, are not to be forced. We are to follow the leadings of nature—"to go her pace"—to be ever watchful, diligent, and alert, to make the best use of the opportunities and advantages which she throws in our way: for, it is to be remembered, that nature may be cramped and forced, rather than corrected and improved; and that, in every doubtful case, it is wise to incline to the lenient, rather than to the severe side of the question; because an excess of freedom is safer than too much restraint.' pp. 5—6.

The general rules which are laid down as fundamental principles of universal application in executing the subsequent directions, are, that 'success in education depends,'

'First,—*More on prevention than cure;* more on securing our children from injury, than on forcing upon them what is right. If we wish, for instance, to render a child courageous, we shall effect it, not so much by urging and compelling him to feats of hardihood, as by guarding him from all impressions of terror, or from witnessing a weak and cowardly spirit in others.

'Secondly,—*On example rather than on precept and advice.*

'As the bodies of children are imperceptibly affected by the air they breathe, so are their minds by the moral atmosphere which surrounds them; that is, the tone of character and general influence of those with whom they live.

'Thirdly,—*On forming habits rather than on inculcating rules.*

'It is little to tell a child what to do, we must shew him how to do it, and see that it is done. It is nothing to enact laws, if we do not take care that they are put into practice, and adopted as habits. This is the chief business of education, and the most neglected; for it is more easy to command, than to teach and enforce. For example; a child will never know how to write by a set of rules, however complete: the pen must be put into his hand, and the power acquired by repeated efforts, and continued practice.

'Fourthly,—*On regulating our conduct with reference to the formation of the character when matured; rather than by confining our views to the immediate effect of our labour.*

'Premature acquirements, premature quickness of mind, premature feeling, and even premature propriety of conduct, are not often the

evidences of real strength of character, and are rarely followed by corresponding fruits in future life.

'Lastly,—*On bearing in mind a just sense of the comparative importance of the objects at which we aim.*

'As in the general conduct of life, it is the part of wisdom to sacrifice the less to the greater good; so is this eminently the case in the subject before us. Now the primary, the essential object of education is this,—to form in children a religious habit of mind, founded on the divine principles of Christianity, and leading to the habitual exercise of practical virtue. To this, all other attainments are wholly subordinate.' pp. 7—10.

Nothing can be more simple, and intelligible, and some persons may fancy, obvious, than these general principles; but it would be one way of determining their value, if the parent or governess who should be disposed to regard them in this light, would conscientiously examine how often, in the course of one day, her own practice has involved a violation of them It is the property of all truths to be obvious after discovery; and it is the fate of most truths to be disregarded in proportion to their obviousness. And this remark applies to no class of general principles more closely than to those which relate to early education.

The directions which trace out these fundamental rules into their bearings upon the formation of character, are arranged under the following heads: Truth and Sincerity. Authority and Obedience. Rewards and Punishments. Temper. Justice. Harmony. Generosity and Benevolence. Fearfulness—Fortitude—Patience. Independence. Industry, Perseverance, and Attention. Vanity and Affectation. Delicacy, Manners, and Order. Religious Instruction and Religious Habits. Conclusion. An Appendix treats of the 'motives that should influence a nurse.'

The following remarks occur in the section on Industry.

'It is to be regretted that the common mode of teaching has more to do with the memory than the understanding. With many children whose innumerable "tasks are painfully learnt and darkly understood," the memory is exercised, not to say, burthened, whilst the real cultivation of the mind, the improvement of the reasoning powers, and the formation of good intellectual habits, are overlooked. Is it not to this cause that often may be attributed the imperfect and superficial knowledge, the want of literary taste in those who have been taught merely by the common school routine,—and is it not desirable that such deficiencies be remedied as far as possible, during the intervals of time passed at home, by directing the attention to English reading—to the study of natural history, and other interesting pursuits? As it is sensible objects which the soonest attract attention in early life, the works of nature may easily be rendered the medium of continual instruction and amusement to children. On this account, natural history, in its various branches, is particularly useful, as both

pleasure and improvement may be derived from the habit of observing and examining the various objects with which we are surrounded.

'A high standard is desirable in intellectual pursuits, as well as in those of still greater value. Nothing can be less ornamental than accomplishments performed in a poor style, and with bad taste, or than that superficial and imperfect knowledge which

"———— is proud that it has learnt so much"

But whilst we endeavour to inspire our children with a desire to do well, whatever they undertake, whilst we endeavour to turn to the best account, both their time and talents, we must beware of raising our expectations too high; for if an ambitious spirit insinuate itself into the business of education, it will be a source of mortification to the parent, and of irritation to the children. It is but too probable that in this case the latter will be over-urged by the former; and, thus, those very objects frustrated, which have been pursued with too much eagerness.

'In cultivating habits of industry, application, and perseverance, we are to remember that there is a medium to be observed in this, as in every other branch of education. These qualities are of so much value, that they demand a full share of our attention: but we are not so to pursue them as to infringe upon the necessary liberty, and the truest enjoyment of children. It ought again to be repeated, that *all unnecessary restraint is only so much unnecessary evil.* We must also treat with much tenderness that lassitude and apparent indolence, which even slight indisposition will occasion in children. In the short time devoted to lessons, we may gradually employ a stricter discipline; but, in play-hours, although it is a positive duty strongly to oppose listlessness and indolence, yet, with healthy and well-trained children, we shall find little else necessary than to direct their activities, to encourage their projects, and to add to their pleasures.' pp. 110—114.

There are some admirable remarks on the danger of flattering the vanity of children by repeating their sayings in their presence, and on the importance of 'upholding the beauty of humility as the chief ornament of childhood.' But we must content ourselves with one more extract; and we select the 'Conclusion.'

'In concluding this little work, the Author would once again remind all who are engaged in the care of children, that much patience and much perseverance will be required in the fulfilment of their duties toward them; and that they may hope to succeed, "not so much by the vehemence, as by the *constancy* of their exertions." We must not expect to witness the immediate fruit of our labour. "The husbandmen scatters his seed, and hath *long* patience for it;" and we are commanded, "in the morning to sow the seed; and, in the evening to withhold not our hands, for we know not whether shall prosper." To those who are conscientiously employed in the business of education, there is the most solid ground for encouragement; and it is of no small importance that they should cherish a hope-

ful and cheerful temper of mind. This will not only increase the vigour of their efforts, but greatly add to the probability of success.

'Let us ever bear in mind the extensive benefit which may result from our bringing *one* child to choose and "hold fast that which is good." Have we not reason to hope that it will be a blessing, not only to himself, but to his children, and his children's children? Does not the result of universal experience; do not the records of history and biography, in addition to the express commands of Scripture, afford abundant encouragement for females diligently to exercise their powers in the education of children—powers which appear peculiarly given to fit them for the performance of this important duty? How many eminent, how many excellent men, have attributed their most valuable attainments to the impressions made on their minds, by the early care of female relatives, and more especially by that of mothers!

'A mother, providentially possesses advantages for obtaining over her children an influence, which may be as powerful and durable, as it is mild and attractive; an influence, which may prove to them a guide and defence through the temptations and difficulties of life, when she, herself, has escaped from them all; and which, if it do not fully accomplish the good she desires, will yet "hang on the wheels of evil." It may confidently be believed, though she may have to wait "many days," that her conscientious endeavours will return in blessings upon herself, and upon her children; and that the fruits, whether earlier or later, will abundantly prove "that her labour has not been in vain in the Lord." pp. 171—174.

Were we to add a word further, it would be to apologize to the excellent but unknown author of these "Hints," for suffering her work to reach a second edition,* before we had done our best to promotes its extensive circulation. We indulge the hope, however, that this tardy recommendation will not prove an ineffectual one. We know of no greater service which can be performed through the medium of the press, than is rendered by judicious, practical, unassuming works of the description of the present; and we know of no qualities more admirable than those which are so amply displayed in it, a warm and enlightened piety, and supreme good sense.

* We have just seen advertised, a *third* edition.

Art. IX. *Familiar Lectures on Moral Philosophy.* By John Prior Estlin, LL. D. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 721. London. 1818.

THESE volumes contain the course of moral and religious instruction which their late Author addressed to his pupils. They convey a favourable impresssion, we dare say a just impression, of the mildness and philosophical elevation of Dr. Estlin's character; and at the same time exhibit considerable talent, judgement, and taste. The style is unaffected and perspicuous, and much of the sentiment advanced, is as sound and important as it is well expressed. But in bestowing this willing commendation, it will not be imagined that we are recommending to our young readers the perusal of a work, which, professing to treat of religion, exhibits nothing more of the Christian system than a reflected light, serving to render more specious, but not more efficient, the Deism of Socrates and Epictetus. But neither should we feel at all solicitous to *prescribe* the perusal of these Lectures. For while truth is always strongest in the simple and uncontroversial form of simple declaration, disbelief of any kind, is strong only in the attitude of attack; and Socinianism may very safely be left to expose its own nakedness, whenever its defenders, unadvisedly laying aside the weapons of offence, set forth the sum of their faith in a positive shape. In fact, we are rarely presented with *uncontroversial Socinianism*. And this circumstance seems to imply the consciousness on the part of its advocates, that the meagre negation, if left passively to be subjected to comparison with the Bible, would quickly fall into forgetfulness. It is not therefore such books as Dr. Priestley's Institutes of Theology, or Dr. Estlin's Familiar Lectures, or a few others of the same inoffensive character, that will make proselytes to Socinianism. We shall not, on the present occasion, enter upon the topics of this controversy: as, however, it has been alluded to, our readers will think the following observations, taken from the ninth lecture, *pertinent*, as well as, in themselves, just and important.

'The great principles of belief and practice ought, indeed, to be settled in our minds in early life; so that there should seldom, if ever, be any necessity on our own account, of entering into any arguments whic may be brought against them. The existence, perfections, and providence of God, the truth of the Christian religion, and the great rules of morality and virtue, are subjects, concerning which we should settle our opinions as soon as we are capable of understanding the arguments on which they are founded. We should avoid a light, fluttering, and uncertain turn of mind, ever ready to change its foundation, and to be carried about with every wind of doctrine. Cool reflection, a solid judgment, and an accurate discrimination, with a lively sense of religion, which consists in the union of all the finer affections of the human mind, is our best security against this mental

infirmity. It has been the particular aim of some modern systems, and in this they have but too well succeeded, to throw a cold and chilling hand upon all the devout affections, and to freeze the purest and clearest current of the soul. Hence, the copious and increasing torrent of infidelity. We must expect to meet in the world, with persons who will attack what comes recommended to us with almost the strength of first principles, and who will bring their own prejudices and caprices for new and solid arguments. By persons whose minds have received a shock, in consequence of having changed the opinions which they had imbibed in early life, and which have lost their stay by giving up the religious principle; by those who have connected ideas of absurdity with religion, because they have been falsely taught to consider certain absurd doctrines as doctrines of religion; by the superficial and unthinking; by the conceited and affected, who consider themselves as the wisest persons in the world; and by those who love to distinguish themselves by the singularity of their sentiments; as well as by the vicious, who reject the evidence because they like not the doctrine; by all of this description we may expect to find objections brought against Revelation, and perhaps against the great truths of natural religion. A little reading, or thinking, and a great deal of conceit, will make a man a sceptic, or an infidel. What is called a *free* thinker, might often with more propriety be called a *half* thinker. It becomes every friend of religion, therefore, who is necessarily a friend to the best interests of man, to be ready to give to every one that asketh him, a reason of the hope that is in him; and, I trust, it will be the concern of each of us to do it always with charity, always with affection for those who think differently from ourselves, if they be honest and sincere, which will sometimes be the case, even with the greatest unbelievers; and always with meekness and fear.'

The question which has been so much discussed, and it may be added, so often obscured, relative to the ground of moral obligation, Dr. Estlin states in a way, not expressly objectionable, except in one respect which we shall notice; but yet he stops short, as we think, of an accurate and satisfactory elucidation of the subject.

'The question,' he remarks, 'to be discussed, is, not *how* the idea of moral obligation arises, or *what* it is which we are bound by the constitution of our nature, as before described, to perform; but plainly and simply this, *Why* am I obliged to act in such a particular manner? What is the ultimate reason or motive which, on an attentive consideration of the subject, should influence me to act in *this* rather than in *that* manner? To this question the following answers are given by different writers on subjects of morals. Because, 1. It is agreeable to the will of God. 2. To the eternal and necessary fitness of things. 3. It is the dictate of the *moral* sense. 4. It is the dictate of common sense. 5. Your own *understanding* represents such an action as right; and of course that you ought to do it. 6. It is agreeable to the *truth* of things. 7. It is conducive to *your own* greatest good upon the whole. And, 8. It is conducive to *general utility*.'

. . . . . 'But, the question is, not from what principle we act *immediately*, but *ultimately*: or, if we express it in the most general terms possible, what is the true principle of virtue, or that which renders virtue obligatory? The *fact* is, that in the early periods of life we always act upon the principle of *self interest*; and it is not till the understanding is arrived at considerable maturity, that we can act upon more *enlarged* and disinterested principles. If the question therefore were, What is the motive which *first* influences a human being? the answer would be, a regard to his own private happiness; for a considerable progress must be made in intellectual improvement before he can comprehend his own *future* and *more remote* happiness, or the happiness of others.'

Dr. Estlin proceeds to remark briefly upon the above named schemes: the first, supported by Leibnitz and Warburton; the second, by Grotius, Clarke, and Balguy; the third, by Dr. Hutcheson, and David Fordyce; the fourth, by Drs. Reid, Beattie, and Oswald; the fifth, by Cudworth, Butler, and Price; the sixth, by Wollaston; the seventh, by Puffendorff, Soame Jenyns, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Cooper, and Dr. Paley: and then says—

'To me it appears, that all his (Mr. Cooper's) arguments would hold with equal force, if the word *private* were omitted, and *happiness, universal happiness*, and consequently our own included, were considered as the only true foundation of moral obligation. I cannot see that the difficulties which press upon the other schemes, are applicable to this. It is a sufficient answer to the question, Why am I obliged to act in this particular manner? It is conducive to happiness; it is conducive to my own highest happiness, taking in a future state; and it is conducive to the happiness of the whole universe. This is surely the noblest principle upon which we can act; it is indeed to be "fellow-labourers with God," to "act upon the divine plan; and to form to his, the relish of our souls:" it is supposing the spring of action in all intelligent beings, from the highest to the lowest, to be the same. It is uniting self-love and social; and in all cases preserving the connection between duty and happiness.' Lecture V.

Whatever answer may be given to this question, Why am I obliged to act in this or that manner? it will still leave room for a second, and a third demand, before we arrive at first principles on the subject of morals. Indeed, it seems to have respect rather to the *form*, than to the substance of virtue, to use the words in their logical acceptation; and to imply a reference of the mind, in putting the question, more to a supposed sanction or penalty attached to the rule of morals, than to the principle which makes conformity to the rule to be intrinsically good, that is to say, to be *truly virtuous*. This question may be answered according to any one of the above named schemes, without even approaching to an explanation of the *true nature of virtue*. And any one of them may be adopted, and an artificial conformity to the

rule of morals, may to a high degree be the result, while yet no progress is made in the attainment of true virtue. There seems to us, therefore, to be an entire misapprehension of the subject, insaying—

'With respect to all these schemes we may observe, not only that they ultimately coincide, but that a person may be equally vicious who adopts, or acts upon, *any one* of them; and that not only *different persons* may generally refer their conduct to different principles, but that the same person may sometimes act upon *one*, and sometimes upon *another* principle.'

It is true, that in a world of moral agents, destitute, for the most part, of the principle of true virtue, order, tranquillity, and decorum are preserved, and the *exterior benefits* of morality are procured, by the operation of various motives: that is to say, by a regard to certain considerations, implying a tacit or explicit process of reasoning. And so, using the term, virtue, in a vulgar sense, it may be granted, that men, influenced by different *considerations* may be equally virtuous. But (if we might so express it,) true virtue is not consequent to a 'Because.' As it is spontaneous, so, it is uniform, and invariable in its principle. A moral agent may be shaped into the form of virtue, by this or that artificial process; but he can be good, only as God is good. In goodness there are infinite degrees, but no *genera*. We cannot, therefore, believe, that the philosophy of morals has reached ultimate positions, while it remains undetermined wherein consists the *goodness* of moral agency; or while it continues to be supposed, that morality, though it be *one* in its matter and form, is variable in its principle and motive.

In considering, severally, the answers given to the questions, 'Why am I obliged to conform to a certain rule?' each brings us home, by a different route, only to the primary *physical* law of our constitution—the instinctive desire of individual well-being. But it cannot be supposed, that this physical law,—involuntary in its operation,—is at all of a moral nature; nor does there appear to be any thing more than a natural or intellectual excellence, even in the most complete and well instructed obedience to it. It must not be forgotten, that the instinctive desire of individual well-being, is brought into disproportionate exercise, and acquires a depraved energy, in the present system of mixed and revocable good and ill, where self-preservation is greatly dependent upon its activity. But it is easy to form the idea of a state of well-being that should be both perfect and inadmissible, in which this instinct might be superseded, or become latent. The goodness of beings in such a state would not be *motived*, but spontaneous; they would not be good by calculation, any more than they would be happy by the inflected consciousness of personal well-being.

The true nature, at once, of the blessedness, and of the proper excellence of the Divine Being, is declared to us in the affirmation, that "God is love." Love is a simple and primary mode of intelligent life, not to be resolved into reasonments or motives. Now, because HE is infinite in being, and absolute in excellence, God is the supreme and all-comprehending object of love, both to himself, and to all good created intelligencies; nor does either reason, or revelation, allow us to suppose, that there can be any true happiness, or any true goodness, in intelligent creatures, except that which consists in the participation of "the Divine nature."

We can, however, with pleasure conclude this article with the following quotation:—

'But, whatever system we may embrace respecting the *foundation* of moral obligation, let us never forget, that *we are in a state of moral obligation*, or a state in which we are *bound* to the practice of virtue. Our obligation is sacred, absolute, indispensable; the word *expediency* ought to be banished from every system of morals. Our rule is given us, and it is never, never to be departed from. This rule is the *will of God*, as discovered by the best use of our reason and conscience, and by the impartial study of the Holy Scriptures. The perfections of God in natural religion, and the promises of God, as contained in the Gospel in revealed religion, are our ground of dependence that virtue, *in all cases*, will be productive of happiness. But if there be any particular case in which, to our mind, it would appear *not* so, as may, and probably will, often happen, we are to resolve this into our ignorance to acquiesce in the general truth, and to resign our will to the will of God. The highest happiness of an infinite number of beings, on the theatre of a universe, for the duration of an eternity, is an object which our minds cannot grasp. This we are to leave to Omnipotence. *Our duty is marked out for us.* We are to obey the will of God *in all cases*, and to leave consequences to him. We are, in a word, never to do evil that good may come.'

Art. X. *Parga*, a Poem. 8vo. pp. 88. 1819.

WERE it possible to submit the luxuriant growth of such compositions as this, to the process of distillation, there might, no doubt, be a spirit extracted that should have some strength in it. But one thousand and thirty-eight lines about "Parga"!! If the Author had any of the spirit of poetry in him, diluted to so extreme a degree, it could not but be lowered down to insipidity. We are sorry for it, because Parga is a subject upon which we should have liked to see a few beautiful and spirited stanzas, that should have served to fix upon our memories, in lines of unperishable beauty, the touching scene referred to in the notes.

'On the arrival of General Adam at Parga, the first thing which

caught his attention was a large fire in the public square, where the Parguinotes were consuming the bones of their ancestors, which they had collected from the churches and cemeteries. All the male population stood armed at the doors of their respective dwellings: the women and children were within awaiting their fate with pious resignation;—a deep and awful silence prevailed—it seemed as if Parga had already become one of the "Cities of the Silent."—The Moslems, on their entrance, found Parga a desert—without a single inhabitant on whom they could exercise their cruelty.'

We select what appear to us some of the best stanzas.

'Courage, brothers—courage all,
Tho' we to Moslem tyrants fall;
Cease to mourn, for Parga will
Be like Palmyra, lone and still.

'A desart clime—a dreary void—
The bridegroom meets a clay-cold bride—
No pleading voice—no sound to cheer—
His own in echoes greets his ear.

'Art thou not, Parga, in distress,
Like Israel in the wilderness?
Thy bliss hath fled like buds from trees,
Dispers'd by power's unkindly breeze.

'Yet courage, land of many wrongs,
To thee man's choicest gift belongs;
Where'er we fly, whate'er we be,
We still are sons of liberty.

'Courage, land of free and brave,
Where Grecian freedom finds a grave;
Courage, land, which fiends enthrall,
And if we perish, perish all.'

Bad taste is not the only fault of this poem. We do not profess to understand at whom the allusion in stanza X. is aimed: it is somebody who is apparently distinguished by the singular circumstance of having 'a mortal body', but, adds the poet, 'with a Nero's soul!' The whole passage, pp. 17, 21, is meant for the most caustic satire, but it is low, and overshoots its mark.

'O Parga! Parga! land of many wrongs,' that thou shouldst have this added to the number, to be bewailed in strains so little worthy of their theme! To have the dishonour of bad poetry heaped upon thee!

Art. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

In the press, a small volume of poems, to be entitled Sacred Lyrics. By James Edmestone.

Messrs. Lackington and Co. intend to publish Mr. Gotham's History of St. Neots, in one thick vol. 8vo. in the course of the present month.

Mr. B. Hanbury is preparing for the press, An Historical Research concerning the most ancient Congregational Church in England, shewing the Claim of the Church worshipping in Union Street, in the Borough of Southwark, to that distinction.

The promised Memoirs of Napoleon, by Himself, are at length in course of publication. The part which, in a few days, will appear first, contains his history of the eventful year 1815, particularly of many details of the Battle of Waterloo hitherto unknown. The style accords with the character of its Author, and affords, by its peculiar energy and terseness, satisfactory internal evidence of the authenticity of the work. We understand, however, that this MS. was entrusted at St. Helena to the care of Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon, by whom the English translation is preparing. Other parts are in Europe, and will be published with all convenient dispatch.

Mr. Alexander Leith Ross, of Aberdeen, is preparing for the press, a translation from the German, of the History of Spanish Literature, by Professor Bouterwek, of Gottingen.

In the press, Burnham's Pious Memorials, a new edition, with additions. By the Rev. G. Burder.

In the press, Memoirs of M. Obelin, Lutheran Pastor of Walshback. By the Rev. Mark Wilks.

A new edition of The Life of David Brainerd is preparing by the Rev. Dr. Styles.

In February will be published, Retrospection, a rural poem. By Thomas Whitby, author of the Priory of Birkenhead.

An Inquiry into certain errors respecting Insanity, by Dr. Burrows, is in the press, and will appear in the course of this month.

H. M. Brackenridge, Esq. Secretary to the Mission, has in the press, a Voyage to South America, in the Congress frigate, performed by order of the American government.

The second vol. of the Rev. T. Clark's Abridgment of Popular Voyages and Travels, forming the Tour of Asia, is in great forwardness, and will be published in a few weeks.

A Collection of elegant Fables for Children on the most Familiar Subjects. By Jauffret, Author of a Father's First Lessons, Travels of Rolando, &c. will be published in February.

The Good Children, or Portraits of my Son and Daughter, with eight engravings, by Madame Renneville, author of the Pleasures of Education, will appear in a few days.

Mr. Ormerod's valuable History of the County Palatine and City of Chester is now completed. It has been published in ten parts, forming three handsomely printed folio volumes, which are highly embellished by one hundred and ninety-four engravings on copper and on wood, exclusive of no less than three hundred and fifty-seven armorial subjects which are attached to the pedigrees.

A Manuscript of undoubted authenticity has just reached this country, which is calculated to excite an extraordinary degree of interest. It is already in the hands of a translator, and will be published both in English and in the original French in the course of the ensuing month. It is entitled "Documents Historiques et Reflexions sur le Gouvernement de la Hollande. Par Louis Bonaparte, ex Roi de Hollande." This work contains every event relating to the political or financial situation of Holland, from the commencement of the reign of Louis until the close of his government;

sketches of the invasion of Italy and the expedition in Egypt; in both of which the author was present.—Relations of most of the important events in Spain, and his refusal of the crown of that kingdom on the renunciation of Charles IV. to Ferdinand his son, and the formal cession of the latter to Napoleon.—Copies of the letters of Charles and Ferdinand relating to the conspiracy of the latter against his father.—The hitherto secret motives of the marriage of the author with the daughter of the empress Josephine, and their subsequent mutual agreement to a separation.—The events which occurred on the separation of the emperor Napoleon and the empress Josephine.—The various princesses afterwards proposed to Napoleon, and the reasons of his selecting the daughter of the emperor of Austria.—Numerous characteristic and highly interesting letters from Napoleon to the author, exposing his views, situation and purposes. —An indisputable genealogical history of the family of Bonaparte, extracted from various histories of Italy, and other public documents; all of which prove beyond doubt the illustrious rank they held in Italy even in the 12th century, and it is somewhat singular that 600 years ago Androlius Bonaparte was Grand Podesta or Governor of Parma, where is now the wife of Napoleon as Grand Duchess!—An important letter from the Duc de Cadore, explaining the intentions of the emperor relating to Holland; the various united propositions of France and Russia to accommodate with England; and a variety of anecdotes of the author, of Napoleon, and of his family.

Walter Hamilton, Esq. is printing in two quarto volumes, with maps, a Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindoostan, and the adjacent country.

The Rev. John Penrose has in the press, an Essay on Human Motives, chiefly on principles of religion.

The Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke is printing, in quarto, Abstracts, &c. of Smythe's Lives of the Berkeleys; to which is prefixed, a history of the town and castle of Berkeley.

The Travels of Cosmo the Third, grand duke of Tuscany, through a large part of England, in 1669, translated from the original manuscript at Florence, is preparing for publication in a quarto volume, embellished with numerous engravings.

Sir Arthur Clark will soon publish, in duodecimo, the Mother's Medical Assistant, containing instructions for the prevention and treatment of the diseases of infants and children.

General Lacroix' History of the Revolution in St. Domingo, translated from the French, with notes and illustrations, is preparing for the press.

The Rev. C. Simeon has in forwardness, in eleven octavo volumes, Horæ Homileticæ, or Discourses in the form of Skeletons upon the whole Scriptures, containing above 1200, distinct from those in the five volumes already published.

Geraldine, or Modes of Faith and Practice, a tale, by a Lady, in three duodecimo volumes, will soon appear.

C. Von Kotzebue's Voyage round the World, in 1816-17-18, is printing in a quarto volume.

Mr. Reveley of Bryn y Gwin, Merionethshire (in conjunction with Mr. Green of Ipswich) is editing a MS. by his father, the late Henry Revely, Esq. on the Drawings and Sketches of the Great Masters; which is expected to appear early in the spring.

Taxidermy, or a complete Treatise on the Art of preserving every Object of Natural History for Museums, with lists of those that are rarest or most wanted in European collections, will appear next month in a small octavo volume.

The Application of the Theory of Transversals, or the Method of dispensing with Trigonometry in all Field Operations, particularly designed for the use of officers of engineers and artillery, is printing in a small octavo volume.

Sunday School Sketches: a memoir descriptive of the benign operation of those institutions, will soon appear.

The Rev. T. S. Hughes is preparing for the press, Travels in various Countries bordering on the Mediterranean, particularly in Albania; with an account of the life and wars of Ali Pacha.

Mr. Thelwall is writing the history of the Six Acts, consisting of a review of the transactions of the first five weeks of a session of Parliament, commencing on November 22, 1819.

Mr. T. Carr will soon publish the Canadian Settler, being a series of letters from Lower and Upper Canada, in the summer of 1819.

The Marquis of Worcester's Century of Inventions are printing, in octavo, from the original MS. with notes, a biographical memoir, and a portrait.

ART. XII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

AGRICULTURE.

Practical Hints on Domestic Rural Economy, relating particularly to the utility, formation, and management of kitchen and fruit gardens, and orchards; arranged in sections, as proposed by the Hon. the Board of Agriculture; with copious illustrative notes, and an appendix, containing essays on the following subjects: —1. The Cultivation of Spring Wheat.—2. On the Preservation of certain Kinds of Foreign Tree Seeds. —3. On the Mildew in Wheat.—4. On the Blight in Hops.—5. On the Causes of the present Distresses, and on the Best Modes of employing the Poor.—6. On the supposed worn-out State of certain Sorts of Apple. By William Speechly, Author of a Treatise on the Culture of the Vine, &c. With a plate of a Kitchen Garden. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Andrew Melville: containing Illustrations of the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Scotland, during the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. With an appendix, consisting of original papers. By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh, 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

Memoirs of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and his Sons, Richard and Henry: illustrated by original letters, and other Family Papers. By Oliver Cromwell, Esq. a descendant of the family. With six portraits, from original pictures. 4to. 3l. 3s. boards.

The Annual Biography and Obituary, for 1820, with silhouette portraits. Comprehending Memoirs of Professor Playfair; Mr. Watt, engineer; the Bishop of Peterborough; Sir Philip Francis, Bart. Dr. Wolcot (Peter Pindar); John Palmer, Esq.; Mr. Alderman Combe; Major Scott; Admiral Sir Robert Calder; Sir Philip Musgrave, Bart.; P. Brydone, Esq.; Lord Walsingham; Mr. James Brindley: A. Graham, Esq.; Geo. Wilson Meadly, Esq.; Col. Tatham; H. C. Jennings, the celebrated Antiquary; Mrs. Billington, &c. &c. —The whole is interspersed with a variety of original documents, together with an account of recent biographical works, and an index of persons lately deceased. 8vo. 15s. — Vol. I. II. and III. for 1817, 1818, and 1819, may be had. Price 15s. each.

Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Greek, written at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. 3 vol. cr. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

Memoirs of Mr. John Tobin, author of the Honey-moon. With a selection from his unpublished writings. By Miss Benger, author of Memoirs of Mrs. Hamilton, 8vo. 12s.

EDUCATION.

Grammatical Studies in the Latin and English Languages, arranged by James Ross, LL. D. 18mo. 3s. 6d. bound.

Natural History for Children; being a familiar account of the most remarkable quadrupeds, birds, insects, fishes, reptiles, trees, and plants. In 5 vol. with plates and numerous cuts. 10s. 6d. half bound. The volumes may be had separately, price 2s. 6d. each.

A Peep for the Boys. By Anna Kent, 6d.

FINE ARTS.

Rhodes's Peak Scenery. Part. II. demy 4to. 1l. 4s. royal 1l. 14s.

The Eighth Numer of Boydell's Picturesque Scenery of Norway, which completes the work. 3l. 3s.—The work may be had complete in two volumes folio price twenty-four guineas, half bound.

HISTORY.

A Compendious History of the Jews; peculiarly calculated for the use of schools and young persons. By John Bigland, 12mo. 4s. 6d.

A Compendious History of the Church of God, from the promise made to our first parents in Paradise, to the end of the seventeenth century of the Christian era. Designed for the use of those who have not leisure or opportunity for the perusal of larger works. By Cornelius Ives, M. Ives, M.A. Rector of Braddeu, Northamptonshire. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

MECHANICS.

An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics. By W. Whewell, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I. containing Statics and Part of Dynamics, 8vo. 15s.

An Analytical Essay on the Construction of Machines: an elementary work, with 13 lithographic plates. 4to. 18s.

MEDICINE.

Cooke on Nervous Diseases. vol. i.—On

Apoplexy: including Apoplexia Hydrocephalica, or Water in the Head: with an introductory account of the opinions of ancient and modern physiologists, respecting the nature and uses of the nervous system, read at the Royal College of Physicians, as the Croonian Lecture of the Year 1819. By James Cooke, M.D. F.A.S. Fellow of the College of Physicians, and late Physician to the London Hospital, 12s.—The work will form two volumes, and Vol. II. on Palsy and Epilepsy, is in a state of forwardness.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

The Percy Anecdotes. By Sholto and Reuben Percy, Brothers of the Benedictine Monastery, Mont Benger. Parts I. to IV. 18mo. 2s. 6d. each. To be continued monthly.

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Page 26, line 41. *for* Flaccho *read* Flacco.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1820.

Art. I. *Life of Lord William Russell*; with some Account of the Times in which He lived. By Lord John Russell. In two Volumes. 8vo. Second Edition. pp. xix. 557. London. 1820.

IT is not a little remarkable, that we should have now before us, just issued from the press, the lives of two individuals so illustrious, and so nearly contemporary with each other, as Oliver Cromwell and Lord William Russell, each written by a descendant, and the biographer, it may be added, in either instance, not unworthy of his ancestor. These volumes do not aspire to add much to the abundant historical information of which the public was already in possession, relative to the eventful times in which Lord William Russell lived and suffered; but that information is so widely scattered, and the last few years have brought to light so many documents of the utmost importance for illustrating the domestic history of the period, as to afford abundant scope for the present memoir, considered as an essay upon the times. The remark of Serjeant Heywood, cited in the Preface, is strictly just: 'The history of the reign of Charles 'II. has not yet been accurately written.' Every day is bringing to light, fresh proofs of Hume's literary delinquencies, as the historian of the house of Stuart. The 'depth of his 'thought,' the 'beauty of his style,' ill compensate for the false colouring which he has given to the facts he narrates, and his studied perversion of the great lessons furnished by that portion of our annals. We think, therefore, that no charge of presumption would lie against the feeblest pen that should undertake the faithful narration of the events which furnished Hume with a vehicle for his political and religious sentiments, on the ground of that historian's surpassing ability. We may not hope perhaps ever to see Hume's work superseded. The magic of its style, and we may add, the very defects of the writer, his inaccuracies and partiality, which render his authority so precious to those who partake of his hatred of the Whigs,

will always secure for Hume's History a pre-eminent popularity. But for this very reason, the service which the biographer and the memoir-writer may render by their supplementary illustrations of history, is the more important and acceptable. It is by this means only, that a counter impression can be successfully produced. A formal refutation of the errors of an historian, must of necessity be dry, and desultory, and unimpressive. And often, when our judgement has been convinced by the perusal of such a work, the current of our prejudices and feelings still runs in the same direction as before. But let the reader's sympathy with the subject of the biographical memoir, place him, in relation to the events described by the historian, in an opposite direction, and let his respect or pity be successfully awakened for the men who belonged to the calumniated and depressed party, the misrepresentation will by this means be made palpable to the feelings, and the feelings will silently amend the bias given to the opinions. In this way, the Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson produced a strong and decidedly favourable impression upon the public mind, by leading persons to discriminate between the opposite characters of the individuals associated by the historian as belonging to the same party, under sweeping terms of obloquy or ridicule. Such biographers as Mrs. Hutchinson are too rare to allow of our hoping that any similar record will be brought to light. Yet a work has recently appeared, of scarcely inferior value, of which we hope speedily to give an account to our readers; the Memoirs of Evelyn, the author of the Sylva, and one of the most virtuous and truly patriotic men of his time.

But besides the light which such a work as the present is adapted to throw upon the history of the period, by bringing together the scattered details which clear up the true character of the events referred to, it is valuable as serving to bring out into greater prominence, the character of an individual of too rare excellence to deserve to be lost in the general crowd of historical names. Lord William Russell does not, indeed, appear to have been a man of very brilliant talents. In common times, the good son, the good husband, the upright senator, and the faithful friend, might have formed the whole description of his 'sober and unaffected' character; and history might have silently let fall the name of a man whose integrity was so much greater than his ambition. 'His understanding,' however, says Burnet, 'was not defective; but his virtues were so eminent that 'they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had 'been found in the other. He was a slow man, and of little 'discourse; but he had a true judgement, when he considered 'things at his own leisure.' He is further described as 'a man 'of great candour, and of a general reputation, universally be-'loved and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper,' and

one who 'had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of 'an unshaken firmness,' that 'I never knew,' says his reverend contemporary, 'any man have so entire credit in the nation as 'he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into 'which the court had drawn him; and ever after that, his life 'was unblemished in all respects.' The exhibition of such a character as this, must at any time be highly instructive. But more particularly, as the present Biographer justly remarks,

'in these times, when love of liberty is too generally supposed to be allied with rash innovation, impiety, and anarchy, it seems desirable to exhibit to the world, at full length, the portrait of a man who, heir to wealth and title, was foremost in defending the privileges of the people; who, when busily occupied in the affairs of public life, was revered in his own family as the best of husbands and of fathers; and who joined the truest sense of religion with the unqualified assertion of freedom.'

It is vain to expect that a political party will ever gain the confidence of the country, whose leaders do not command the homage universally conceded to private virtue. Talent may cope with talent, and while the public are amused with the conflict, they will almost forget to care which side is victorious. But character is a permanent argument that outlasts the recollection of those debates. A minister of splendid talents in the plenitude of power, may contrive, by calling corruption to his aid, to dispense with the influence derived from personal integrity; but not so the man who occupies the invidious station of a reformer. His influence wholly consists in his being the organ of public sentiment, the representative of the people, that is to say, the representative of fathers and husbands and brothers, who by those relations are bound to each other, to their homes, and to their country, as a people distinguished by their respect for the social ties. And the representative of Englishmen, in order to engage their confidence, must himself respect those social relations, and the religious principles which constitute their only basis and safeguard. In order to his retaining any hold upon the public mind, he must possess, if not virtue, a reputation for virtue. He must be able to exact from his political opponents, the respect which is paid to a man who meets them on the vantage ground of invulnerable character, and who can appeal to his life for the integrity of his motives. Is it too much to expect, that such an individual should rise up from the ranks of our old aristocracy, who, entitled by birth and by his stake in the country, to be the leader of the party with which he acts, should have public spirit enough to resign, as Lord Russell did, the peaceful enjoyments of domestic privacy for the conflicts of the senate, with no lower aims than the service of his country, and the promotion of the best interests of mankind?

Surely, such an individual, did he but join 'a true sense of reli-'gion,' to his love of that which is inseparably connected with the interests of religion,—civil freedom, would have a noble reward for his exertions, for which the highest bribes of ambition could offer no equivalent.

William Russell, who, on the death of his elder brother Francis, became Lord Russell, was the third son of William, the fifth earl of Bedford, and was born September 29, 1639. He received his education at Cambridge, after which he went abroad, and resided some time at Augsburg. He spent the winter of 1658 at Paris, and returned to England in the following year. Upon the Restoration, he was elected member for Tavistock, and appears to have mingled in the gaieties of the Court, being engaged, in the years 1663 and 1664, in two duels. 'It was not till 'after his marriage,' says his Biographer, 'that he applied him-'self with earnestness, both in meditation and action, to fulfil 'the duties of a Christian.' His marriage took place in 1669. Lady Russell was the daughter of Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and widow of Lord Vaughan, the eldest son of Lord Carberry. To the influence of this inestimable woman, Lord John justly attributes, not only the happiness, but many of the most admirable qualities of her husband. During the first twelve years that he sat in the House, Lord Russell was a silent member.

'And in all probability he would have continued through life an 'inactive representative, had not extraordinary events called forth the 'energy of his character, never afterwards to sleep but on the scaffold.'

It was about the year 1672, that the great party was formed in the House of Commons, to which Lord Russell joined himself, for the purpose of counteracting the dangers arising from a secret French alliance and a Popish successor. The Duke of York had recently declared himself of the communion of the Church of Rome; an army, raised without authority of Parliament, having in it many Popish officers, and commanded by a foreigner, was encamped at Blackheath, to over-awe, as was supposed, the proceedings of the House*; a war was begun, the object of which was the destruction of the only Protestant power in Europe, from which the friends of civil and religious freedom could expect support; and the penal laws against Dissenters and Popish recusants, had recently been suspended by an *Indulgence*, issued in defiance of the acts of Parliament, in order to protect Papists in the exercise of their religion and

* Feb. 14th, 1670, the King went to the House of Parliament, attended by his new guards, it being 'the first instance in history,' says Lord John, 'of the sovereign's entering upon his legislative 'functions under the protection of the sword.'

in the enjoyment of public offices. The Test Act was the offspring of the jealousy awakened by these demonstrations of the designs of the Court. The Protestant Dissenters, with more generosity and public spirit than discretion, desired that their interests might oppose no obstacle to the passing of that Bill, which promised to secure the nation against Popish ascendancy. All ranks of the nation were alarmed for their liberties; and never was a party formed for a nobler object, or apparently with more patriotic views. We transcribe the sensible remarks which are introduced in vindication of such a scheme of opposition.

'There are persons who think the name of Party implies blame; who, whilst they consider it natural and laudable that men should combine, for any other object of business or pleasure, and whilst they are lavish in bestowing their confidence on government, which must in its nature be a party, find something immoral and pernicious in every union of those who join together to save their country from unnecessary burdens or illegal oppression. To such persons Lord Russell's conduct must appear indefensible.

'But to all those who allow that party may sometimes be useful, and opposition often even necessary, I may safely appeal for the justification of his conduct. To overthrow a scheme so formed as that of Charles and James, it was not sufficient to give honest, but unconnected votes in the House of Commons. It was necessary to oppose public discussion to secret intrigue, and persevering union to interested combination: it was necessary to overlook the indiscreet violence of partisans, to obtain the fruits of the zeal from which it sprung: it was necessary to sink every little difference in the great cause of the Protestant religion, and our ancient freedom: in fine, it was the duty of the lovers of their country to counteract system, by system, and numbers by numbers. It may likewise be remarked, that the manner in which this party opposed the crown, was characteristic of the nation to which they belonged. In any of the continental monarchies, a design on the part of the king to alter the religion and the laws of the kingdom would have been met either with passive submission, insurrection, or assassination. For in those countries, men who did not dare to speak the truth to their sovereign, were not afraid to take up arms against him. But in England the natural and constitutional method of resisting public measures hurtful to the liberty or welfare of the people, is by a parliamentary opposition. This was the only course which Lord Russell and his friends ever thought of adopting; and they did it under circumstances extremely discouraging, for they could expect little support in a parliament chosen in the heat of the Restoration, and still less assistance from a press restrained by the curb of a Licence Act.' Vol. I. pp. 63, 64.

The individuals who made themselves most conspicuous amongst the country party, were, besides Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir W. Coventry, Col. Birch, Mr. Powle, and Mr. Littleton; all of them men of very considerable ability, and,

with the exception of Lord Cavendish, whom Burnet speaks of as a libertine, men of estimable character. Sir William Coventry is represented as 'the model of a country gentleman, 'open, honest, and sensible, not swayed either by ambition or 'animosity.' The historian above referred to, affirms that he had 'the greatest credit of any man in the House;' that 'he 'had a perfect understanding of affairs, and laid open the errors 'of the government with the more authority, because he mixed 'no passion nor private resentments with it.' Littleton, he emphatically characterises as 'a wise and worthy man, who had 'studied much modern history, and the present state and 'interest of Europe.' 'These,' adds the Bishop, after completing the enumeration, 'were the chief men that preserved the 'nation from a very deceitful and practising Court, and from a 'corrupt House of Commons. And by their skill and firmness, 'they, from a small number who began the opposition, grew at 'last to be the majority.'

Lord Russell made his first speech in Parliament on the 22d of January, 1674, soon after the opening of the session. In consequence of the previous proceedings of the Opposition, the country had been so far roused, that supplies had been refused by the House, and a cry of grievances resounded on all sides. The passing of the Test Act had been followed by the immediate removal of the Duke and Lord Clifford from the offices of Lord High Admiral and Lord High Treasurer. And now the House lost no time in proceeding to the redress of grievances, and the removal of evil counsellors. Lord Russell chiefly adverted in his speech, to the shutting of the Exchequer, and the attack on the Smyrna fleet in time of peace, as subjects of complaint. They were, in fact, two of the most base and unprincipled actions that ever disgraced an administration. He accused the ministers of receiving pensions from France, 'but declared that 'he wished not their ruin, but our security.' Charles now began to perceive that, notwithstanding his attempts to suppress the free utterance of the general sentiment, 'the opinions of a 'people so bold and generous as the English, could not fail to 'reach the ears of Government, however deaf, and to influence 'the decisions of the House of Commons, however subservient.'

'The Parliament refused supplies: the French King likewise declined to advance a million of livres extraordinary, for which Charles had asked: Spain threatened to declare war; and an overture from Holland deprived the King of any further pretence for hostility. Under these circumstances he yielded to necessity, and graciously asked the advice of the House of Commons upon the expediency of making peace. They voted an address immediately afterwards, requesting that all troops raised since January 1st, 1663, might be dis-

banded. With this desire the King complied; and as soon as the peace was concluded, he prorogued the Parliament.

'Thus, in the space of less than four years, the alliance with France was broken, and the troops by which Charles had hoped to make himself absolute, dispersed. The declaration for indulgence had been recalled, and a precedent against the dispensing power established, which in the next reign was to be a bulwark of liberty and religion. But what was still more important, perhaps, the ministers of the Crown were struck with a salutary dread, and the King had no longer a council to whom he could confide his pernicious machinations.' Vol. I. pp. 72, 73.

Parliament was now prorogued for fourteen months, in pursuance of a secret engagement entered into by Charles with the French King. When it met in April, 1675, Lord Russell moved an address to remove Earl Danby from the King's presence, on the ground of mismanagement at the Treasury, and other charges. The Earl got off by high bribing. In the next session, which took place in the winter, a remarkable motion was made in the House of Lords, to address the King to dissolve Parliament. The Duke of York, 'to the wonder of all 'men,' and a majority of the temporal peers, were in favour of it. The altercations between the two Houses, which originated in the Lords' summoning Sir John Fagg to appear before them in an appeal brought by Dr. Shirley, rendered such a measure highly expedient. But the question was decided in the negative by the Bench of Bishops voting against it.

'From this time the Country Party, as well as many good patriots unconnected with them, seem to have wished for a dissolution. The House of Commons had now sate fourteen years, and during that time, had been modelled, in a manner before unknown, to the purposes of the Court. Not less than a third of the members were placemen or pensioners. Lord Clifford had introduced, or more probably extended, the practice of buying downright one man after another. Many of the more indigent class trafficked their votes for a dinner at Whitehall, and a gratuity on extraordinary occasions. Others had the expenses of their elections defrayed from the Treasury. And it was common for those who had been chosen on popular grounds, after a few violent speeches, to sell themselves to the Court. Placed beyond the fear of the people, by the long continuance of the Parliament, they were encouraged in the hope of riches and promotion, by the increasing corruption of the government. Nor was it only from the venal that the danger to liberty proceeded. The House consisted in a great part of the old parties of Cavalier and Roundhead. The former, to use a quaint expression of the time, "being almost past their vice, were become damnable godly;" and the latter dreaded nothing so much as religious persecution. The Court emissaries playing upon these passions, promised alternately to the one party a bill against fanatics, and to the other freedom for Dissenters; by which means they persuaded the former to be active

in the cause of royalty, and the latter to be passive in the defence of freedom. But the nation had almost forgotten these distinctions, and had been roused from the torpor which succeeded the Restoration, by the unpatriotic conduct of the King and his brother. A course of life insulting to the moral as well as the political feelings of his people, had not a little shaken their love for the reigning sovereign; but an attachment to foreign interests, and the profession of an odious religion, had excited the strongest aversion to the presumptive successor to the throne. In the hope of gathering some advantage from this disposition, the country party did not fail to urge a dissolution in the next session of Parliament: but their efforts, as we shall soon see, produced no favourable effect.' Vol. I. pp. 84—86.

The money which Charles obtained by a new secret treaty with the French King, containing the usual stipulations of neutrality on the one hand, and pension on the other, again enabled him to dispense with Parliament for fourteen months.

'At this time he was so utterly abandoned by his subjects, that he did not dare to trust even his ministers with his engagements. He wrote the treaty with his own hand, and confided himself entirely to no one but Lauderdale.'

Such were the degrading expedients to which the royal profligate could stoop, in order to supply the necessities of the moment. And while thus busily engaged in negotiating with the French ambassador for more money, still rising higher in his demands as the Parliament shewed more eagerness for the war, he was assuring the Commons, that they should not repent any trust they put in him for the safety of his kingdom. Even Hume himself, adverting to this part of his conduct, is compelled to speak in terms of indignation.

'His pledging his royal word in Parliament was evidently only an artifice to procure money, and has been justly styled by Mr. Hume, "one of the most dishonourable and scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne."'

In 1677, took place the nuptials of the Prince of Orange with the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, 'so auspicious 'to the future liberties of England.' Three years before, we are informed on Temple's authority, Lord Arlington had been sent into Holland to offer this match, but embarrassed with the condition that the Prince should assist Charles against his rebellious subjects.

'The Prince of Orange at that time waived the subject; saying with respect to the demand for aid, that he could not think the king of England could be so ill beloved or so imprudent as to need such assistance. The first motion was now made by the Prince himself to Sir William Temple, who thereupon entrusted his wife with a verbal message to Lord Danby.'

Danby, who was bent upon bringing the King off from a French alliance, as the means of securing his own popularity,

entered warmly into the Prince's interests, and took upon himself the management of the affair. He appears to have gained over the King to concur in the scheme, with singular address. Having taken the precaution to put Charles in special good humour, the crafty minister waited upon him with a bundle of letters, which he was well assured his Master would not trouble himself to read; all, as he affirmed, from the King's best friends, concurring in the desirableness of the measure. He represented what an admirable opportunity it afforded of laying asleep the suspicions of the nation with regard to Charles's secret preference for Popery and the French alliance, and of rendering the Commons tractable, by which means he might hope to obtain more liberal supplies. He urged that it would at the same time tend to soften the apprehensions entertained on the subject of the Duke's succession to the crown, and would therefore be no less favourable to his interests than to the King's; while it would place the Prince himself in more absolute dependence upon England. To the great amazement of the French and the Popish party, Charles suddenly gave in to these reasonings; and Lord Danby lost no time in improving the golden opportunity of the King's gracious mood, by summoning the Council, at which the royal will was declared, and the young lady was presented to the Prince by the King himself. So speedily was all this transacted, that when Danby was told by Montague, our envoy at the French Court, that Lewis complained very angrily of the Duke, for consenting to the match without at least acquainting him with it, the Treasurer replied, 'He wrongs him, for he (the Duke) did not know of it an hour before it was published, and the King himself not above two hours.' James's religious scruples were probably at the moment more easily overruled by the King, on account of the apparent policy of the measure, as it bore on his own succession; but his subsequent disappointment and mortification at finding how ill it answered this end, must have been extreme. Burnet says, that he never forgave Lord Danby.

As for Charles, his indolent and easy temper induced him readily to give into any scheme of his ministers, which promised to supply him with money; and so long as he obtained supplies, it mattered little to him whether they were furnished by the French Court or by his own Commons. It formed no part of his intentions, to break with Lewis; but he might congratulate himself on having now two strings to his bow, and on being able to make better terms with the French monarch, when he found himself in possession of the confidence of the Parliament. Foresight, however, did not enter into his character, and his whole government was conducted on the miserable system of expedients. Yet the way in which the transaction was brought

about, and the sudden removal of every obstacle which threatened to oppose its execution, must be viewed as giving it a very extraordinary character; and by the believer in the Divine superintendance of human affairs, the event will without hesitation be referred to a Providential interposition on behalf of our civil and religious liberties.

When Parliament met on the 28th of Jan. 1678, the King, in his speech, informed them of the Dutch alliance, and the marriage of his niece with the Prince of Orange, and told the Commons that he expected a plentiful supply to enable him to carry on the war with France. The Commons, whose anxiety for a *bona fide* war, arose from their well-grounded fears that Charles and Lewis were in secret concert, and that the army which was to be raised on this pretence, would be employed to subdue the people of England, still suspected the King's sincerity; and with reason, since the direction of the war was to be committed to the hands of ministers who had been themselves pensioned by France. Through secret channels, they learned that Earl Danby was at this very time endeavouring to obtain money for his royal Master. The supplies were agreed to, but clogged with conditions with which the King was offended. Charles was resolved not to break with the French King, and secretly exulted at having outwitted his good Commons, whose votes had left the country saddled, at the end of the session, with a needless burthen of 600,000*l.* and a standing army. Lewis, on the other hand, whose sole object appears to have been, to neutralize England by bribing her pensioned monarch, had no wish to render his good brother formidable by aiding him to raise such an army as might, after establishing unlimited prerogative at home, be turned against himself abroad. It was no part of his policy, to assist Charles, whom he well knew he could not trust, to subdue his subjects; it was therefore stipulated in one of his secret treaties, that Charles should never keep a standing army of above eight thousand in the three kingdoms. This degrading proposal enraged Charles, as well it might, and he is said to have exclaimed with an oath, "Does my brother of "France think to serve me thus! Are all his promises to make "me absolute master of my realms, come to this? Or does he "think that a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"

Lord John apologizes for entering so minutely into these historic details, but he justly remarks, that the conduct of Lord Russell and the country party could not be explained without taking this previous view of the times. It was during this session of Parliament, and while the affairs of the nation were at this crisis, that the interview took place between Lords Russell and Hollis, and M. de Rouvigny, who was sent over by Lewis to confer with the popular party, which has been

made the ground of a malignant impeachment of their integrity and patriotism. Lord John devotes a chapter to the examination of Sir John Dalrymple's 'discoveries.' He cites Barillon's despatches, to shew, that Lord Russell not only himself received no money from the French King, but indignantly met the proposal to distribute a considerable sum in the Parliament, with the reply, that he should be sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money. The English Lords openly expressed to Rouvigny, whose relationship to Lady Russell entitled him to the interview, their distrust of Lewis's intentions, and their fears that the pretended war with France would serve only to bring their country into subjection; but, on being assured by Rouvigny, that his Master was convinced of its not being his interest to make the King of England absolute, they did enter into an agreement to hinder, if possible, the war with France, provided Lewis would compel the King to dissolve the present Parliament. Both in endeavouring to prevent a war which there was reason to fear would be carried on only in pretence, and in taking this indirect means of procuring a dissolution of Parliament, Lord Russell had in view the interests of his country. His object, therefore, was as patriotic as his intentions were upright; and the peculiar dangers of the country might well seem to warrant the attempt to make Charles's secret intrigues with the French King, the means of his own defeat.

'The imminent danger which threatened us from the conduct of France, abetting the designs of Charles, cannot, at this day, be properly estimated. At the very time when the Parliament was giving money for a war, Lord Danby was writing, by his master's order, to beg for money as the price of peace. We shall presently see, that, five days after the House of Commons had passed the act for a supply, Lord Danby wrote to Paris, that Charles expected six millions yearly from France. Had Lewis been sincere in the project of making Charles absolute, there can be no doubt that it might have been easily accomplished. Was not this sufficient to justify the popular party in attempting to turn the battery the other way? The question was not, whether to admit foreign interference, but whether to direct foreign interference already admitted to a good object. The conduct of Lord Russell, therefore, was not criminal; but it would be difficult to acquit him of the charge of imprudence. The object of Lewis must have been, by giving hopes to each party in turn, to obtain the command of both. Charles, on the other hand, was ready to debase himself to the lowest point to maintain his alliance with France; any suspicion, therefore, of a connection between Lewis and the popular party would have rendered him more and more dependent, till the liberties of England might at last have been set up to auction at Versailles.' pp. 121, 122.

A war with France appeared to the country party on no

other ground desirable, than as it promised to secure the country against the dangers of a French alliance. A dissolution of Parliament, we have already seen, had become the anxious wish of every patriotic member of the House. The interview with Rouvigny led, therefore, to no change of object, on the part of the popular party; the agreement involved no deviation from what had all along been their patriotic designs. Nothing, therefore, can be more base, than to charge the Whigs with acting on this occasion as the enemies of their country. Yet are such charges as these the only apologies which corrupt statesmen venture to make for their own delinquencies; and it appears to be thought quite sufficient to excuse the most unconstitutional and nefarious acts, if a *Whig* precedent, true or false, can be adduced for the proceeding. *Ex alieni nominis jactura gradum sibi faciunt ad gloriam.*

When Parliament was at length dissolved in January, 1679, it appears to have been in no degree the result of foreign interference. But the House, exasperated by the discovery of the supposed Popish plot, had become quite unmanageable. A motion had been made, to remove the Duke from the King's presence and councils; and the Treasurer, Lord Danby, had been impeached of high treason. The former, therefore, was anxious that Parliament should be dissolved, lest it should proceed to further measures bearing on the succession; and the latter readily came to an understanding with the country party, that, in the event of a dissolution, his impeachment should be carried off with a mild censure, provided he withdrew from public affairs.

The elections were carried on much to the advantage of Opposition; and in the new Parliament, the important Bill was first brought in, for excluding the Duke of York from the succession. Lord Russell, who, in April, 1679, was, with several of the great Whig leaders, admitted to a new privy council, formed at the suggestion of Sir W. Temple, gave his opinion and his vote at first in favour of the plan of limitations in the event of a Popish successor. But Lord Shaftesbury, the president of the new council, warmly declared for the Bill of Exclusion as the only security against the Duke, who might by force of arms break through all the proposed limitations. Sir W. Temple opposed the plan of limitations on other grounds, as they would leave him in shackles which would not be broken through by any successor, and would impair the royal prerogative. Lord Russell appears to have felt the force of this reasoning; for, in Nov. 1680, having previously obtained the King's permission to retire from the council, he seconded Col. Titus in a motion for the appointment of a committee to draw up a bill 'to disable James Duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm.' The

bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords. The following remarks on the characteristic distinction between the Whig and Tory parties, which, though the names were not new, had their rise in the then existing circumstances of the country, will place in a proper light the conduct of Lord Russell and his party on this occasion.

'The Whigs formed a popular party far less enthusiastic in their religious tenets, and less divided in their political views, than that which opposed Charles the First. With the exception, perhaps, of Sydney, who was not in Parliament, none of them wished for any thing more than a regular execution of our ancient constitutional laws; government by Parliament, and trial by jury. The hereditary succession of the crown was in their eyes a rule for the benefit of the people, and not a dispensation of Providence for the advantage of a single family. If at any time, therefore, the observance of the rule became dangerous to the welfare of the community, the legislature was, in their opinion, competent to consider whether that danger was greater than the inconvenience of deviating from the established course.

'In carrying on the ordinary government of the country, their chief aim and endeavour was to preserve unimpaired the rights and liberties of the people. If, to obtain these objects, they sometimes asked for the confirmation of privileges which were doubtful, and even the establishment of some that were new, these were only natural steps in the progress of civilisation. For the same rights which, fenced by uncertain boundaries, are, in barbarous times, the occasion of discord and civil war, become, when accurately defined, the safeguard of national tranquillity. A law to be really efficient, must not only be good in itself, but must be easy of execution, and unassailable on every side. A statute enacting the liberty of the press would be of no use, if the administration of justice were not pure; the responsibility of ministers would be a phantom, if the King could grant a pardon previous to impeachment. The Act of Magna Charta itself, as was stated at the end of the last chapter, was frequently violated, and became the cause of the most destructive wars. But its purpose having been completed by the Act of Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights, personal liberty and public tranquillity are undisturbed. To the necessity which exists of thus filling up the outline sketched by rude hands, we must attribute many of the pretensions which Mr. Hume has pointed out as innovations. With respect to religious distinctions, the Whigs, it must be owned, had generally a leaning towards the dissenters. Nor did this arise only from the love of freedom remarkable in those sectaries. It was connected with a laudable desire for toleration to every sect but one, which was active in its endeavours to alter the government.

'The Tories, on the other hand, were attached to the laws as well as the Whigs, but were for leaving entirely to the King, whether or not they should be executed. They considered the crown as a sacred and unalienable inheritance. They held that the rights of the successor to the throne were paramount and indefeasible. And as the Whigs wished to allow liberty as far as could be consistent with mo-

narchy, the Tories desired to give to monarchy every thing that was compatible with safety. Their attachment to the established religion alone was stronger than to the established government. At the time of which we are treating, these two principles of theirs were perfectly consistent. Whilst the Tories professed that they never would abandon the Church, the Church declared that no circumstance whatever could alter their allegiance to their King.

'It must not be supposed, however, that the Tories, though loud in their professions of unlimited submission, ever seriously meant that they would not resist in an extreme case. They sincerely venerated the laws, and dreaded the subversion of our ancient constitution. Thus whilst they spoke with abhorrence of resistance to their sovereign, their conduct had a direct tendency to produce it. For their silent acquiescence in acts of petty tyranny, encouraged the King to proceed to still greater outrages, till, at last, no remedy was to be found but in a revolution.

'The Whigs, on the other hand, by their persevering opposition, acted in a manner to prevent the necessity of the resistance of which they spoke so much.

'These parties, it must be owned, have their foundations deep in the opinions of the country. As long as there is a body of men in this country attached to Church and King, more than to the constitution, the Tory party will subsist; and as long as there is a large portion of the people who consider monarchy only as the best protection for liberty, the Whig party will flourish.' Vol. I. pp. 186—189.

We have passed over the chapter in which Lord John examines the charge brought against the popular party, more especially Algernon Sydney, of receiving money from France at a period subsequent to the mission of Rouvigny. Lord Russell is not implicated in this charge. The country party continued fearlessly to press the Bill of Exclusion; and Lord Russell declared, that till the King should free the House from the danger of a Popish successor, 'a vote of money would only have the effect 'of destroying themselves with their own hands.' The Commons refused supplies, and prepared to go all lengths rather than recede from their favourite measure. The King prorogued Parliament on the 10th January, 1681, which was followed by its dissolution; and a new one was summoned to meet at Oxford. The King opened the session on the 21st. On the 26th, the Exclusion Bill was again introduced on the motion of Sir R. Clayton, seconded by Lord Russell, and was read a first time on the 28th. Hardly had the House proceeded to some subsequent business, when the members were summoned to the House of Lords, to receive the King's message that the Parliament should, without any previous prorogation, be dissolved. Charles was now fully resolved to meet his Parliament no more; at the same time, with his characteristic duplicity, he issued a Declara-

tion, in which he warned the people against designing men who accused him of an intention of laying aside parliaments, and expressed his determination 'that, after the lapse of a short period, 'their meetings should be constant and frequent.' In the same Declaration, he charged the late Parliament, among other things, with interfering in the regular prosecution by law of Protestant Dissenters. This passage succeeded in raising a cry of Church and King through the whole kingdom. The clergy, faithful to the Court, procured addresses from all parts of the country, vying with each other in fulsomeness of adulation. The fear of Presbyterianism now took place of the fear of Popery. The Church was said to be in danger, from the alliance of the Whigs with the Presbyterians, and this war-cry, ever fatal to the best interests of society, drowned the voice of those who ventured to vindicate the conduct of the Parliament. Toryism had its triumph.

'An impartial observer of those times would probably have been inclined to blame the imprudence of the Whigs in rejecting the limitations offered by the King. Experience teaches us not to rely on the continued support of the people, for the establishment of a check to arbitrary power, entirely prospective in its object. The utmost that the great body of a nation can be brought to do, is to apply a remedy to an evil that has been felt, and to provide at the same time against its future recurrence. By the alarm of the Popish plot, however, a certain degree of popularity had been procured for the Exclusion Bill. At that time, and with all the strength, both in Parliament and in the Council, which could ever be reasonably expected, the measure had been tried, and failed. It was evident the Parliament had not been assembled at Oxford for the purpose of granting the petition of the Commons. The best course that remained for the Whigs, was to obtain the banishment of the Duke for life, and rely upon their force for maintaining it. On the other hand, Charles was availing himself with great dexterity of the partiality which is always felt by the people for persons of royal blood. The higher his offers were, the greater appeared the violence of opposition; and he wished to seem oppressed, in order to become an oppressor.

'Whilst, however, we withhold the praise of judgment and discretion from the Whigs, it is impossible to deny them a tribute of admiration for their fearlessness and patriotism. Neither the manifest power nor the pervading influence of the Crown prevented their making a direct attack upon the brother of the King, who was at the same time his favourite and friend. Nor did they seek their object by any bye-ways or illegal methods: they asked for the exclusion of James by a bill regularly proposed in a full Parliament; and at the same time that they abstained from using force themselves, they not only shut themselves out for ever from the favour, but exposed themselves to the persecution of an arbitrary and vindictive Prince.'

Vol. I. pp. 267, 268.

The reign of terror now commenced. Charles, it is probable, was himself surprised at the ease with which, by the retreat of the Whigs, he was enabled to pursue the conquest of the liberties of his subjects; and his attachment to the Protestant religion must doubtless have been strengthened by the zealous assistance he received from the churchmen.

'The Universities were unanimous in giving their sanction to doctrines calculated to obtain the favour of royalty, and rivet the chains of the multitude. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, in addressing the King, told him, that he reigned "by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, can alter or diminish." The celebrated decree of the University of Oxford, condemning resistance, and inculcating passive obedience, was not passed till some time afterwards. But these declarations were moderate, when compared with the doctrines inculcated in the sermons of various divines.'

The Dissenters now too late repented of their ill-judged concurrence in the Act by which they shut out themselves as well as the Papists from the protection of the laws. Charles, or at least his present counsellors, were not disposed to forget their rejection of the royal Indulgence, and their zeal against Popery. 'The strength of the Dissenters,' it was said, 'is the weakness 'of the Crown.' The House of Brunswick found it otherwise; but these were the days of the Stuarts. In order, therefore, to diminish their strength, the act of the xxxvth of Elizabeth was strictly enforced.

'Dissenting ministers were prosecuted in all parts of the country, and obliged to pay heavy fines for the discharge of their duty. The jails were filled with those who were unable to pay these fines, and it is said, that in Uxbridge alone, two hundred warrants for distress were issued.'

The trial of Argyle took place in 1681. The arbitrary invasion of the rights of the City of London, was the next important measure by which the Court sought to strike terror into the friends of the constitution. The year 1683 was distinguished by 'the surrender of the City's charter and its renewal on the 'most abject terms,' 'the decree of the University of Oxford, 'enforcing slavery as a moral and religious duty,' and the deaths of Lord Russell and Sidney.

Lord John enters fully into all the circumstances which led to the apprehension and murder* of this inestimable man, and examines at length the reality of the Rye-House Plot. In Bishop Burnet's journal, we have the faithful record of an eye-witness of the last scenes of Russell's life, which has left little

*So his execution is justly styled in the preamble to the act for reversing his attainder, which was the second act of King William.

for any subsequent biographer to supply. Some interesting particulars, however, are added from notes in Lady Russell's and Dr. Burnet's hand-writing, at Woburn. Nothing can be more admirable than the paper which Lord Russell delivered to the sheriffs before his execution, in which, after expressing his gratitude to God for all his goodness, more especially for the invaluable blessing of a religious education, and for the peace of mind which he then enjoyed through faith in the Redeemer, he solemnly renews the protestation of his innocence. 'From the 'time of choosing sheriffs,' he says, 'I concluded the heat in 'that matter would produce something of this kind; and I am 'not much surprised to find it fall upon me; and I wish what 'is done to me may put a stop, and satiate some people's re-'venge, and that no more innocent blood be shed.' Thus fell, to gratify the revenge of James, and to secure his equally worthless brother in his transient possession of arbitrary power, this great and good man. Charles, it appears, inclined to save him, but said, 'he was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he 'must have broke with his brother.'

This is now a tale of other times. The liberties for which Lord Russell sacrificed his life, are now established; but surely, those persons are unworthy of the privileges they inherit, who would wish to bury the recollection of the conflicts and sufferings by which they have been purchased. Thanks to the ceaseless references which, in their fondness for those golden times, the high church party are making to the days of the Stuarts, and the marked dread and abhorrence of Whiggism which is manifested in high places, there is no danger of their being forgotten by the present generation. The character of Lord Russell, however, is in broad and striking contrast to every thing factious, disloyal, and revolutionary. He contemplated no visionary changes in the form of government, nor did the notorious degree to which corruption prevailed in the House of Commons, lead him to seek any other than constitutional means of resisting the progress of arbitrary power. His conduct was marked by equal firmness and moderation, and by a thorough consistency. He was a party-man without ambition. He was popular, yet no demagogue. He was no courtier, yet a sincere royalist. Though an oppositionist, he was an orthodox Protestant, and though a friend to the Dissenters, he was an evangelical churchman.

The extracts we have given from the present volumes, will have rendered it unnecessary for us to pass any commendation upon the style of the composition. It is clear, manly, and unaffected; and the sentiments are worthy of a Russell. A portrait of Lord William is prefixed to the work, which also contains a fac-simile of his hand-writing, and an appendix of interesting documents. No. 1. 'The Advice of William, Earl of

'Bedford, to his sons,' whoever be its author, is highly deserving of a separate republication.

Art. II. 1. *The History of British India*. By James Mill, Esq. In Three Volumes, 4to. London, 1817.

2. *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, in an Attempt to trace the History of Mysoor, from the Origin of the Hindoo Government of that State, to the Extinction of the Mahommedan Dynasty in 1799. By Colonel Mark Wilks. Vols. II. and III. 4to. London, 1817.

DURING the scenes of confusion which succeeded the death of Aurungzebe, Jaffier Khan, an adventurer, had made himself independent in the subahdarry of Bengal. In 1756, Suraja Dowla, one of his successors, exasperated by the protection which had been afforded at Calcutta to an individual obnoxious to his displeasure, assaulted that city; which, notwithstanding that it might have been successfully defended, was in the most dastardly manner abandoned by its civil and military chiefs. So precipitate was their flight, that the vessels in which they embarked for safety, left to the disastrous consequences of inevitable capture, a great number of individuals who might have been brought off with the utmost facility. It was on this occasion that the fearful tragedy of the Black Hole, terminated in the suffocation of a hundred and twenty-three out of a hundred and forty-six individuals who were confined in that 'small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon.' It does not, however, appear, that the Subahdar had the slightest knowledge of their situation. The larger portion of the blame must, at all events, remain with the English themselves, who had previously used as a prison, a place of so narrow dimensions, and so destitute of light and ventilation as to have acquired that significant designation. At this critical juncture, it happened fortunately for the local interests of the East India Company, that effectual aid was at hand. Clive, whose energy of character and military genius had been advantageously signalized in the wars of Carnatic, and in the subjugation of the pirate Angria, was, after some delay, sent from Madras with a formidable European and native force, under the convoy of Admiral Watson. Calcutta was retaken after a two hours cannonade from the ships, on the 2nd of January, 1757, and on the 10th, Hoogly, a considerable city at some distance, was taken by the British troops. Suraja Dowla reinvested Calcutta with a large army, but, alarmed by a spirited sortie, agreed to an accommodation, which was followed up by a treaty of alliance.

Clive now entered upon a series of exploits, bold indeed, and decisive, but marked by a steady and systematic disregard of those higher principles of faith and honour which ought ever

punctiliously to regulate the conduct of public men. While the English were engaged in the expedition to Hoogly, intelligence arrived of the commencement of hostilities between England and France, which placed Clive in a state of no small embarrassment. The French had at Chandernagore, a body of European infantry and artillery, which, if added to the formidable means of the Subahdar, might have possibly made him an overmatch for the English force. But while Clive was in doubt as to the line of policy which it might be most advisable to pursue, the French relieved him from his hesitation, by proposing a local treaty of neutrality, which he readily acceded to, and the terms were speedily adjusted. Before, however, the signatures were actually affixed, reinforcements arrived from Bombay, and Clive then deeming himself strong enough to encounter both the French and Suraja Dowla, in shameless violation of his own recorded opinion that the non-execution of the treaty would subject him to the imputation of defective principle or unsteadiness of character, immediately dismissed the French deputies, and, after a severe but short struggle, reduced Chandernagore. His next object was, the destruction of the Subahdar; and this he effected by a complicated train of intrigues and treasons, which ensured the victory to the English in the battle of Plassey, and, terminated in the death of Suraja Dowla, and the elevation of Meer Jaffier to his office. The scramble for spoil among the English officers and the members of the Committee, together with the 'consummate treachery' practised upon Omichund, the principal agent in the intrigues with Jaffier, are briefly but strongly stated by Mr. Mill, and to him we must refer for the sickening details. The treatment of Omichund alone, if, as we doubt not, it be correctly detailed, is not exceeded, in shameless and deliberate faithlessness, by any of the deeds which have been consigned to infamous memorial in the page of history. Of all the individuals engaged in this transaction, Admiral Watson alone had the virtue to refuse his sanction; and his name was actually forged to the treaty which deceived, ruined, and maddened Omichund.

The fall of Suraja, and the establishment of Jaffier, were the marking events of the administration of Clive, and the foundation of the Bengal dominion of the East India Company. They were attended and followed by others of scarcely inferior magnitude, all of which that subtle politician contrived to make more or less subservient to his views. After the successful expedition to the Circars, under Colonel Forde, the defeat of the Mogul expedition against Bengal, and Forde's brilliant victory over a formidable Dutch armament, Clive resigned the government in 1760, and returned to England. As an illustration of the estimation in which this active and able

governor was held by the natives, the following specimen of Indian humour is cited in a note.

'There was an officer of rank, to whom Jaffier had been often indebted before his elevation, remarkable for his wit. This, from their former intimacy, and a jealousy of present neglect, he did not spare on the Nabob himself. While the armies of the Nabob and of Clive were at Patna, he was one day accused to the Nabob of having permitted a fray between some of his own soldiers and some of Clive's. "It chanced," says the author of the Seer Mutakhareen, ii. 19. "that Mirza Shemseddin himself made his appearance at that very moment: it was in full durbar, and in the hall of audience. The Nawab fixed his eyes upon him, and spoke a few words that seemed to border upon reprimand: 'Sir,' said he, 'your people have had a fray with the Colonel's people: Is your honour to learn who is that Colonel Clive, and in what station heaven has seated him?' 'My lord Nawab,' answered the Mirza, getting up instantly, and standing bolt upright before him: 'Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never get up in the morning, without making three profound bows to his very jack ass! How then could I be daring enough, after that, to fall out with the rider himself!'"' Vol. II. p. 164, Note.

The presidency of Vansittart was by no means a season of quiet rule. A second Mogul invasion called for active exertions, and either the vices of Jaffier, or the hope of fresh donations from a grateful successor, induced the Council of Calcutta to depose him, and to raise Meer Causim, his son-in-law, to the vacant musnud. Vansittart appears to have been a meritorious governor; but his authority was a divided one. Circumstances had given the majority to his opponents in the council, who availed themselves of their ascendancy to thwart his measures, and to push their own fortunes at the expense, not only of justice, right, and precedent, but of all decency whatsoever. Their vexations and oppressions became at length intolerable, and the violence of Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, drove the Nabob Meer Causim into open hostility. Causim, though ferocious and cowardly, was a man of some ability, and he had assiduously employed himself in disciplining his army, and in arranging it, as far as possible, on the European model. In this he was assisted by Sumroo, a German adventurer, not destitute, apparently, of talent and enterprise, but a savage and unhesitating executor of the bloody mandates of his master. Ellis precipitated the rupture by surprizing Patna; but it was retaken by the Nabob's troops, and he, together with a number of his countrymen, was made prisoner, while Mr. Amyatt and other Englishmen were killed in an unsuccessful struggle. The Calcutta Government immediately reinvested Meer Jaffier with the ensigns of royalty; and the English forces marched to the encounter of Causim's troops. The conflict was long, severe, and for a time, even doubtful; such was the improved consistency

of the native army; and even after victory had declared for the British, they were baffled during nearly a month, by a strong intrenchment behind which the Indians retired. Causim, exasperated by defeat, indulged his appetite for slaughter. Several natives of rank were put to death by his command; and when his passions were inflamed to the highest by the storming of the lines, and the subsequent reduction of his strongly fortified capital, he gave orders for the massacre of Mr. Ellis and all the English prisoners, with the exception of Mr. Fullerton, a surgeon, whose professional skill had recommended him to the favourable notice of the Nabob. Meer Causim, expelled from his dominions, took refuge with Sujah the Vizir and Nabob of Oude, to whose army the disciplined sepoys of his guest were an important reinforcement. In the war which followed between the Company and the Vizir, the main events were, the battle of Patna, gained by the English under Major Carnac, and the victory of Buxar, gained by Sir Hector Munro. The last is stated to have been

'one of the most critical and important victories in the history of the British wars in that part of the globe. It broke completely the force of Sujah Dowla, the only Mogul chief who retained till this period any considerable strength; it placed the emperor himself under the protection of the English; and left them, without dispute, the greatest power in India.'

In the mean time, the servants of the Company were pushing to the utmost their infamous extortions. The interests and the commands of their employers were alike slighted in their shameless scramble for the spoils of oppressed and exhausted India. The miserable Jaffier was assailed on all sides, and every fresh concession was but the signal for a more audacious encroachment.

Respecting one principal sum of enormous amount, exacted by these harpies from the hapless Nabob, it is the express affirmation of a Director of the Company, that 'all delicacy was laid 'aside in the manner in which payment was obtained for this 'sum, of which seven-eighths were for losses sustained, or said 'to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, 'carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter 'ruin of many thousands of the India merchants; that of the 'whole, one half was soon extorted from him, though part of the 'payments to the Company was still undischarged, and though 'the Company was sinking under the burden of the war, and 'obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at 'eight per cent. interest, and, even with that assistance, unable 'to carry on the war and their investment, but obliged to send 'their ships half loaded to Europe.' In addition to this information, we have the testimony of Clive himself, who, after

stating, that the Company was 'possessed of one-half of the 'Nabob's revenues,' affirms, that of the other half, which he nominally enjoyed, he was, in reality, little more than an agent for the collection; the Company's servants treating him as their 'banker,' and drawing upon him *ad libitum* both as to frequency and amount. Harassed by these rapacious persecutions, and broken down by the infirmities of age and debauchery, Jaffier died in January, 1765.

It was obvious, however, that the state of things which we have described, could not long be permitted to subsist. After considerable discussion and strenuous opposition, therefore, it was determined by a small majority of the Court of Directors, to send out Clive a second time, now raised to the peerage, armed with extraordinary powers, and including in his own person, the offices of commander in chief, president, and governor, in Bengal. When he reached India in April, 1765, he found the affairs of the Company in a condition which entitled and determined him to enter upon a line of policy very different from the cautious and temporizing system which had been hitherto pursued. The British power was predominant, and there was no state in India able to oppose an effectual barrier against its advance to unlimited dominion. Clive, in the steady pursuance of his designs, reduced the Vizir to unconditional submission, and, on the 12th of August, 1765, obtained from the Mogul Emperor the firmaun of the duannee, or the imperial grant, which, by consigning to the English the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Arissa, gave them the recognised, as well as the actual sovereignty of an extensive empire.

The attention of Lord Clive was directed to the necessity of framing regulations in restraint and direction of the inland trade carried on by the servants of the Company for their own advantage, which had been a fertile source of oppression and injury to the nations; but he does not appear to have been very much in earnest on this point: he talked, indeed, largely and loudly, of cleansing the Augean stable, but he seems to have left it pretty nearly as he found it, and has not escaped the imputation of having made profit by its sweepings. After quelling, with resolution and decision, a dangerous mutiny excited among the officers of the army by a reduction of their allowances, he quitted Bengal on his return to England early in 1767. Clive was unquestionably an extraordinary man, but his powers were rather shewy than substantial. Every thing about him savoured of the adventurer; and his measures were rather specious, and brilliant in their semblance, than of solid and durable advantage. His favourite policy of a 'double government, or an administra-'tion carried on in name by the Nabob, in reality by the Com-'pany,' is clearly shewn to have been fraught with mischievous

consequences, and is justly stigmatized as the invention of a mind in which 'a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to 'have presented itself, pretty congenially, in the light of pro-'found and skilful politics.'

Clive was not wanting to himself amid the charges and reproaches which assailed him from all quarters: on a subsequent occasion, when the affairs of the Company were under parliamentary discussion, he made an exculpatory speech in which

'he spared not the character either of his fellow-servants, or of the Directors. "I attribute the present situation of our affairs," he said; "to four causes; a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts." To hear his account, no one would believe that any creature who had ever had any thing to do with the government, had ever behaved well but himself. It was much easier for him, however, to prove that his conduct was liable to no peculiar blame, than that it was entitled to extraordinary applause. With great audacity, both military and political, fortunately adapted to the scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, including any moderate anticipation of the future; and it was the effects of his short-sighted regulations, and of the unfounded and extravagant hopes he had raised, with which the Company were now struggling on the verge of ruin, and on account of which the conduct both of them and of their servants was exposed to far more than its due share of obloquy and condemnation.'

Vol. II. p. 293.

Mr. Verelst succeeded to the Presidency on the departure of Clive. Under his administration, and the subsequent government of Mr. Cartier, nothing occurred in Bengal of sufficient magnitude to require specification; but in the South of India, a revolution had taken place, the consequences of which, at more than one period, threatened the Carnatic establishments of England with dissolution. Hyder Ali, by a series of adventures, romantic in European experience, but of no rare occurrence in Eastern countries, had reduced the authority of the Hindu Rajah of Mysore to a mere name, and wielded at his will the resources of that central state. Sometimes on the verge of ruin, but in the extremity of his fortunes displaying the fertility of his mind and the pertinacity of his ambition, he gained strength from every vicissitude, and ultimately fixed himself firmly in the possession of power. In 1767, he first entered on hostilities against the Company, and after a short war of various success, contriving by a series of dexterous manœuvres to fix the attention of the English army to a distant point, he suddenly appeared with a formidable cavalry before the walls of Madras,

and intimidated the Presidency into an accommodation and alliance.

The importance of the events which had for some time been transacting in Hindostan, together with the exaggerated estimates of the wealth of India and the value of Indian trade, had not failed to excite public attention; but the parliamentary arrangement of 1769, did little more than record a stipulation for the transfer to the national treasury, of a share of the imaginary profits made by the Company. The Directors, indeed, contributed as far as they possibly could, to sustain the popular delusion. In the midst of failing revenues and accumulating debt, under engagements to answer drafts from India, without any means of adequate provision, they pushed up their dividend with a desperation for which the mere imputation of rapacity seems insufficient to account. On the 17th of March, 1772, a half-yearly dividend of six and a quarter per cent was declared; on the 15th of July, the Directors obtained a loan of 400,000*l.* from the Bank; on the 29th, they procured from the same quarter an additional 200,000*l.*; and on the 10th of August, they waited on the Minister to apprise him, that unless Government would advance at least one million, the prosperous concerns of the India Company would terminate in a total failure of the means of payment. The parliamentary investigation which followed upon these disclosures, led to a complete alteration in the system of management, and to the first important step towards the establishment of ministerial influence and control over the affairs of the Company. It was proposed, and determined, that the qualification of a voter in the General Court, should be raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, and that, instead of an annual election of the whole body of the Directors, one fourth only should be subject to the ballot. The provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Arissa, were to be placed under the administration of a governor-general, with an annual salary of 25,000*l.*, assisted by four counsellors with 8000*l.* per annum; and to this supreme government, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were declared subordinate. A high court of judicature was established at Calcutta, in which a chief-justice with a stipend of 8000*l.* presided, with three assistant judges whose salaries were fixed at 6000*l.* a year each.

'As subsidiary articles it was proposed; that the first governor-general and counsellors should be nominated by Parliament in the act, and hold their office for five years, after which the patronage of those great offices should revert to the Directors, but still subject to the approbation of the Crown; that every thing in the Company's correspondence from India, which related to the civil or military affairs, to the government of the country, or the administration of the revenues, should be laid before the Ministry; that no person in the

service either of the King or of the Company, should be allowed to receive presents; and that the governor-general, the counsellors, and judges, should be excluded from all commercial profits and pursuits.'

These regulations are ably but severely analysed by Mr. Mill, and shewn to be, in nearly every instance, inadequate to their avowed object, but at the same time to fall in very completely with 'the current of that policy which for many reasons has been running with perfect regularity and considerable strength, to diminish the influence of numbers in affairs of government, and reduce every thing as much as possible to the oligarchical state.' He shews, we think satisfactorily, that the plan had not the smallest tendency to remedy the main evils of which it was held out as the cure, and that it was fraught with mischiefs which did not previously exist. It is, in fact, obvious upon the very face of the transaction, that the great object throughout, was, to bring the East India Company into a state of entire dependence upon the Minister of the Crown. With respect to that part of the scheme which related to the dispensation of justice, Mr. Mill's comments are so forcible, that though we feel the necessity of a somewhat more rapid progress through his volumes than we are now making, we must suffer him to speak for himself.

'The grand source, however, of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law, detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial; so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself: ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary, technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity, and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law, to be found in any other civilized country. Yet this whole system, the British parliament, or British ministry, transplanted to Bengal exactly as it stood; and imagined that they had amply provided for the administration of justice in India. But the English law, which in general has neither definition nor words to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights; and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression, and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the imperfection of the previous powers of law and judicature.' Vol. II. pp. 299, 300.

Warren Hastings was the first governor-general under the

new arrangement; and General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, were appointed members of council. The transactions of this celebrated administration, are too complicated for satisfactory analysis upon a contracted scale: its distinguishing features are to be found in the articles of charge brought against Mr. Hastings by the House of Commons. The first efforts of the Government were directed to the improvement of the revenues, in the collection of which, many hazardous and injurious alterations were introduced; and, in connexion with these steps, considerable changes were made among the native officers invested with responsibility and rank, in the different departments of the civil and judicial administration. By far the greater portion of these alterations and adjustments, evidently proceeded on false principles, and were, as might have been anticipated, productive of calamitous effects. In the mean time, the weak and restless Emperor Shah Aulum, dissatisfied with the quiet possession of the districts of Allahabad and Corah, assigned and guaranteed to him by the English, and actuated by a childish anxiety to re-possess Delhi, the capital of his ancestors, made a most impolitic arrangement for that purpose with the Mahrattas, who, indeed, fulfilled their engagement to subdue that city, but reduced the helpless Mogul to the situation of a mere pageant, upheld by them in the semblance of power for the advancement of their own designs. They then engaged in hostilities against the Rohillas, a brave and free people, under the equitable government of Hafez Rhamet, a gallant and accomplished man, who, upon this, joined his troops with those of the English and the Vizir. But the Rohilla country had long been a favourite object of the Vizir's ambition, and he found no difficulty in purchasing the Governor-general's concurrence in his unprincipled scheme. So far was Hastings from revolting at the proposition, or hesitating to close with it, that he stimulated the Vizir to its execution. He *sold* the Rohillas to their enemy: his council sanctioned the infamous bargain, and Colonel Champion with his brigade, marched to execute it. The struggle was nobly and skilfully maintained by the high-spirited chief and his intrepid people; but European discipline prevailed: Hafez fell in the battle of his country, and the Vizir, who, with his troops, had taken no share in the engagement, spread themselves in every direction, and reduced to a plundered and miserable waste, the once happy and richly cultivated Rohilcund. All these transactions had occurred previously to the arrival of the new council appointed by Parliament, the members of which did not reach Calcutta till October 1774. The first business which engaged its attention, was the Rohilla war. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, who were

recently from Europe, united in its condemnation, while Mr. Barwell lent his support to the Governor. The majority called for the correspondence with the commander of the troops, and with the political agent at the court of the Vizir; but its production was evaded by Mr. Hastings, on the pretext that it contained private and confidential matter unfit for the public eye.

'Nothing,' remarks Mr. Mill, 'could be more unfortunate for Mr. Hastings, than his war against the Rohillas, and the suppression of his correspondence with Mr. Middleton. The first branded the spirit of his administration with a mark, which its many virtues were never able to obliterate, of cruel and unprincipled aggression; and the second stained him with a natural suspicion of personal impurity. Both together gave his rivals those advantages over him which rendered his subsequent administration a source of contention and misery, and involved him in so great a storm of difficulties and dangers at its close.' Vol. II. p. 351.

We shall not attempt to particularize the numberless disputes between Mr. Hastings and his council: in the greater part of them, his character was more or less implicated, and additional force was given to the imputations against him by his continual anxiety to crush or to evade enquiry. The most remarkable of these transactions, was that in which the Rajah Nuncomar sustained so tragical a part. In March, 1776, this person delivered in to the Council a paper, accusing the Governor-General of receiving large sums by way of bribe on certain specified occasions. Hastings, instead of meeting the charges and establishing his innocence, stood upon the dignity of his official character, and declined answering the accusation; but not satisfied with this, he instituted a course of legal proceedings against Nuncomar in the criminal court of Calcutta, and succeeded, as it appears to us, on most insufficient grounds, in procuring from a jury of Englishmen, and Englishmen moreover at Calcutta, a verdict of guilty against the object of his vindictive pursuit. To this transaction, the judge, Sir Elijah Impey, lent the weight of his opinion and authority, and refusing all appeal and all respite, 'proceeded with unrelenting determination to the execution of Nuncomar, who, on the 5th of August, with a tranquillity and firmness that never were surpassed, submitted to his fate, not only amid the tears and lamentations, but the cries and shrieks of an innumerable assemblage of his countrymen.' For his share in this melancholy business, Sir Elijah Impey was afterwards summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, but on hearing his defence, a majority of the members voted against accusation; and in fact, it appears that he had enough of the mere letter of the law on his side to shield him. Hitherto, the majority in council had been in opposition to Mr. Hastings, and his measures had consequently been rejected by the

votes of his opponents, but the death of Colonel Monson, in November, 1776, gave the decision to the Governor by means of his own casting vote. Previously to this, while he was kept by the ascendancy of his opponents in a state of weakness and depression, Mr. Hastings had tendered, through a confidential channel, his resignation to the Court of Directors, by whom it had been accepted; but on his disenthralment by the death of Monson, he disavowed his agent and retained his authority. In 1780, the disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis terminated in a duel, in which the latter was wounded, and soon afterwards returned to England.

The political relations between the Company and the principal Mahratta powers, had for some time been in a threatening state, and at length brought on a war, of which some of the incidents were not very honourable to the British arms; but in 1779 and 1780, the brilliant exploits of Goddard and Popham restored their credit. In Carnatic, the usual course of intrigues and oppressions had been going on. In 1773, the Rajah of Tanjore, without even a colourable pretext, was subdued, and deposed, but, on the assumption of the government of Madras by Lord Pigot in 1776, he was restored to his throne. This event was followed by a train of disgusting cabals and quarrels, which ended in the arrest of Lord Pigot by a majority of his council, and in the recal, prosecution, and conviction of the principal offenders. Sir Thomas Rumbold, the succeeding President of Madras, subjected himself to the most degrading imputations, and in 1781, was dismissed from his office. In 1778, intelligence having been received that hostilities had commenced between England and France, possession was taken of all the French settlements in India. But a conflict was now approaching, which brought the Carnatic interests of the Company into jeopardy. Hyder Ali had, in various exigencies, made application to the English for the assistance which previous stipulations had entitled him to demand; but in every instance compliance had been evaded. On this account, and for other obvious reasons, he had long cherished an antipathy to the English, and had been solicitous to improve his connexion with the French, of which nation he had a considerable number in his army, both officers and privates. We ought, perhaps, to have paused at an earlier part of this article, for the purpose of directing the attention of our readers to the valuable work of Colonel Wilks, whose first volume was noticed in the E. R. for August, 1810, and to whose continuation of his history, we shall now have occasion to refer. This judicious Writer was, if not the first, yet, among the first, to expose the absurdity of attributing to India the observance of the feudal system, and to explode the baseless hypothesis of the early advanced civilization of Hindostan.

His discussions, too, of the contending claims to the proprietorship of the soil, have thrown much light on that greatly misapprehended subject. The early history of Hyder, is contained in Mr. Wilks's first volume. The second commences with the Mysoor war of 1767, to which we have already adverted. We shall only here add respecting it, that Colonel Wilks does ample justice to the skill and gallantry of Colonel Smith, by whom, under almost every possible disadvantage, that war was ably, and, as far as he was concerned, successfully conducted. Smith, who is affirmed by the historian to have been 'the best tempered man living,' and, as 'an executive soldier, 'classed among the first of the age in which he lived,' is also said not to have committed one 'fault exclusively military' in the management of the war. But to Hyder is awarded the higher praise of having avoided every 'political mistake;' and his military errors are described as the effect of imperfect means, rather than the result of inadequate conceptions. In the Mahratta war which succeeded, Hyder was nearly ruined; but ultimately escaped, though at the expense of important cessions of territory. After having employed several years in collecting his resources, and consolidating his strength, Hyder, in 1780, commenced his career of devastation; and such had been the supineness and improvidence of the Madras Government, though forewarned in every possible way, that 'black columns 'of smoke were every where in view from St. Thomas's mount, 'distant only nine miles from Madras, before an order was 'issued for the movement of a single soldier.' Every thing was, of course, in confusion, but measures were taken to meet the emergency: detachments were called from different quarters, and officers were sent to take the command of distant fortresses. The most important of these places, belonged to the Nabob of Carnatic, whose mis-government had been so complete, that not the slightest expectation could exist, that one of his officers would be faithful to his trust. Hence arose the necessity, strangely neglected till too late, of superseding them by European commandants. In the execution of this service, instances of uncommon gallantry occurred, of which the following affords an extraordinary instance.

'An officer was detached by Colonel Brathwaite, when at Carangooly on his march from Pondicherry to Chingleput, to take the command of Wandewash.

'Hyder was known to be in force in the neighbourhood of that place: its surrender was probable; the distance was thirty miles; and a body of four thousand horse was stated to be interposed: but the great importance of the enterprize justified the attempt under these slender chances of success. Lieutenant Flint was selected for this service, and after a fatiguing march on the morning of the 10th

of August, he moved at eleven on the same night, with one hundred firelocks. By deviating to unfrequented paths, he arrived without interruption in the vicinity of Wandewash, late in the forenoon of the 11th. After ascertaining that the place was still in the possession of Mahommed Ali's troops, he sent a message to the kelledar announcing his approach; but was answered, that he would be fired at, if he attempted to come within range of the guns; and met a picket sent to stop him at the verge of the esplanade. He had the address to persuade the officer that he had misapprehended his orders; which could only have been to stop the party till he was satisfied they were friends, of which fact he could entertain no doubts; and during the remaining parley, continued to advance, persuading every successive messenger to return with another reference, until within musquet shot of the ramparts, which were manned with troops, and the gates distinctly seen to be shut. Here he halted; announced that he had a letter from the nabob Mahommed Ali to the kelledar, which he was ordered to deliver into his own hands, and demanded admission for that purpose with a few attendants. With this demand the kelledar positively refused to comply, but at length agreed to receive the letter in the space between the gate and the barrier of the sortie. Lieutenant Flint was admitted with four attendants, faithful and well instructed sepoys, and found the kelledar seated on a carpet, attended by several men of rank, thirty swordsmen, his usual personal guard, and one hundred sepoys drawn up to protect him. After the first compliments, Lieutenant Flint avowed that he had no letter from Mahommed Ali, but possessed that which in the exigency of the times ought to be deemed equivalent; the order of his own government, written in communication with Mahommed Ali. This order, the kelledar treated with the utmost contempt, and his arguments with derision; desired him to return to the place from whence he came; and to the proposition of impossibility from the increased distance of the corps from which he was detached, and the country being in possession of the enemy, he was answered with fresh sarcasm. He mildly replied, that he was placed in a desperate situation, and as the kelledar rose to depart, he suddenly seized him, and announced his instant death if any person should move a hand for his rescue; the bayonets of the four sepoys were in the same instant at his breast, and their countenances announced a firm decision to share the fate of their officer. The consternation of the moment afforded time for the remainder of the little detachment to rush in at the concerted signal and effectually secure the kelledar. Lieutenant Flint then addressed the troops in the language of conciliation, explained the conditions on which the kelledar should retain all the honours of command, while he himself should provide for effectual defence: and finally the gates were opened, and the whole party entered together as friends.

'The act of surrendering the place to Hyder, had been prepared to receive the seal of the kelledar on that very day; and during the interval in which Lieutenant Flint waited the authority of his government to exclude him from the fort, his efforts at incessant counter-

action were foiled, by the address of the new commandant, who found means gradually and rapidly to secure the attachment of the better portion of the garrison.

'Strange as in these days the proposition may sound, this lieutenant was an officer of very considerable experience. To a scientific knowledge of the theory, he added some practical acquaintance with the business of a siege; and to military talents of no ordinary rank, a mind fertile in resources, and a mild confidence of manner, which, as his troops were wont to say, rendered it impossible to feel alarm in his presence. He found the place in a ruinous state, furnished with abundance of cannon, but no carriages, and little powder; he repaired the works, constructed carriages, and manufactured powder. He had not one artilleryman, but he prevailed on the silversmiths, who, according to the routine of Hindoo warfare, are the apology for cannoneers, not only to attend regularly to be instructed in the exercise, but in the subsequent siege to perform their duties in a respectable manner. From the 12th of August, 1780, until the 12th of February, 1783, an eventful period, during which the flower of Hyder's army were before the place, seventy-eight days of open trenches, and, after being foiled in open force, made repeated attempts to seize it by stratagem, or starve it into surrender, this officer, never once casting off his clothes at the uncertain periods of repose, not only provided the means of internal defence, but raised a little corps of cavalry for exterior enterprize; and during a protracted period of famine and diversified misery elsewhere, not only fed his own garrison, but procured important supplies for the use of the main army, for which he was justly deemed to be the centre of all correct intelligence. The model proposed by the experienced, for the imitation of the young and aspiring; the theme of general applause; honourable in private life, as he was distinguished in public conduct; the barren glory has remained to him, of preserving the letters on service, written in Sir Eyre Coote's own hand, full of affectionate attachment and admiration. Colonel Flint is living, and in London. Fancy would associate with the retirement of such a man, marks of public approbation and dignified competency: but human affairs too often reflect an inverted copy of the pictures of imagination.' Wilks, Vol. II. pp. 262—265.

The details of the war which ensued, are given more fully by the Colonel than by Mr. Mill; but, though the former avails himself of the advantages afforded him by his military knowledge, we prefer the general view afforded by the latter. We can trace in Col. Wilks, a marked partiality to his own service, and Sir Eyre Coote is so highly eulogized by him as to communicate a feeling of distrust, which we have not been able to dismiss while reading his clear and animated details of military movements. Sir Hector Monro, the first officer opposed to Hyder, though probably a good subordinate, does not seem to have been equal to the complicated duties of a superior

command. The first great event of the war was most disastrous to the English. A strong detachment under Col. Baillie, had been ordered to take a most hazardous route, in unaccountable preference to a simple movement which would have placed it safely at once in conjunction with Sir Hector Monro. The operations of Baillie are described by Mr. Mill's authorities, as able and determined; but Col. Wilks has shewn by a skilful analysis, that the movements of both commanders were a series of the grossest blunders. So incredible, in particular, was the conduct of Sir Hector, that the European officers in the Mysoor army considered Hyder as playing a desperate game, and repeatedly warned him that Monro could not but be manœuvring on his rear. This, however, was so far from his intention, that after hesitating, and adopting half measures, he halted, and retreated when only two miles interval lay between him and Baillie's detachment, which was entirely annihilated by the Mysoreans. A few were saved from slaughter by the active humanity of Messrs. Pimorin and Lally, French officers in the service of Hyder. In this extremity, Mr. Hastings, as Governor-General, felt it necessary to interfere, and to remedy as far as possible the ill effects produced by the imbecility of the Madras administration, and the incapacity of the commander, by sending from Bengal, Sir Eyre Coote, with independent powers. The events which followed, making every requisite abatement from Col. Wilks's partialities and 'vague eulogies,' were highly creditable to the skill and energy of that gallant veteran. He gained over Hyder the victory of Porto Novo, fought the dubious battle of Pollilоor, and surprised and defeated Hyder at Sholinghur. These disasters seem to have exhausted the resources, and, in conjunction with other difficulties, to have depressed the mind of Hyder; and he is stated to have meditated an entire change in the conduct of the war, when his intentions were in some degree altered by the arrival of troops from France; but any further designs were cut short by his death in December, 1782. It would be scarcely practicable to compress within any reasonable limits, the various and complicated details which attended the continuance of the war under Tippoo Saheb: the manœuvrings and battles between the French and English by land, the indecisive but sanguinary sea-fights between Sir Edward Hughes and the Bailli de Suffrein, the disasters of the English troops on the western territory of Mysore, the squabbles between Lord Macartney and General Stuart, the arrest of the latter by order of the former, with the dissentions between his lordship and Warren Hastings,—for all these and other particulars, we must refer to our authorities; to Mr. Mill for clear statement and vigorous sentiment, to Col. Wilks for attractive detail. On

the 11th of March, 1784, after many insults and evasions on the part of Tippoo, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Company and the Sultan.

Ever since the parliamentary enactments of 1773, which had established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, with authority immediately emanating from the King, that Court had been in every possible way, and to the great injury both of the natives and of the Company's interests, gradually extending its authority, until at length it came into immediate contact with the Council of government. We regret exceedingly the restrictions which prevent us from quoting the powerful reasoning of Mr. Mill on this subject; the abuses were so glaring and so injurious as to call forth a new Act of parliament in regulation and diminution of the usurped powers of the Supreme Court.

In 1781, occurred the transactions with Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares. The Rajah had entered into engagements with the Company, which he had faithfully kept; but he was supposed to have accumulated considerable treasure, which Hastings, pressed with financial difficulties, had marked for appropriation. He first harrassed the Rajah with vexatious applications, answered expostulation with menace, and treated remonstrance as guilt; then, visiting Benares in person, he provoked Cheyte Sing to reluctant hostilities; but, after all, he failed of the pecuniary aid which he had anticipated, since, though the unfortunate Prince was entirely ruined, whatever of treasure was derived from the plunder of his palace, became the property of the army, which refused to give up its prize-money at the requisition of the Governor-general. Disappointed in this quarter, and under the most urgent necessity for money, the fertile genius of Hastings directed him to another resource. The Nabob of Oude had been absolutely drained by repeated exactions, and had himself nothing more to give; but both the mother and the widow of the late Nabob, (the latter also the mother of the present,) were reputed to be immensely rich. Considerable jaghires, or revenues arising from assigned portions of land, had been held by them ever since the death of Suja ul Dowla, who had also bequeathed them the greater part of whatever personal wealth he possessed. Large sums had been previously extorted by the worthy Nabob from his mother and grandmother, but more remained, and Mr. Hastings was resolved to secure it. The Begums, as these aged princesses were called, were mulcted to the last rupee; their confidential eunuchs being imprisoned and tortured. This detestable transaction produced a sum of upwards of £500,000. The Governor's next step was, to extort a sum of fifteen lacs of rupees from Fyzoolla Khan, 'the chief who had survived the ruin of

'the Rohilla nation in 1774.' After a number of subordinate intrigues, he resigned his office in February, 1785. Mr. Mill, in summing up the financial results of Mr. Hastings's administration, makes it appear, that he added 'about twelve and a half 'millions to the debt of the East India Company,' and that 'the revenue of the Indian government, at the close of the administration of Mr. Hastings, was not equal to its ordinary 'expense.' The proceedings on his trial, which began in 1788, and was not concluded until 1795, are most ably analysed; and with the help of references to preceding portions of the history, a distinct and impressive, though brief account is given of their progress. In his comments upon 'lawyer-craft,' Mr. Mill is indignant, acute, and just: we wish, though hopelessly, that his representations and reasonings may not be ineffectual. We shall take this opportunity of citing the characters of Mr. Hastings, respectively given by the two Writers now before us. Our readers will remark in that of Colonel Wilks, the 'vague-'ness' of which Mr. Mill complains; while in the vigorous tracing of Mr. M., they will discover all that discrimination, impartiality, and comprehensiveness, in which the Colonel's unimpressive and unsubstantiated eulogy is altogether deficient.

'In the ordinary routine of public business, the mind of Mr. Hastings, elegant, mild, and enlightened, exhibited merely a clear simplicity of means adapted to their end; it was only in the face of overwhelming danger, that, spurning the puny impediments of faction, he burst through the trammels of vulgar resource, and shewed a master spirit, fitted to grapple with every emergency, and equally capable of saving or creating an empire. The *saviour of India*, (a title conferred on this great man, by the general voice of civilized Europe,) became the convenient sacrifice to political manœuvre; a trial of seven years' duration, terminated in his honourable acquittal, at the bar of his country, of every accusation with which his character had been blackened. To the charge of oppression, an universal people made answer with their astonishment, their blessings, and their prayers. To the crime of receiving corrupt presents and clandestine extortions, equal to the price of a kingdom, he answered with poverty; and to the accusation of violating his duty to the East India Company and his country, was opposed the simple fact of preserving unimpaired, the territories committed to his charge, during a period which elsewhere exhibited nothing but national humiliation. The dregs of calumny and prejudice remained unexhausted for eighteen years, for such was the interval, after an honourable acquittal, before the tardy verdict of truth and justice, brought by wisdom and venerable age to aid in the councils of his country.' Wilks. Vol. II. p. 285.

'After the unreserved exhibition, which I have accounted it my duty to make, of the evidence which came before me of the errors and vices of Mr. Hastings's administration, it is necessary, for the

satisfaction of my own mind, and to save me from the fear of having given a more unfavourable conception than I intended of his character and conduct, to impress upon the reader the obligation of considering two things. The first is, that Mr. Hastings was placed in difficulties, and acted upon by temptations, such as few public men have been called upon to overcome: And of this the preceding history affords abundance of proof. The second is, that of no man, probably, who ever had a great share in the government of the world, was the public conduct so completely explored, and laid open to view. For the mode of transacting the business of the Company, almost wholly by writing; first, by written consultations in the Council; secondly, by written commands on the part of the Directors, and written statements of all that was done on the part of their servants in India; afforded a body of evidence, such as under no other government ever did or could exist: And this evidence was brought forward, with a completeness never before exemplified, first by the contentions of a powerful party in the Council in India; next by the inquiries of two searching committees of the House of Commons; in the third place by the production of almost every paper which could be supposed to throw light upon his conduct, during the discussions upon the proceedings relative to his impeachment in the House of Commons; lastly, by the production of papers upon the trial: all this elucidated and commented upon by the keenest spirits of the age; and for a long time without any interposition of power to screen his offences from detection. It will, probably, be found that evidence so complete never was brought to bear upon the public conduct of any great public actor before. And it is my firm conviction, that if we had the advantage of viewing the conduct of other men, who have been as much engaged in the conduct of public affairs, as completely naked, and stripped of all its disguises, as his, few of them would be found, whose character would present a higher claim to indulgence, in some respects, I think, even to applause. In point of ability, he is beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company have ever employed; nor is there any one of them, who would not have succumbed under the difficulties which, if he did not overcome, he at any rate sustained. He had no genius, any more than Clive, for schemes of policy including large views of the past, and large anticipations of the future; but he was hardly ever excelled in the skill of applying temporary expedients to temporary difficulties; in putting off the evil day; and in giving a fair complexion to the present one. He had not the forward and imposing audacity of Clive; but he had a calm firmness, which usually, by its constancy, wore out all resistance. He was the first, or among the first of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal inquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindus, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day. He had that great art of a ruler, which consists in attaching to the governor those who are governed; for most assuredly his administration was popular, both with his countrymen and the natives, in Bengal.' Mill. Vol. II. pp. 683, 684.

We have now reached that important period in the Company's history, which not only introduced an entire change in its constitution, but exhibited a series of proceedings little illustrative of either the talent or the integrity of public men. It was agreed by all parties, that a more effective system for the government of India, was absolutely necessary; and in 1783, Mr. Fox brought forward his celebrated Bill, or rather Bills, professing to embrace all the changes and reform required by the occasion. Of the Bill designed to regulate the share of Indian administration which was transacted in England, the principal feature consisted in the abolition of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors as organs of government, and the substitution of seven Commissioners, who were to act as trustees for the Company, and in whom was to be vested the whole efficient direction of Indian affairs. Subordinate to these were to be appointed nine assistant Directors, selected from the body of Proprietors, to whom was assigned the affair of managing the Company's commerce. In the first instance, the Seven Commissioners were to be chosen by the Legislature, but all vacancies were to be supplied by the King. The inferior body, in the outset, was to be also named in the Act, but the filling up of vacancies, was conceded to the Proprietors. A number of subordinate regulations were made, one of which affected to provide for the publicity of the political and commercial concerns of the Company. The other Bill, which referred to the administration of affairs in Hindostan, left the machinery of government nearly as before; but an attempt was made to remedy the principal irregularities which had tended to injure its operations. The alarm which was excited throughout the nation, by the introduction of this measure, will be in the recollection of some of our readers. The Bill passed the Commons, but the King took the very extraordinary step of making a direct and menacing appeal to many of the members of the Upper House, in consequence of which, a majority of the peers defeated the plan. It is shrewdly urged by Mr. Mill, that, since the essence of Mr. Fox's Bill consisted in nothing more than the transfer of the choice of Directors, from the Proprietors of Company's stock, to the House of Commons, the conduct of the King and of the major part of the Aristocracy, amounted to the expression of 'a heartfelt conviction, 'that the House of Commons, as now constituted, is unworthy 'of trust.' He should, however, have made his argument more comprehensive; because it will, no doubt, be urged against him, that the choice of Directors was not to have been the single act of the Commons, but the concurrent enactment of the three Estates. He adds:

'The bills of Mr. Fox, many and celebrated as were the men who

nited their wisdoms in their formation, manifest but a feeble effort in egislation; and afford a memorable lesson, by demonstrating that he authors of them, however they might be gifted with the art of peaking, were but little remarkable for the powers of thought. The natter of fact is, that for the right exercise of the powers of governnent in India, not one new security was provided; and it would not ie very easy to prove that any strength was added to the old.'

The effect of this attempt was, to exclude from office, Mr. Fox and his adherents. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded them, in 1784, rought forward and carried his own more artful, but not better onstructed scheme. He had the prudence to leave in appearince as before, the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, but ie saddled them with a Board, nominally, of *Control*, but really, f direction and government. In addition to this organ of adninistration, the Bill provided, that the Directors should elect committee of secrecy, consisting of three of their own body, vith whom the Board of Control might, in affairs of exigency, ommunicate without reference to the Direction at large. The ict also materially abridged the privileges of the Court of Proprietors, by taking from it the power of interfering with any ct of the Directors which should have been sanctioned by the Board of Control. Provision was made for ascertaining the ortunes realised in India by public officers; and a new court of ustice was established for the trial, in England, of offences ommitted in India by the servants of the Company All these rovisions are severely sifted by Mr. Mill, and, with the exeption of the fourth, shewn to be inefficient for the purpose of ood government, being adapted only to increase the power of he Minister, by giving him the privilege of constant and effecual interference, and by lodging the means of opposition and ounteraction in fewer and feebler hands. The following is his omment on that part of the Act which relates to the establishnent of a new tribunal of justice.

'The subservience of the judges of the common law courts to the inister, or to the master of the minister, is the doctrine of one of the nost remarkable parts of the British constitution; the trial by jury. f it were not for the wrong bias to which the judges of England are iable, and all biases are trifling compared with the bias towards the Court, the institution of a jury would not only be useless, but hurtful. And if this be the doctrine of the constitution, there is assuredly none f its doctrines which an experience more full and complete, an xperience more nearly unvarying, can be adduced to confirm.'

The very first important act of the new Board under the residency of Henry Dundas, was a glaring specimen of the urposes to which it was likely to be made subservient. Transctions of a most palpably nefarious kind, into the particulars of

which it is unnecessary for us to enter, had taken place in India, in consequence of which, the Nabob of Arcot had contracted an immense nominal debt to certain individuals. In opposition to the sense of the nation, the expressed opinion of the Court of Directors, and the plain justice of the case, Mr. Dundas ordered, and persisted in his injunctions, in defiance of expostulation, that these scandalous debts should be sanctioned by the Company, and discharged by the Nabob, without any examination. Burke, in a justly celebrated speech, traced all this to 'that black and baneful source of all our misgovernment, and 'almost all our misery, *Parliamentary influence.*' Paul Benfield, one of the principal creditors of the Nabob, 'made no 'fewer than *eight* members' in one Parliament!!

Warren Hastings was succeeded by the senior member of council, Mr. Macpherson. The history of this gentleman is singular, and requires an explanation which we have not the means of obtaining. He had been dismissed by the Council of Madras, as a man engaged in intrigues 'detrimental' to the Company's interests, but the Directors thought proper to restore him to the service, and he ultimately became Governor-general. His administration, however, was brief, for, in 1786, Lord Cornwallis reached India with full powers and ample instructions. The great object to which the new Governor-general seems to have had his views directed from the very commencement of his rule, was, war with Tippoo, whose talents, as well as actual power, seem, to the very last, to have been overrated by the imaginations of Englishmen. To meet this supposed inheritor of the subtlety and energy of Hyder Ali, much preparation was necessary; and the negotiations with the Nizam, and the different arrangements made by his Lordship, all had reference to the anticipated struggle. The crisis was delayed till the beginning of 1790, when the attack made by Tippoo on the Rajah of Travancore, our ally, appeared to present the expected opportunity, and Lord Cornwallis determined to seize it. The first operations against Mysore, were baffled by the activity of the Sultan, who attacked different divisions in detail, broke through their chain of communication, and compelled them to abandon the plan of the campaign. In 1791, Cornwallis in person, putting himself at the head of the army, entered Mysore by a different route, and reached Bangalore, with little opposition, on the 5th of March. On the 7th, the Pettah, or town, was stormed, and a strong exertion made for its recovery by the Sultan, repulsed; and on the night of the 21st, the citadel was carried by assault. After some time spent in necessary preparation, the army moved, and near Arikera, obtained an indecisive victory over the army of Tippoo, to whom Col. Wilks awards the praise of 'seeing his ground,

'and executing his movements, with a degree of promptitude 'and judgement, which would have been creditable to any officer.' The intended siege of Seringapatam was, however, prevented by the utter failure of the equipments, and the defective commissariat of the English army; so that, after rendering his battering train useless, the English general retreated on Bangalore. Every effort was made to restore the effectiveness of the army, and to provide against the recurrence of disaster: the Bringarries* were employed in the transport of provisions; large convoys of stores and treasure entered the camp in splendid procession; hill-forts, literally impregnable, were stormed almost without loss, and the road to Seringapatam laid completely open. On the first of February, Cornwallis, at the head of probably the best appointed army that had ever manœuvred on Indian soil, advanced on his final purpose; and in five days' march, reached his ground before the capital of Mysore. That fortress is situated in an island formed by two branches of the Cavery, 'which, after separating to a distance of a mile and a half, again 'unite, about four miles below the place of their separation.' Under the walls of his capital, Tippoo had established his army in a camp fortified by strong redoubts, and rendered difficult of access by the nature of the ground. A large army and a numerous artillery, defended this strong position, and the Sultan calculated on keeping his enemies at bay until the want of supplies and the rainy season, should compel them to retreat. Cornwallis, however, felt no disposition to let the grass grow under his feet, and on the night of the sixth, he stormed the Sultan's lines. The service was skilfully planned, and gallantly executed: the Sultan's troops were driven into the city with a loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, of twenty-three thousand men, of whom more than three fourths had seized the opportunity to desert. Preparations for the immediate siege of Seringapatam, induced Tippoo to make overtures to the besiegers; and on the 23d of February, preliminaries were signed, stipulating the cession of half his territories, and the payment of a large sum of money.

We regret that the length to which this article has extended, precludes our giving a detailed abstract of the masterly chapters in which Mr. Mill investigates the financial and judicial reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis. His Lordship, aided by the knowledge and talents of Mr. Shore, the present Lord Teignmouth, fixed on the Zemindar as the proprietor of the soil, on the payment of a fixed and unalterable land-tax. This was in accordance with his original instructions from England; and the

* Described in our Review of the Bombay Transactions, E. R. Vol. xi. p. 433.

term of ten years was named as an adequate period for the fair trial of the scheme. Lord Cornwallis, however, in opposition to the sound advice and forcible reasoning of Mr. Shore, and notwithstanding the deficiency of his information, rashly and precipitately insisted on the necessity of making the arrangement perpetual; and with at least equal rashness and precipitancy, the Directors and the Ministry in England resolved to act upon his recommendation. The object was, to establish a landed aristocracy in the persons of the Zemindars; a project which Mr. Mill affirms to have 'completely failed,' and it is obvious, from the circumstances of the case, that it could not but fail. The alterations introduced into the judicial system, were, if possible, still less successful. Instead of enlightening the minds of the natives by the promulgation of a code, giving them simple and distinct definitions of their rights; instead of giving them courts of justice unshackled by technical rules and the iniquitous mysteries of 'lawyer-craft;' instead of arranging a system distinguished by 'clearness, certainty, promptitude, 'cheapness,' and by a well-graduated scale of punishments; the European legislators for India, gave their subjects a heterogeneous compound of English and Mahommedan law, so ingeniously contrived as to combine the leading defects of both. The opinions of the most enlightened and honourable of those who have been entrusted with the dispensation of justice in our Eastern possessions, and of Sir Henry Strachey in particular, run strongly in counter-current to this mischievous system. Civil suits are tedious, doubtful, and expensive; and the penal code is erroneous both in deficiency and in excess. The consequences are, the prevalence of litigiousness from the facilities afforded to knavery, and the prevalence of crime from the viciousness of the law and the defectiveness of the police. The remedies are clear: first, as before suggested, the concession of an intelligible and equitable code, with a prompt and effectual practice of law; secondly, colonization. The effects of that 'illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy' which has withheld from Englishmen the privilege of settling in India as landowners and manufacturers, has also withheld from the natives the inestimable benefits of their instruction and their influence. Under a different system, they would have been at this very time, what the Zemindars can never be, the country gentlemen and magistrates of Hindostan. The servants of the Company are too much engrossed by their various official duties, to acquire much knowledge of the native habits and character: if, therefore, colonization be too bold a measure for feeble minds, private traders and officers of sepoys, mingling with the inhabitants, and studying their manners and language, would be the fittest persons for magistracy and superintendence.

In 1793, Lord Cornwallis returned to England, leaving, after all his reforms and all his acquisitions of territory, the financial affairs of the Company in a somewhat worse state than they were left in by Hastings. In the same year, the charter of the Company was renewed. On this occasion, and while condemning the transfer of power and patronage from the Directors to the Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Mill introduces the following important and impressive remarks, which we cannot forbear from citing.

'To communicate the whole of the impression made upon a mind which has taken a survey of the government of India, by the East India Company, more completely through the whole field of its action, than was ever taken by any body before, and which has not spared to bring forward into the same light the unfavourable and the favourable points, it is necessary for me to state; and this I conceive to be the most convenient occasion for stating, That, in regard to *intention*, I know no government, either in past or present times, that can be placed upon a level with that of the East India Company; That I can hardly point out an occasion on which the schemes they have adopted, and even the particular measures they pursued, were not by themselves considered as conducive to the welfare of the people whom they governed; That I know no government which has on all occasions shown so much of a disposition to make sacrifices of its own interests to the interests of the people whom it governed, and which has, in fact, made so many and such important sacrifices; That, if the East India Company have been so little successful in ameliorating the practical operation of their government, it has been owing chiefly to the disadvantage of their situation, distant a voyage of several months from the scene of action, and to that imperfect knowledge which was common to them with almost all their countrymen; But that they have never erred so much, as when, distrusting their own knowledge, they have followed the directions of men whom they unhappily thought wiser than themselves, Statesmen, and Lawyers; And that, lastly, in the highly important point of the servants, or subordinate agents of government, there is nothing in the world to be compared with the East India Company, whose servants, as a body, have for a long time exhibited a portion of talent which puts to shame the ill-chosen instruments of other governments; and, except in some remarkable instances, as that of the loan transaction with the Nabob of Arcot, have exhibited a degree of virtue, which, under the temptations to which they were exposed, is worthy of the highest praise.' Vol. III. pp. 373, 374.

The succeeding periods of the Company's history, come more within the general recollection. The administration of Sir John Shore was pacific; in the instance of the war between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, pacific to a somewhat questionable excess. His *intended* policy towards the family of Fyzoollah Khan, if correctly stated, was in all views injurious. Neither does he appear to advantage in the severe examination of

his management of the deposition of Vizir Ali of Oude; though Mr. Mill strongly expresses his conviction of the Governor-general's 'sincerity and his desire to do justice.' In 1798, commenced the career of war, victory, and territorial acquisition, which distinguished the administration of Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley. The determination still further to diminish, or to destroy, the crippled power of Tippoo Sultan, was so soon taken up and acted upon, as to awaken the suspicion that it was less the result of fresh occurrences than of previous arrangement. The first step towards active hostilities, was, the disarming of a large body of natives, disciplined and commanded by French officers in the service of the Nizam. The next measure was, to move directly upon Seringapatam, a force of strength sufficient to render opposition hopeless. Tippoo, in the mean time, after striking a blow at the Bombay division of the British forces, which compelled it to concentrate and to recede for a season, returned to meet the grand army under General Harris, from whom he sustained a severe repulse in an action near Malvilly. His subsequent plans for harrassing his opponents having failed, the Sultan called together his officers; 'We have arrived,' said he, 'at our last stage: what 'is your determination?' 'To die with you,' was the unanimous reply; and it was resolved to give battle with desperate determination on victory or death.

'Every person present,' says Col. Wilks, 'was deeply affected by the solemn air and visible distress of their sovereign; and one of the chiefs, with a heart too full for ordinary self-command, on taking leave, prostrated himself at the Sultaun's feet and embraced them, the ceremony usual among Hindoos and Mahommedans, on taking leave for a long absence. The Sultaun dissolved into tears, the whole assembly caught the infection, all followed the example and reiterated the voice of the first chief, and the ceremonial and declarations of the day indicated a reciprocal adieu for the last time in this world.'

The plan, however, was frustrated by the unexpected movements of General Harris, who took up his ground without opposition. The batteries were opened, a breach effected, and on the 4th of May, 1799, Seringapatam was carried by assault. Tippoo, whatever opinion may be formed of his previous conduct, died like a gallant soldier in the defence of his last possession. Though often wavering and erroneous in his judgement, he was, at least, not deficient in courage; but his spirit seems to have been broken down by the calamities of his later days. Little as we are disposed to sympathize with such a man, it is impossible not to be deeply affected with the last scenes of his life, as delineated in the interesting pages of Col. Wilks. It is, however, a fault in the Colonel, that he betrays on all oc-

casions, a disposition to exhibit the Sultan in the worst light; and we have no doubt that Mr. Mill has taken a much fairer view of his character, when he describes him as mentally active, acute, and ingenious, and, for an Eastern prince, full of knowledge. Admitting the Sultan's deficiency in judgement, and his erroneous perception of the value of objects, whether considered as means or as ends, and allowing that the original and educational defects of his mind, had increased with his years and his misfortunes, it is clear that he was indefatigable in business, that his country was flourishing and well-cultivated, and that his domestic rule was beneficial. His imputed harshness and cruelty to his servants, is, in part at least, disproved by the exemplary fidelity with which they adhered to his desperate fortunes. General Baird and the officers who led the assault, notwithstanding some provocations to a rigorous severity, treated the family of Tippoo with the utmost tenderness. We are here again tempted from our resolution not to multiply our extracts, by the following admirable and well expressed sentiments.

'The mind dwells with peculiar delight upon these instances in which the sweet sympathies which one human being has with another, and which are of infinite importance in private life, prevail over the destructive passions, alternately the cause, and consequence, of war. The pleasure, at the same time, which we feel in conceiving the emotions produced in such a scene, lead the bulk of mankind to overvalue greatly the virtues which they imply. When you have glutted upon your victim the passions of ambition and revenge; when you have reduced him from greatness and power, to the weakness and dependance which mark the insect on which you tread; a few tears, and the restraint of the foot from the final stamp, are not a very arduous virtue. The grand misfortune is to be made an insect. When that is done, it is a slight if any addition to your misfortunes to be crushed at once. The virtue to which exalted praise would be due, and to which human nature is gradually ascending, would be to restrain in time the selfish desires which hurry us on to the havoc we are vain of contemplating with a sort of pity after we have made it. Let not the mercy, however, be slighted, which is shewn even to the victim we have made. It is so much gained for human nature. It is a gain which, however late, the progress and diffusion of philosophy at last have produced; they will in time produce other and greater results.' Vol. III. pp. 441, 442.

Philosophy!—why not religion? Mr. Mill conducts himself with perfect fairness and propriety: he never stoops to speak disrespectfully of Christianity, and we have no right to infer that he feels any hostility towards it, but this is not exactly the first instance in which he has laid himself open to the suspicion of a preference for that slippery and evanescent thing called 'philosophy.' Be it so; his opinions are his own, and further intrusion would be inconsistent with delicacy and right feeling;

and one of the most fertile sources of inaccuracy; and he must unite to the spirit of philosophic inquiry, no inconsiderable share of the philosophic temper. These requisites, Mr. Mill appears characteristically to possess; and it is particularly fortunate that his attention has been directed to a branch of our History, which it called for the eminent discharge of such abilities to rescue from the almost chaotic state in which he found it. He has taken ground on which he is safe from all literary competitors; and the work by which he has supplied so important a *desideratum*, of whatever correction it may prove to be on some points susceptible, will assuredly never be superseded.

The volumes are in every respect well *got up*. Two excellent maps are prefixed, and there is a good index. It has occurred to us, however, that a chronological index framed on the excellent plan of Sismondi, in his History of the Italian Republics, would form a valuable addition, and would tend materially to simplify the somewhat involved series of Indian history.

Art. III. *An Analysis of the Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, being a particular Defence of the Church of England.* Designed principally for the Use of Candidates for Holy Orders. By the Rev. B. Kennicott, A. B. Perpetual Curate of Monkwearmouth, and late of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 139. London. 1819.

THERE have been published at different periods, several abridgements or analyses of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. The most recent, and we believe the most complete, is the "Analysis" of the Eight Books, by the Rev. J. Collinson, Rector of Gateshead, Durham, published in 1810; the design of which was, 'to give a more popular and familiar form' to the principles contained in the original. The present publication is little more than an analytical index of that part of Hooker's work which the Author has selected as constituting an entire and distinct treatise in defence of the ritual and ecclesiastical order of the Episcopal Church of England. To persons who have read, and are in the habit of consulting, the original, the use of such a summary for the purpose of reference, is obvious; and, viewed in this light, no objection will lie against the meagreness of the outline. But, to the student who wishes to make himself master of its contents, Mr. Kennicott's Analysis should be recommended as a model for imitation, rather than as a work for use. The time and labour required for drawing up such an abstract, would be well compensated. We question whether there ever was produced an abridgement of a standard work, which yielded perfect satisfaction to persons conversant with the text of the original. A reader is sure to find slurred over, some of the points which seemed to him to deserve a dis-

tinct exposition, and to miss altogether many of the most striking passages, on account of their refusing to come into the general summary of the section under which they are to be found, not being integral parts of the argument. This remark applies with particular force to Hooker, whose most admirable passages are those in which he shakes off the shackles of controversy, and launches forth into disquisitions very remotely connected with the design of his treatise. The fund of historical learning, too, and theological knowledge, which is contained in the Ecclesiastical Polity, no abridgement or analysis can pretend to convey. But above all, that which constitutes the chief excellence of the work, the majesty of the style, the noble sentiments with which it abounds, and the spirit of piety by which the Author is often borne away far above the level of his subject, must be sought for in the pages of the original.

Of the numbers who boast of Hooker as the champion of Episcopacy, a very small proportion have, we apprehend, accomplished the perusal of even the first five books of his great work. To them, the present Analysis will be serviceable, should it induce them to enter upon or to prosecute the task. For our own part, we could not derive greater pleasure from reading him, were we never so firmly attached to the ecclesiastical system which he advocates; and the perusal never fails to call up our regret that it has so rarely fallen to the lot of Dissenters, to meet with an opponent of equal candour and calmness of temper. The study of Hooker by those who ought to consider it as a disgrace not to have studied him, would have a most beneficial effect, should it superinduce upon them any portion of his mildness and suavity, but more especially, should it imbue the reader with his sentiments of elevated piety.

Hooker has not always been fortunate in his encomiasts. It is a little singular to find the Author of the present Analysis quoting the panegyric of *Pope Clement VIII.* as a recommendation of a Defence of the Church of England to the English clergy. The anecdote is given in Walton's Life of Hooker. Pope Clement VIII. had said, we are told, that he had never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author; a fact which is easily explained by recollecting that our early writers wrote for the most part in Latin, and that his Holiness could not be expected to have an extensive acquaintance with the writings of heretics. When Hooker's four first books appeared, Cardinal Allen and Dr. Stapleton, both Englishmen, mentioned them, therefore, to the Pope, saying, that 'a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of Laws and Church Polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him.' The

Pope desired Dr. Stapleton to read to him the first book in Latin, and when it was concluded, he exclaimed: 'There is 'no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too 'hard for his understanding. This man indeed deserves the 'name of an author. His books will get reverence by age, for 'there is in them such seeds of eternity that if the rest be like 'this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning.'

The Pope might be a competent judge of the learning displayed in Hooker's work, and learning was at that time the test of competent authorship; otherwise, the papal encomium would be worth little. A more equivocal commendation of his labours, has been subsequently furnished by the pen of Royalty. James II. affirms that his conversion to Popery originated in the perusal of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. It was, we know, the favourite book of his father, who enjoined his son, afterwards Charles II. to study it next to the Bible; and so he did, doubtless, *next* to the Bible. James I. had also passed upon it a just and discriminate encomium; for James, with all his pedantry, was a learned man. Hooker deserves, however, to be vindicated from the conclusions which might readily be drawn from these royal panegyrics. So far from being the advocate of the political principles upon which the Stuart kings modelled their government, Mr. Hume has remarked, that the precious spark of liberty which was 'kept alive among the Puritans, glows in his 'pages with a clearness and fervour that have never been ex-'ceeded.' Mr. Collinson remarks, in the preface to his Analysis, that whoever turns to Mr. Locke's Essay on Government, will find that the sentiments of that celebrated writer, are an edifice avowedly built on the foundation which Hooker laid, whose words he continually quotes. 'Thus,' he adds, 'the Ecclesi-'astical Polity is one of the fountain heads of those principles 'which produced our free and happy constitution.' Hooker, it should be recollected, lived a century before Mr. Locke, and under the government of Elizabeth; the boldness of his opinions is therefore the more extraordinary. He constantly inculcates, that power originally rests with the body of the people, and is derived from them to one or more rulers according to their choice; and that there can be no lawful government without consent of the governed, given by themselves or their representatives. He affirms, that the power which is 'bestowed at men's discretions,' is 'likewise' held by 'Divine right;' by which, he clearly cuts up by the root, the pretence of a claim to power founded distinctively upon Divine right, as opposed to an authority founded upon the consent of the governed, or bestowed at men's discretion. 'To 'live by one man's law,' he elsewhere remarks, 'is the cause 'of all men's misery;' and, 'Utterly without our consent we 'are at the command of no man living.' Again: 'Every

'nation or collective multitude has naturally no superior under 'God.' And, 'Laws they are not which public approbation 'hath not made so.' It is difficult to reconcile the reverence which Charles I. expressed for such a writer, with the contrary tenor of his whole public conduct. Is it possible that his recommending Hooker next to the Bible to his son's studious perusal, proceeded from the conviction that he had lost his kingdom by disregarding the principles for which Hooker contends,—by reversing the axiom on which that Writer represents our monarchical government to be founded, *Lex facit regem?*

It may sound like a paradox to assert that Hooker is not a high-church writer. Such, however, so far as regards his politics, is the fact. It would not be equally easy, to exonerate him from having given occasion for the compliment of the royal convert to Popery. If by Popery, indeed, we understand the supremacy of the Pope, the worship of the Virgin Mary, and the meritorious efficacy of human works, no charge could be more unfounded than that of Hooker's favouring such tenets. Upon all these points, he is a zealous and consistent Protestant. But, regarding the basis—perhaps we may say the essence—of Popery, as the assumption of authority in matters of religion by that which claims the designation of the Church, the tendency of Hooker's reasonings appears to us to be directly favourable to the principles of the Romish religion. The radical fallacy of his reasonings, lies in his cardinal principle, that the Church of Christ is a political society, and that, as members of that society, we become subject to human positive laws; which it is obviously the design of his first book to establish. Pope Clement must have heard announced with no ordinary satisfaction, the admission of a Protestant writer, that 'Men's private fancies must 'give place to the higher judgement of the Church, which is in 'authority a mother over them,' and that 'the orders of the holy 'fathers' claim to be received as 'the positive laws of the 'Church of Christ.'* With high approbation he must have listened to the judicious Hooker, when, as an illustration of this principle, he cites the Apostolic decree concerning abstinence from things strangled and from blood, as a precedent for ecclesiastical legislation, more particularly in reference to fastings, one of the grand ordinances of the Romish church; for 'so,' he contends, 'the very actions of whole churches, have, in regard of 'fellowship and commerce with other churches, been subject to 'laws concerning food, the contrary unto which laws had else

* In the fifth book occurs a similar assertion. 'That which the 'Church by her ecclesiastical authority shall publicly think and define 'to be true and good, must in congruity of reason *overrule all inferior 'judgements whatsoever.'*

'been thought more convenient for them to observe.' But had his Holiness proceeded to the third book, what terms of sufficient praise could he have found for the Author, on meeting with the precious quibble, that 'those things which men find out by help 'of that light which God hath given them for that purpose,' are '*of God*,' not less than things supernaturally revealed; and therefore, that a form of church polity, though 'not set down in 'Scripture,' may be considered as having God for its author? According to this position, confessedly human enactments in matters of religion, may claim to be derived from God, though they receive no sanction from his revealed will; and this sentiment, the Rev. Mr. Collinson, in the work before mentioned, particularly recommends to the deliberate consideration of 'all 'who are inclined to reject human ordinances in matters of 'religion.' Surely, no Church could possibly desire a more ample basis for its assumed authority, or a more convenient latitude of 'discretion,' than is furnished by this sophism. 'It 'is no more disgrace to the Scriptures,' we are told, 'to have 'left a number of things free *to be ordered at the discretion of* '*the Church*, than for Nature to have left it to the wit of man 'to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of 'the field have theirs!!' One cannot but smile at the grave admission, that the laws of the Church are '*ill-made*,' when they are not consonant with the general laws of nature, or when they are in direct contradiction to any positive law in Scripture. But this truism is only to clear the ground for the following assertion. 'Unto laws thus made and received by a whole 'Church, they which live within the bosom of that Church, must 'not think it a matter indifferent either to yield, or not to yield 'obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the Church of 'God? "My son, keep thy father's commandment," saith So-'lomon, "and forget not thy mother's instruction: bind them '"both always about thine heart." It doth not stand with the 'duty which we owe to our Heavenly Father, that to the ordi-'nances of our Mother the Church, we should shew ourselves 'disobedient. Let us not say we keep the commandments of 'the one, when we break the law of the other; for unless we 'observe, both we obey neither..... Yea, the laws thus made, 'God doth himself in such sort authorize, as that to despise them 'is to despise him.' After reprobating the 'loose and licentious 'opinion of the Anabaptists,' that 'the Church of Christ should 'admit no law-makers but the Evangelists,' Hooker proceeds to the iteration of the sophism above referred to. 'The author of 'that which causeth another thing to be, is author of that thing 'also which thereby is caused. The light of natural under-'standing, wit and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby 'doth illuminate every man entering into the world. If there

'proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt or naught, the 'mother thereof is our own darkness, neither doth it proceed 'from any such cause whereof God is the author. He is the 'author of all we think or do, by virtue of that light which 'himself hath given. And therefore the very laws which the 'heathen did gather to direct their actions by, so far forth as 'they proceed from the light of nature, God himself doth ac-'knowledge to have proceeded even from himself, and that he 'was the writer of them in the tables of their hearts. How 'much more then is he the author of those laws which have been 'made by his saints, endued further with the heavenly grace of 'his spirit, and directed as much as might be with such instruc-'tions as his sacred word doth yield. If they have God for 'their author, contempt which is offered unto them, cannot 'choose but redound unto him.'

It would be hard to select from any Romish casuist, a specimen of more flimsy and pernicious argumentation than this. Higher pretensions the Church of Rome could not advance, that mother of all mother Churches, than to claim for her ordinances an authority equal to that of the commandments of God; nor could she wish for a better plea than that of having God for the author of human laws. Hooker, whatever our readers may by this time think of his being entitled, *the judicious*, was too ingenuous, too sincere, and too pious a man, to be capable of wilful sophistry, much less of any grosser species of misrepresentation. But when we call to mind what sort of persons they have been for the most part, who have framed and enacted laws of ecclesiastical polity, and to whom the Church has been indebted for the invention of human ordinances in matters of religion, to hear them characterized as 'saints endued with the heavenly grace of 'God's spirit, and directed as much as might be by his word,' must excite an emotion of indignation which it requires an effort to repress. Was the Holy Spirit the author of the intolerant canons of the English Church? Were those the decrees of his saints?

Once more, in the conclusion of this same book, which has been pronounced 'a masterly defence of the province of reason in reli-'gion,' Hooker thus maintains the prerogative of the clergy. 'Here-'upon we hold, that God's clergy are a state which hath been 'and will be, as long as there is a church upon earth, necessa-'rily by the plain word of God himself; a state whereunto the 'rest of God's people must be subject, as touching things that 'appertain to their soul's health. For where polity is, it can-'not but appoint some to be leaders of others, and some to be 'led by others. "If the blind lead the blind, they both perish." 'It is with the clergy, if their persons be respected, even as it 'is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that

'which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, accord-
'ing to the order of polity, they being "the lights of the world,"
'others (though better and wiser) must that way be subject unto
'them.' This is one of the passages which we find passed over in Mr. Collinson's Analysis. It is, however, highly deserving of notice: though cautiously worded, it involves, in connexion with the doctrine of the preceding sections as to the Divine authority of such 'order of polity,' notions in perfect harmony with the ambitious claims of the Romish clergy, to a dominion abhorred by the Gospel of Christ.

That an individual already biassed in favour of the Church of Rome, should have his prejudices confirmed, and his conversion completed, by the perusal of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, will not now, we think, appear astonishing. But we have not yet arrived at that part of the work which contains the application of these principles to the sacraments and ceremonies of the Church. Hooker's fifth book is professedly a defence of the rites of the Church of England; not only are his principles capable, however, of being extended so as to serve the purpose of the Romanist, but 'the religion of cathedrals', as Popery has aptly been christened, receives from him, in several passages, the friendly tribute of a passing eulogy. On the subject of the sacraments, of fasts and festivals, he substantially symbolizes with the Romanists. He expressly disclaims the axiom that 'in outward things belonging 'to the service of God, reformed churches ought by all means 'to shun conformity with the Church of Rome.' Speaking of the dedication of churches, he contends that 'it is no impossible 'thing but that sometimes *idolaters* may judge rightly what is 'decent about such external affairs of God, as, in greater things, 'what is true.' He vindicates the sumptuousness of such edifices; affirming, that 'the very majesty and holiness of the place 'where God is worshipped, hath, in regard of us, great virtue, 'force and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir 'up devotion, and in that respect *bettereth even our holiest and* '*best actions* in that kind.' He makes most respectful reference to the ancient custom of Christian processions to the tombs of martyrs, though he reprobates the superstitious practice of invoking saints in processions, which grew out of it. Other venerable customs of the ancient Church, such as the naming of Churches after 'the blessed Virgin,' apostles, saints, and martyrs, he also vindicates from the uncharitable misrepresentations of Protestant zealots. Lastly, he calls, in the name of the Church, for oblations, foundations, endowments, and tithes, all intended for the perpetuity of religion; for churches also, and ornaments of churches, and lands; and defends the ample distribution of the privileges of non-residence and pluralities. Such are the sentiments of the Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity. Surely, it mus

have been when his mind was heated by the recent perusal of this famous defence of the Church of England, that good Mr. Wix first conceived the idea of a council to be *holden* for the accommodation of all differences between that Church and the Church of Rome.

But is it not remarkable, that a writer who, in relation to matters of civil polity, discovers so just a sense of the rights of mankind, and so decided a hatred of usurpation and tyranny, should be the advocate of a scheme of ecclesiastical dominion utterly subversive of the most sacred rights of man, the rights of conscience? Not more so, than that the devoted members of the Romish communion should have frequently stood foremost in national contests for civil liberty. Wheresoever the interests of the Church have been kept separate from those of the Crown, the clergy have always formed an important check upon the royal prerogative, throwing their weight into the scale of popular influence. That there is nothing in Popery itself incompatible with the spirit of liberty, the history of the Italian Republics, as well as that of the Swiss Cantons, amply testifies. To whom indeed, do we owe our Magna Charta, but to our Roman Catholic ancestors? Wherever the Church and the State are not in that close alliance which takes place when the acknowledged supremacy of both resides in one head, the clergy form a sort of aristocracy in the country, whose strength of influence renders them quite as formidable a body as the nobility and landed proprietors. In the days of Elizabeth, the claims of the sovereign to ecclesiastical supremacy, were still disputed by many who did not dare openly oppose the assumption of them; and the spirit of resistance occasionally broke forth in her half-converted Protestant clergy. Hooker zealously contends for the royal supremacy, but he is careful to stipulate with equal explicitness for the independent authority and inalienable rights of the Church. The Presbyterian clergy of Scotland, widely different as was their scheme of ecclesiastical polity from that which Hooker advocates, carried their pretensions to Divine authority as high as the Episcopal clergy of England; nor were their notions much more tolerant. The right of private judgement has always, indeed, been in as great danger from established Presbyterianism, as from established Episcopacy. Yet, when their country's liberties were attacked, and their own religious rights invaded, the ministers of the Kirk discovered an invincible patriotism; and to their intrepidity is mainly attributable the successful issue of the contest. What is termed a hatred of all unlawful power, of usurpation, oppression, and tyranny, is nothing more, after all, than a jealous sense of independent rights and privileges, exerting itself in a resistance to encroachment. The existence of separate and counterbalancing, yet not opposite inte-

rests in the several great classes of national society, is the source and the safeguard of a people's liberties. Now, a keen sense of political rights, may obviously consist with the loftiest claims to spiritual domination on the part of an ecclesiastical body which forms one of those classes; and the love of liberty in that body, will generally exist in an inverse proportion to its dependence upon the Crown. Hooker writes like a whig; he might have been a Papist notwithstanding that. But his political sentiments have for a long time ceased to be in fashion among the clergy. King William's bishops have been succeeded by men of another party; and two only, it is believed, of the present Bench, are held guilty of belonging to that political school.

In perusing Hooker's work, however, one is glad to forget alike his politics and his party, his papal and his royal panegyrists, and to surrender one's self without reserve to the intellectual luxury of converse with so towering a mind. Hooker is the eldest of that tribe of powerful spirits, whose appearance at nearly the same period, forms a golden era in our language; a race of literary giants, whose ponderous weapons are gazed upon with admiration as proofs of the muscular energy of the arm that wielded them, but which in these degenerate times it costs an effort to lift: without a metaphor, what that age produced, it is, in this, esteemed a labour to peruse. The Ecclesiastical Polity is a treasury of knowledge, and a well of 'pure English 'undefiled.' The style is, for the time at which it was written, singularly chaste. Although the production of a pedantic age, the extensive learning it displays is untainted with pedantry. What is still more admirable, in an age of coarseness, its Author's purity of taste never suffered him to descend to a phraseology bordering upon grossness or impropriety.

Hooker is neither splendid nor vehement; he never surprises us by any brilliant corruscations of eloquence, or lively sallies of fancy. His fervour is that of the affections, not of passion. A composed and sober gravity, a modest dignity reigns throughout the composition; while there is a grandeur in the very march of his periods, which has upon the imagination the effect of solemn music. Perhaps, one of the most eloquent passages in the work, is the section in which he dwells upon the power of musical harmony; and it contains an expression which might almost be applied to his own composition. 'There is,' he says, 'a kind of 'music that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity,' meaning a state of the feelings produced by the very harmony of sounds, severed from 'ditty or matter.' The passage, however, which we prefer to select, for the purpose of enabling the reader who has not the original at hand, to form his judgement of the present Analysis, is that in which the Author, proceeding to treat of the Sacraments as the means of man's union with God,

deems it requisite 'first to consider how God is in Christ, and 'how Christ is in us.' The whole of this noble digression occupies six long sections. The following is Mr. Kennicott's Analysis of the 52nd, 53rd and 54th.

'LII. It is not in the power of man to express perfectly, or conceive how God and Man are united in one Christ: but herein is our faith tried, where our capacities are weak. For 500 years after Christ, the Church had the greatest difficulty in preserving this holy mystery free from misrepresentation. Arius denied the Divinity of the Word, and soon after Apollinarius detracted from his humanity. After the Fathers of the Church, Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories, had refuted these impieties, and that confession, in which 150 Bishops assembled at Constantinople agreed, and which remains to this day a part of the litany, had put an end to the controversies; Nestorius disturbed the truth, by dividing Christ into two persons, the Son of God and the Son of Man, the one begotten before the worlds, the other born of the Virgin Mary.

'He did not pay sufficient attention to that passage in St. John's Gospel, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us." The Word made not this or that man his habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The Son of God did not assume a man's person into his own, but a man's nature into his own person; and therefore took the seed of Abraham, the very first original element of our nature, before it came to have any personal human existence.

'By taking the nature of man He still continueth one Person, and changeth but the manner of His subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. Forasmuch, therefore, as Christ has no personal subsistence but one, whereby we acknowledge him eternally to be the Son of God; we must of necessity apply to the person of the Son of God, even that which is spoken of Christ according to his human nature. We cannot say that John baptized the nature of man, because this is a personal attribute; his person is the subject that received baptism; his nature, that which maketh his person capable of receiving it. It was the Son of God who was born, baptized, crucified and buried. But the person of Christ, for ever one and the self-same, was only touching bodily substance concluded within the grave; his soul only was severed from thence; by personal union, the Deity was still inseparably joined with both.

'LIII. Notwithstanding this conjunction of natures, each substance preserves its natural properties; each its peculiar operation. Some things Christ does as God, some as man, and some as both God and man, because both natures concur as principles to one effect. So that it may be set down, that of both natures there is often a co-operation, always an association; but never any mutual participation, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. As often as we attribute to God, what the manhood of Christ claimeth, or to man, what his Deity hath a right to, we understand by the name of God and the name of man, neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ, in whom both natures are.

LIV. 'The conjunction of Deity with Manhood made Christ a fountain of life, exalted his name above every name, and put all things into his hands. The assumption of manhood by the Son of God caused him to become like unto us, to be thereby rendered capable of meaner offices, than his person could otherwise have admitted, and suffering loss and detriment for the good of others.

'To sum up all, four things are necessary to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of one from the other.

'The first was denied by the Arians; the second was misinterpreted by the Apollinarians; the third was rent asunder by the Nestorians: and the fourth was confounded by the followers of Eutyches. Against which, four famous General Councils decided, viz.—the Councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon.' pp. 72—77.

These sections, together with the five others which are connected with them, Mr. Collinson despatches in a short paragraph, referring his readers, in a note, to the original. In the fifty-fourth, in which Hooker is treating of 'what Christ hath obtained according to the flesh by the union of his flesh with Deity,' occurs the passage to which we have alluded.

'If therefore it be demanded what the person of the Son of God hath attained by assuming manhood: surely, the whole sum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwise his person could have admitted: the only gain he thereby purchased for himself was, to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be said concerning the incarnation of Jesus Christ, that as our nature hath in no respect changed his, so from his to ours as little alteration hath ensued? The very cause of his taking upon him our nature was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which he took, nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of his Deity. As therefore we have shewed, how the Son of God by his incarnation hath changed the manner of that personal subsistence which before was solitary, and is now in the association of flesh, no alteration thereby occurring to the nature of God; so neither are the *properties of man's nature* in the person of Christ, by force and virtue of the same conjunction so much altered as not to stay within those limits which our substance is bordered withal; nor the *state and quality* of our substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing: we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural properties of Deity be not communicable to man's nature, the supernatural gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Son of God, is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his in the kingdom of heaven, his right and title thereunto, even in that he is man, differeth from other men, because he is that man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same inheritance

with Christ, but not the same right which he hath; his being such as we cannot reach, and onrs such as he cannot stoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that supreme Head whereunto all power both in heaven and in earth is given; these are not honours common unto Christ with other men: they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, yet true of Christ, even in that he is man, but man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, since God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into Himself, yet by making it his own inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceive, how God should without man either exercise Divine power, or receive the glory of Divine praise; for man is in both an associate of Deity. * * * * * * * *

And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. In this respect his body which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion, and dissolution, till God, who gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness' sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect, the very glorified body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality. But shall we say, that in heaven his glorious body, by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be every where at once present? We nothing doubt but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that Body wherewith he hath saved the world, that Body which hath been and is the root of eternal life; the Instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away sin, the Price which hath ransomed souls from death, the Leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, Heaven hath endowed it with celestial power: that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the angels of heaven adore it. Notwithstanding, a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies, a body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ; his Deity, his Manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one.'

Art. IV. 1. *Notice sur le Caractère et les Ecrits de Madame de Staël.* Par Madame Necker de Saussure. 8vo. pp. 317. London, 1820.

2. Sketch of the Character and Writings of Madame de Staël, &c.

ELABORATE encomium is a difficult species of literary task. The writer places himself in the position of a *pleader*, and, in so doing, feels his talent and his ingenuity

burdened with the responsibility he has incurred towards his *client*, for whom he has undertaken to win or demand from the reader, the due portion of admiration. The simple biographer, who feels no higher responsibility than that of the witness to tell 'the truth, and nothing but the truth,' will, in most cases, produce a stronger and a more favourable impression than the most urgent and able advocate can do. We cannot be judges of the reasons which have induced Madame de Saussure* to present herself to the public, rather as the advocate, than as the biographer of her distinguished relative and friend. What she has written, we have read with pleasure; but we imagine, that most of our readers would have been better satisfied, if the pages devoted to a long and rather laboured dissertation on the writings of Madame de Staël, had been occupied by a complete and continuous narrative of her life. The more difficult task which she has undertaken, it must be acknowledged, is executed with respectable ability. Madame de Saussure exhibits with great consistency and harmony of representation, the extraordinary personage she aims to portray, and is often both ingenious and happy in the attempt to give a definite expression to the fine and recondite peculiarities of her character. A little of the spirit of exaggeration, a little mannerism, a little of the *ultra-romanesque* in sentiment, some films of thought in the style of her original, rather too microscopic for common eyes, may be forgiven: the volume is altogether highly interesting.

'It is not,' says Madame de Saussure, 'the history of Madame 'de Staël that I propose to write, but rather, to trace the pro-'gressive impression which she has herself left of her character 'in her writings.'

'The writings of Madame de Staël serve so much the better to exhibit her character, as in writing, she has been more intent upon giving utterance to thought, than upon the effort to produce a work of art. Literary glory was never with her a primary object. Her works are the natural result of that perpetual and prodigious abundance of thought, which, to be fully developed and determined, required to be committed to paper. She did not think because she intended to write: she wrote because she had thought. It is impossible to consider Madame de Staël and her works apart. Her talents as a writer, and her eloquence in conversation, not only mutually supported, but served to accredit the genuineness of each other. Her works evince, that her rapid and astonishing eloquence had a solid basis, and might endure examination; while her conversational talents proved that her most finished compositions flowed, as it were, spontaneously from a living spring in the soul.'

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* Madame Necker de Saussure, the near relative and intimate friend of Madame de Staël, is the daughter of the celebrated naturalist, M. de Saussure.

The Author is aware that she writes under the seducing influence of ardent friendship. She proceeds:

'The sentiments of affection, of different kinds, which Madame de Staël inspired, were peculiarly lively and profound. She possessed a power of attraction that was irresistible: if in the first moment she excited admiration, in the second she captivated the heart. That species of force of mind which may inflict pain, did not belong to her. Her character presented a most attractive combination of energy and of flexibility. There was in her so much truth, so much love, so much greatness,—the fire of genius gave so much warmth to her heart, so much brilliancy to her intellect, that in becoming her friend, one felt to be only following the noblest impulses of the soul.'

The character of Madame Necker appears to have influenced that of her daughter, in the way of re-action and contrast, rather than of maternal direction and example.

'Endowed with a firm temper, a strong understanding, and a great capacity for laborious application, Madame Necker had herself been eminently successful in her studies, and hence she was inclined to believe, that every thing might be acquired or accomplished by study. She studied therefore herself, studied society, individual character, the art of writing, the art of talking, the art of managing the house, and especially the art of preserving the purity of her principles, while she neglected no means of enlarging the mind. She directed her attention towards objects of every kind; she made nice observations, reduced them to system, and from that system drew her rules of conduct.'.....'It must be acknowledged, that the rigid direction of the attention on all occasions to ultimate utility, is inimical to grace and ease of manners. Madame Necker was herself constrained, and she imposed constraint upon those about her. Her temper, perhaps, would have been severe, and her will impetuous, had she not early felt the necessity of conquering her disposition; and having effected much for herself by effort, she exacted a similar degree of effort from others. She granted indulgence, only when the duty of Christian forbearance was distinctly presented to her mind. Mons. Necker very well described her in saying, "Madame Necker wants nothing to make her appear perfectly lovely, but to have some fault to be forgiven."'.....'The charms of infancy made no powerful impression upon Madame Necker. She had too far conquered nature, to retain a great deal of instinct. She could love only those whom she admired; and a tenderness of sentiment and of imagination was somewhat foreign to her feelings. Gratitude was in her eyes the first of bonds, and she had fondly loved her father. This elevated filial affection seems, indeed, to have been characteristic of the family. God, her parents, and her husband, (whom she revered as her benefactor,) were the sole objects of Madame Necker's ardent affections.'

The frigid and brittle systems of Madame Necker, were all speedily dissolved or broken, when the attempt was made to confine within them the ardent character of her daughter. A

feeling of parental disappointment, with which was mingled the mortification of the instructress, on the one side, and a spirit of opposition on the other, seem to have ensued. Strong self-shapen minds are in no way more sensibly wounded, than when the efficiency of labour seems to be brought into doubt, and the credit of favourite maxims is endangered, by the spontaneous and happy results of instinct.

'If her daughter had surpassed her by qualities of her own order, Madame Necker would have associated herself with the success which had seemed to be only the result of those qualities. She would have thought herself loved by her husband, in her daughter. But in Mademoiselle Necker's power of pleasing her father, there was nothing which the mother could claim as her own; and when M. Necker appeared captivated with the no less original than transcendant genius of his daughter, her mother felt uneasiness and impatience, as well as so much disapprobation as served to veil from herself the idea of rivalry.'

'Mademoiselle Necker imagined, that by the mere force and spring of a good heart, and by the genial impulses of a happy natural disposition, she might be all that her mother had become by reason and vigilance; and she aspired to be the representative of natural gifts, as her mother was the pattern of acquired qualities. This intention, which, no doubt, was never more than half formed, too long influenced the opinions of Madame de Staël. Her admiration of the virtues of simple impulse *(les vertus de premier mouvement)*, was too exclusive and too systematic. Natural qualities are, no doubt, the most engaging, but what is the use of assigning them a pre-eminence? Can any good end be answered, on the one hand, by exciting men to be proud of what nature has done for them, or, on the other hand, by leading them to despair of becoming all that they might make themselves? What is there, indeed, in the world more truly worthy of admiration, than that virtue which has its seat in the will? Madame de Staël herself acknowledged this, after her opinions had been matured by reflection, and especially when religion, better understood and more distinctly recognised, had presented all objects to her mind in a light more just. Thus advancing years taught her better to appreciate the merit of her mother's character. "The longer I live," said she once to me, "the more I understand my mother, and the more my heart feels the necessity of assimilating its sentiments to hers."'

Perhaps, had Madame Necker thought less of the importance of her formal instructions, and considered more attentively the re-action resulting from the peculiarities of her own character, she might have found the means of retaining her maternal influence, and of modifying the propensities and the opinions of her daughter.

Mademoiselle Necker when a child, was, we are told, full of gayety, of vivacity, and of frankness. 'Her complexion was a 'little brown, but fresh-coloured, and her large black eyes already

'sparkled with intelligence and goodness.' Madame Rilliet, then Mademoiselle Huber, the early companion of Madame de Staël, has given the following picture of the domestic scene, when the latter was eleven years old.

'"We entered the saloon; by the side of Madame Necker's arm-chair, on a little stool, sat her daughter, who was obliged to hold herself very erect. She had hardly taken her accustomed place, when three or four elderly persons approached her, and talked to her with the most lively interest. One of them, who wore a little round wig, took her hands between his own, and continuing to hold them, entered into conversation with her as if she had been a woman of five and twenty. This was the Abbé Raynal: the others were M. Thomas, M. Marmontel, the Marquis de Pesay, and the Baron de Grimm. Every one who entered, in approaching Madame Necker, said something to her daughter, paid her some compliment, or addressed her in terms of pleasantry. She replied to every one with ease and grace. It was a frequent amusement, to attack and attempt to disconcert her, and to excite that imagination which so early began to display its brilliancy. Men of the first order of talent were among the most eager to lead her into conversation. They asked her for accounts of the books she had read, recommended to her others, and excited in her a taste for study, by talking with her both of what she knew, and of things of which she was as yet ignorant."'

Madame de Staël's description of her father, we have not long since presented to our readers; to this description we can add but a single paragraph taken from the volume before us.

'A certain careless dignity *(une dignité un peu nonchalante)* prevented him (M. Necker) from imparting to conversation any movement which might produce a re-action upon himself, and he chose rather to resign himself to listlessness, which nevertheless he dreaded. It was difficult to him to conceal the antipathy mingled with contempt, which insignificance of mind or character excited in him; and the rather disdainful expression of his mouth, appeared in contrast with his mild and benevolent look. Native grace, however, always charmed him. In women, all that he required, was simplicity, and he was all indulgence to the young; but consolidated mediocrity was insupportable to him. After he had champed the bit for a length of time in an insipid company, nothing could be more amusing than the first explosion of his discontent. The common-place maxims that had been put forth, those shades of the ridiculous which he had seized, the indirect aims which he had perceived, and even the idea which he saw that others had formed of himself, all inspired him with the most original expressions, in strong contrast with his grave and imposing exterior. On such occasions he displayed a keen comic talent; and the natural goodness of his temper, which still discovered itself amidst these sallies, rendered it the more striking.'

If Madame de Saussure had felt herself bound to exercise the severer discrimination of a strictly impartial biographer, it would have been inevitable for her to indicate the influence

of the marked defects of Necker's character over that of his daughter. With all his fine susceptibility, his original genius, his ability as a man of business, his perfect integrity, there is a certain force of mind, connected with an entire superiority to secondary motives, in which he was manifestly deficient. As a statesman, he appeared inferior to some whose acquirements were less extensive, and whose views were far less comprehensive than his own; and as a man, his weak solicitude for popular applause, rendered him less consistent and less dignified in conduct than many who were altogether destitute of his purity of principle and of intention. The blind and passionate, though amiable admiration of her father, which actually became the prominent feature of Madame de Staël's character, could not fail to leave the traces of its partially disadvantageous influence upon her own mind. To this cause, probably, may in some degree be attributed Madame de Staël's taste for the mysticism of sentiment, her too late acquirement of plain good sense, the wide aberrations of her opinions, and, perhaps, even that instability of conduct which has so far counteracted the advantage otherwise resulting from the homage she has ultimately rendered to sound principles.

This is not the occasion on which we can enter upon any review of Madame de Staël's writings. The middle portion of this volume, we must therefore very briefly pass over. Madame de Saussure examines them chiefly as they exhibit the character and principles of their Author. We subjoin a list of them.*

Of that means of exhibiting character so commonly resorted to,—the publication of private correspondence, the friend of Madame de Staël has not availed herself. Besides that letter-writing does not seem to have been her *forte*, 'I have,' says

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* "*Sophie, ou les Sentimens secrets*," a comedy. "*Jane Gray*," a tragedy. Three Tales, prefaced by an Essay on Fictions. "*Lettres* "*sur les écrits et le caractère de J. J. Rousseau.*" [These were published (or written) before the commencement of the Revolution.] Then followed, "*Defense de la Reine.*" "*Epitre au Malheur.*" "*Deux opuscules politiques*," two anonymous pamphlets, entitled, "*Réflexions sur la paix, adressées à M. Pitt et aux Français*;" and, "*Reflexions sur la paix interieure.*" "*De l'influence des passions sur* "*le bonheur des individus et des nations.*" "*De la littérature, con-* "*sidérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales.*" "*Delphine.*" A piece prefixed to a posthumous volume of her father's writings, "*Sur la vie privée de M. Necker.*" "*Corinne, ou l'Italie.*" "*De* "*l'Allemagne.*" "*Considérations sur la Révolution Française.*" The Essay on Suicide is mentioned but not reviewed by Madame de Saussure. Madame de Staël had, we believe, projected a work relative to Russia; and she left in an imperfect state, another, to be entitled "*Dix Années d'exil.*"

Madame de Saussure, 'often heard her speak with just indig-
'nation of the custom which has lately prevailed so much, of
'publishing, without respect for the dead, and without regard to
'the feelings of the living, the private correspondence of cele-
'brated persons.' Herself partaking of this feeling, the Author has abstained from violating the too little respected precincts of friendship. Of this determination, we would by no means complain. There are things of more value than the gratification even of a justifiable curiosity relative to distinguished personages. To preserve from the hazard of infection at its source, the current of sentiment which should give vigour and greenness to our friendships, is, as we think, of vastly greater importance than the gratification of public curiosity. It would not be difficult to adduce instances tending to prove, that the prevailing custom of dedicating a posthumous volume, made up of 'Remains and 'Letters,' to the memory of almost every one who has happened to be heard of beyond the private circle, has been tacitly remembered so as to poison the simplicity of the most intimate communications, and to impair the perfect integrity even of the most sacredly private documents. Who shall say in how many instances the ingenuousness of friendship has been spoiled, or half spoiled, by the thought, Perhaps my *Remains* and *Letters* will be published?

All that is communicated by the Biographer, relative to her friend's first and unpropitious marriage, is contained in the following paragraph.

'Although the suitors for the hand of Mademoiselle Necker were numerous, the choice of a husband agreeable at once to her parents and herself, was not easily made. She was determined not to quit France; while her mother, a zealous Protestant, required that she should marry a man of her own religious persuasion. Under these circumstances, the Baron de Staël obtained the preference of M. and Madame Necker. To a high-toned honour, great goodness of temper, and a warm regard for their daughter, he joined noble manners, and the advantage of distinguished birth. The king of Sweden, Gustavus III. by whom he was highly esteemed, openly favoured his pretensions, and promised to secure to him, for a long period, the place of ambassador at the French Court, in order to relieve Mademoiselle Necker from the fear of quitting Paris: moreover, M. de Staël engaged never to carry her to Sweden, contrary to her inclination. Such were the reasons which induced her to consent to a marriage with a foreigner, a man much older than herself, and one in whom she met with little congeniality of taste. This union, however, though no doubt not the most happy, would not have been formally interrupted, had not the improvident generosity of M. de Staël so far degenerated into prodigality, as to embarrass and endanger the fortune of his wife, who, at length, thought herself compelled, in justice to her children, to rescue their property from the

impending ruin. But the consequent separation was not of long continuance.'

M. de Staël soon after died; not, however, before his wife had done herself the justice of preparing to render to him, in his declining state, the attentions which were his due.

Many excellent sentiments on the subject of education, are given, as having been the maxims of Madame de Staël's maternal conduct.

'She built no hopes upon the efficacy of *extraordinary* systems of education. The young, she thought, should be inspired with elevated moral and religious sentiments, and familiarized with what is good in the real world, rather than shut up in a world apart, at once false and artificial. "I have always presented to my children," said she, "life, such as it is; and I have had recourse to no species of artifice with them." Truth was the basis on which, with her, every thing was built; and not only deception or disguise, but any kind of affectation, she believed to be both useless and dangerous. She disdained to descend, in conversing with her children, to that tone of assumed childishness, by which it is supposed that we adapt ourselves to their capacities. She sought rather to raise them to the level of her understanding, and *to raise herself to the level of their innocence.**'

We are tempted to quote on this topic, more than our limits can allow. Madame de Staël's intuition and strong feeling led her to reject the *hyper*-improvements of modern theorists, especially of some English systems of education.

'A just and moderate exercise of parental authority, spares the necessity of a thousand devices, of a thousand deceptions in education. If, to produce obedience, the parent reasons with the child, he is soon *run-a-ground*; if he entreats, he degrades himself: *sentiment*, employed as a means (in aid of authority), *paralyses, and in the end, hardens the heart*. The only true, the only serious, the only amicable relation between the parent and the child, is that of mild command and obedience. Infancy, always conscious as it is, of its weakness and destitution, attaches itself permanently only to protecting firmness. (*la fermeté protectrice.*)'

We really believe that it is the result of the activity and ingenuity of *trade*, as applied to book-making, rather than the influence of any system, that has introduced so extensively in England, the truly *childish* deterioration and degradation of elementary instruction which is referred to in the following passage.

'In conformity with her fundamental principle, relative to the necessity of perfect good faith in education, Madame de Staël rejected those trivial games, by means of which it is attempted to teach children the elements of all the sciences. When the zest for study

* '*Elle dédaignoit également de prendre avec les enfans ce ton de niaiserie maniérée par lequel on croit se mettre à leur portée; elle les élevoit jusqu' à son esprit, et s'élevoit jusqu'à leur innocence.*'

fails, which must sometimes happen, the simple idea of *duty* ought to supply its place. This idea is readily apprehended by infancy; and far from its being desirable to keep it in reserve, to be employed at a more advanced period of life, we may affirm, that it never has much power, except where it has become gradually and deeply rooted in the mind. Children are not long the dupes of these forced diversions; and a thousand sallies, unfavourable to their improvement, proclaim their native right of amusing themselves altogether in their own way. Besides, as the principal advantage of study in early years, consists in the necessity it imposes upon the mind of making an effort, while that of amusement, lies in the spring which it gives to the entire little being, when diversion is mingled with the lesson, and restraint is imposed on the diversion, the proper benefit of both is lost.'

Madame de Saussure has done well in being quite explicit on the subject of the second and unavowed marriage of Madame de Staël. M. Rocca, we believe, when he accompanied his wife during her last visit to this country, passed as her nephew; and, if we are truly informed, the apparent disparity of years did not at all belie the humiliating disguise. We cannot accede to the reasons of the apology, a part of which we quote.

'It would, no doubt, have been better, had she avowed this marriage; but having been induced by a feeling of timidity, from which her order of courage did not set her free, as well as by an attachment to a name which her talents had distinguished, to avoid this declaration, all her soul was occupied in contending with the difficulties of her situation. Must it be granted, that it would have been still better not to have placed herself in this situation? Shall we allow, that Madame de Staël is not to be held up, in all respects, as an example? Herself would have been the first to grant this. It is what she has said to her children; it is what she has intimated in her writings, as far as was possible to an elevated soul (*une âme fière*) conscious of its greatness, &c. &c.'

It is known, that Madame de Staël's religious opinions followed that current of sceptical infatuation with which she was surrounded. She was not, however, a *sceptic* by temper. It was only so long as Infidelity, under the guise of a great and beneficent *discovery*, excited her enthusiasm, that it could retain its influence over her mind. Her natural and ingenuous tone of feeling, her temperament, alike ardent and melancholic, her strong and full intuition of the constitution of the heart, and of the actual condition and wants of human nature, and, we may add, her sufferings, made it all but inevitable, that she should return towards Christianity. Even had we more precise information on the subject, we should refrain from the attempt to scrutinize the exact nature or degree of this return. We transcribe, however, from the volume before us, with pleasure, and without comment, some of her expressions on the subject of religion.

'Among the happy effects of advancing years upon the character of Madame de Staël, we must enumerate the more fixed influence of religious sentiments over her mind, and her more habitual connexion of them with the business of life. Her scruples, which heretofore had regarded chiefly the probable consequences of her actions, now related more to her motives. Prayer, which with her was a need of the heart, in bringing her into constant communication with the source of all excellence, shed a purer influence on her soul. "Whenever I am alone, I pray," said she to her children.'

'Madame de Staël was of opinion that it is pride which inspires man with the wish to penetrate the secret of the universe. Speaking of some metaphysical discussions, she said, "I prefer the Lord's prayer to all this." During her sleepless nights, she repeated this prayer incessantly. Sighs, and certain ejaculations which were habitual to her, were with her, pious invocations. Thus, these words, which so often escaped her—"Poor human nature!"—"Alas! what are we!"—"Ah! life, life!"—were but the exhalations of religious feeling.

'It is in her last work that she has this striking sentence: "Man is reduced to dust by infidelity;" and again, "Religion is the life of the soul."

'In the year 1815, when the spirit of intolerance and the excesses of fanaticism were continually the objects of her animadversion, I feared lest religion itself might have suffered in her mind through the bad use which had been made of its sacred name. I mentioned to her my apprehensions on this ground. "I protest to you," said she, "that is not the case: it is a regard for religion that partly inspires my indignation. There is not a quarter of an hour, I might perhaps say less, in which the idea of the Deity is not present to my heart."'

The sentiments contained in the following passage, with which Madame de Saussure concludes her sketch are too general to demand a strict scrutiny, or to justify rigid animadversion.

'Madame de Staël has done much good in her time. I do not refer to the aid she has personally yielded to the unhappy; nor to the widely diffused pleasure and instruction which she has afforded by her conversation and her writings. At the present moment I delight to think that she has been useful to the sacred cause of religion. She has effected good in this respect, so much the more, perhaps, as she never expressed the formal intention to plead the cause of religion. But a deep conviction, an intimate and powerful sentiment, has, as it were, involuntarily transpired in her writings. As she announced no such design, infidelity did not arm itself beforehand against her. It is always with mildness, with simplicity, that she has appeared as its advocate. She has not spoken as from the professor's chair, nor in the severe tones of the preacher:—But, deriving her power of persuasion from her experience of all that can captivate the mind or the heart in the present scene, she has thus addressed men of the world, statesmen, literati:—All the interests which animate you, have occupied me; but I have felt that there is nothing great or durable without religion: there is nothing else which can

sustain morals, the support of society; there is nothing but religion for the unhappy; and without religion, even genius is destitute of its highest inspiration. Those who have never soared towards the heavens, have not stolen the creative fire, nor shall they obtain even that shadow of immortality which fame bestows.

'A genius like that of Madame de Staël, could alone be qualified, as the missionary of truth, to oppose the spirit of the age, at once learned and acute, and frivolous and disdainful. Herself not entering the temple, but standing in its portico, she has addressed the multitude, heathen at heart, who offer incense to the muses, and stone the prophets. But it was with the thinking, that she preferred to converse; and like the great Apostle who found at Athens an altar consecrated to the unknown God, she said to souls serious and impassioned, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."'

With our high *English* notions of the proprieties and true dignity of the female character, it is not as a *woman* that we speak of Madame de Staël. Nor, with our opinion of the real tendency of delicious fiction, especially of fiction in which a moral purpose is hardly thought of, (and what is the moral of *Delphine* or *Corinne?*) is it as a writer of romance, that We choose to descant upon her exquisite talents. Even in her graver works, we know there are grounds on which her admirers may be ridiculed by those who are pleased to say, we cannot understand Madame de Staël. And long disputes might, perhaps, be held, before it should be satisfactorily determined, whether many passages, which, at first hearing, quicken the pace of all our thoughts, are to be coolly esteemed as specimens of *hyper*-thinking and feeling, bordering upon absurdity, or as the fruit of a profound and perfect intuition.

But leaving now such discussions, there is one respect in which this distinguished personage may be thought of and spoken of without hesitation, and with high satisfaction: we mean as the victim and triumphant opponent of wicked power. It is not extravagant to say, that Madame de Staël's influence has been real and great, throughout Europe, in aiding that sentiment of abhorrence and contempt which has accompanied and accelerated the overthrow of military despotism in France.

The lawless outrages of the republican years, terrified almost the whole educated portion of the French people, into a shameful acquiescence in the *regular* outrages of the system which presently succeeded. But with Madame de Staël, the despotism of the sovereign people, served but to fix and ripen those principles which gave her strength to scorn and repel the despotism of the sovereign sword. While violence was ragged, dirty, and stupid, there was pity mingled with dread and abhorrence in her mind. But when violence became trimly embroidered and intelligent, even fear gave way to anger and contempt. Had

France at that time been rich in such a number, a dozen men, each with a soul like that of this woman, might have saved their country. History affords some instances in which the unbroken spirit of a courage springing from principle, after it has forsaken the breasts of men, has seemed to take sanctuary in the bosom of a woman, there to be cherished and transmitted to sons worthier than their fathers.

That all the opinions uttered during a course of years, under varying circumstances, should be entirely consistent, and that every action should be equally worthy of the settled principles and character of the individual, is by no means an indispensible condition of meriting the praise of having nobly endured the malice of tyranny. So far is certain, that Madame de Staël suffered in all her predilections, as well as in her pecuniary interests, during her ten years' banishment, and also, that she had it at every moment in her power, by a breath of adulation, to propitiate her enemy*. Indeed, the system of Bonaparte is too well understood to admit of the supposition, that any delicacy or personal dislike on his part, would have impeded a reconciliation with the most distinguished writer of France, then commanding the attention and admiration of all Europe.

But no one who has perused the writings of Madame de Staël, unless he is himself incapable of generous emotions, can doubt that she possessed a genuine greatness and elevation of soul. We mean that sort of elevation which has so rarely exhibited itself in France since the first days of the Revolution; an elevation consisting, not in the mere susceptibility of the imagination,—for of vapouring and inflation there has been enough: it has been the prime characteristic of the Revolution;—nor in a demon force of intellect, like that of Mirabeau; nor in simple integrity of purpose; nor in an unthinking and instinctive principle of honour like that of many of the nobles; but an elevation of character resulting from that susceptibility of the imagination, and that forcible pulsation of the heart, which together, produce the passion whose object is greatness, and excellence, and the wide good of mankind; and this too, in conjunction with so much intellectual power, as gives the individual the means of influencing the minds of others. Such, we think, even with all those weaknesses and extravagances upon which it pleases vulgar minds to dwell, was Madame de Staël.

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* A considerable portion of Necker's fortune had been confiscated by the Directory. One of Bonaparte's ministers gave Madame de Staël to understand, that this should be restored to her, 'if she would love him (Bonaparte).' '*Je savois bien*,' she replied, '*que pour recevoir ses rentes, il falloit un certificat de vie; mais je ne savois pas qu'il fallût une declaration d'amour.*'

Now there is a high satisfaction, as well as much excitement and instruction, in considering the real *equivalency*, and the eventual triumph of such a character, placing itself, at its cost and peril in opposition, by the simple force of truth and genius, to the unapt and angry efforts of despotism. It is agreeable also to remember, that the unalienable ability of transmitting to posterity their own history of the conflict, is an advantage almost always in the hands of those whose cause is the cause of mankind. The base,—whether they be the abusers of power, or the factious disturbers of the public peace,—may command the attention and belief of their victims or their followers; but they have no language for mankind, no voice that shall reach future times. Neither the tyrant, nor his hirelings, shall appear on their own behalf at the bar of posterity. But noble genius will be there to tell the story of its own times. Under no aspect, then, does literature appear of higher importance, than as it is seen holding over the head of evil power, a sword of retribution, quite beyond its reach effectually to influence or to avert.

The persecution which Bonaparte directed against Madame de Staël, suggests one further consideration that may deserve a moment's attention. It was with great difficulty that Bonaparte found in her writings, even a pretext by which to excuse his animosity and injustice towards her. It was precisely because she named not him, that he wished to suppress her works. But this negative crime was hard to be framed into an indictment. It was because her writings breathed a free and noble spirit, that he was unwilling that his Frenchmen should peruse them. But how was this free spirit to be trapped in the gins of his censor of the press? The inoffensive sentences, on account of which the first edition of the "*De l'Allemagne*" was suppressed, were of a nature to render a government to which they could be obnoxious, even more ridiculous than odious. "Madame de "Staël," said the Emperor, "*monte les têtes dans un sens "qui ne me convient pas**."

It seems that the highest order of genius, when supported by genuineness of character, although it is the most formidable to despotism, is, from a peculiarity essentially connected with its very eminence, the least tangible, and the least within reach of the devices that are framed to control the press. The clever libeller, the dashing, declamatory journalist, the garret orator, the city-made philosophist, the oracle of the tavern club,—in a word, all those who have more talent than soul, be their talent ever so brilliant, deriving, as they do, their inspiration, their prime and strongest impulse from the interests and accidents of the day, can hardly render themselves offensive to jealous power, except

* "She inflates people with notions that do not suit me."

by those palpable and obvious overt-acts of attack, which are as readily fixed upon by the censor, as they are quickly forgotten by the public. The *gentes minores* of literature, with the spur of personal or party animosity, or the inspiration of a fresh and urgent conjuncture, may rise into an energy of thought and style at which even themselves are surprised. But if they are deprived of all impulse, except that which is supplied by the native tone of their emotions, and if, debarred from the topics of the day, they are exiled into the higher and more tranquil regions of thought, they presently either languish and faint, or become turgid and absurd, and lose at once all the power they seemed to possess of commanding attention as writers. When, therefore, restrictions upon the liberty of the press take place in a country that was lately free, this order of writers is the most immediately and severely affected. Those of them who are sturdy of temper, are quickly in jail or in exile. Those who are compliant, soon becoming too inane in the work of adulation to be worth even their pay, starve, or give themselves to some more thrifty craft; while many of a middle class turn towards the trifles of literature, or entirely resign the pen.

It is, however, the exclusive characteristic of minds of the highest order, that they are most inspired, most energetic, most *themselves*, not while heated by a personal conflict with an individual adversary, but while they are dwelling calmly upon those high themes, in listening to which, men become impatient of slavery, and indignant at injustice. To them it belongs, to impart a fresh colouring, to give a new and living interest to those great standing truths which cannot be impugned without compelling the enemies of human happiness to publish in plain terms their own evil designs. Lofty, virtuous genius makes the despot tremble most, when its language is the least amenable to the dull wording of his statute fears. He dreads and hates it, because it soars to a region where *he* is forgotten, and discourses of the great interests of humanity in a dialect utterly beyond the reach of the chicanery of oppression to attack. Putting aside then for the moment, the consideration of the interpositions of Divine Providence, and thinking only of the visible means, may it not be affirmed, that the bosom of uncorrupted genius is the casket to which the social hopes of men are consigned in the dark hour when force prevails against truth? The spirit of liberty may be hunted from its home in this or that corner of our globe, but, on the wings of genius, it crosses the seas, or descends to another age, and the men who hoped that it had left the earth, are disappointed.

Art. V. *The Treatise on Religious Affections, by the late Rev. Jonathan Edwards, A. M. somewhat abridged.* By W. Ellerby. 12mo. 5s.

IN the midst of the present rage for reading, and the increased facilities of publishing new books, we have with pleasure noticed the re-publication of several of the works of our older divines. The demand for such works, shews that there are readers who know their value, and who are able to appreciate those marks of sterling piety and laborious thoughtfulness, by which their works are distinguished. Within the last century, no author, certainly, has appeared, so worthy of being ranked in the same class with them, as Jonathan Edwards. While we follow him through his laborious, and acute, and often cumbrous dissertations, we almost forget that he is a modern. This resemblance must be allowed to extend to some of the more common defects of the old divines, by none of whom, however, he is surpassed as a a theologian; and as a controvertist, he is absolutely without a compeer. His expositions of what may be termed the philosophy of divinity, have carried moral science further than any preceding writer on those abstruse subjects, and have placed the tenets usually denominated Calvinistic, fairly beyond the reach of the petty cavils and feeble declamations of their impugners. His work upon the Will, is a masterpiece of metaphysical and logical acumen, which it would perhaps be no instance of presumption, to pronounce unanswerable. The witty and profligate Dryden may be allowed to allude to Calvin, as

> 'The last of all the litter, scaped by chance,
> 'And from Geneva, first infected France.'

And it might be worthy of the anonymous author of the Pursuits of Literature, to class the great Reformer with the infidel Rousseau, as a foe to Episcopacy. But since the publication of Jonathan Edwards's Works, it ill becomes any man who makes the slightest pretensions to philosophy, to treat Calvinism with contempt, or to deny the metaphysical consistency of the system.

The small work before us, is an abridgement, and an attempted improvement in point of style, of one of President Edwards's most useful and practical treatises. We are not great admirers of abridgements, and have very little taste for improvements upon an author's style; yet we must admit that the "Treatise on Religious Affections," was susceptible of both. To give greater publicity to a work so admirably adapted to extensive usefulness, by compressing it into a cheaper and more readable form, is the design of the present publication; and in the execution of his task, Mr. Ellerby has succeeded beyond our expectations,

The Treatise on Religious Affections was occasioned by the defection of many converts in New England, and by the unsound and disgraceful profession of others. The peculiar circumstances under which the Writer was placed, led him to view the subject on all sides, and in all bearings; and in delineating those marks of "gracious affections," which are exclusively the result of a Divine influence upon the mind, he has exhibited all his characteristic acuteness. He says, in his preface:

'It greatly concern us to use our utmost endeavours clearly to discern, and have it well settled and established, wherein true reason doth consist. Till this be done, it may be expected that great revivals of religion will be but of short continuance; till this be done, there is but little good to be expected of all our warm debates, in conversation and from the press, not knowing clearly and distinctly what we ought to contend for.

'My design is, to contribute my mite, and all my best (however feeble) endeavours to this end, in the ensuing treatise: wherein it must be noted, that it is somewhat diverse from the design of what I formerly published, which was to shew *the distinguishing marks of a work of the Spirit of God*, including both his common and saving operations. What I aim at now is, to shew the nature and signs of *the gracious operations* of God's Spirit, by which they are to be distinguished from all things whatsoever which are not of a saving nature. If I have succeeded in this my aim, in any tolerable measure, I hope it will tend to promote the interest of religion. And whether I have succeeded to bring any light to this subject, or not, and however my attempts may be reproached in these captious, censorious times, I hope in the mercy of a gracious and righteous God, for the acceptance of the sincerity of my endeavours and hope also; for the candour and prayers of the true followers of the meek and charitable Lamb of God.'

The Treatise is divided into three Parts; Part I. 'Concerning the Nature of the Affections and their Importances in Religion.' Part II. 'Shewing what are no certain signs that 'Religious Affections are truly gracious, or that they are not.' Part III. 'Shewing which are distinguishing signs of truly 'gracious and holy Affections.' Of the general excellence of the Treatise, we deem it quite unnecessary for us to speak. It displays throughout a profound knowledge of the heart, and exquisite skill in exposing the deceptive symptoms on which too many persons fatally rely. No work perhaps is so admirably adapted to assist the Christian in the duty of self-examination.

Highly valuable, however, as the work is upon the whole, there are some passages which are confessedly liable to serious objections; and as the sentiments they contain, have recently been very pointedly alluded to in the Sermons of a distinguished pulpit orator, we shall take the present opportunity of offering

a few remarks upon the subject. The objectionable notion with which President Edwards, and other American divines, have been chargeable, is, in brief, That our love to God must not originate in a discovery of His love to us, however that may follow, but must be founded primarily in His own holiness and excellence. The parts of the Treatise before us, in which this sentiment is stated and defended, are Sections ii. and iii. of Part III. It is impossible for us to insert in full the Author's reasoning upon this purely hypothetical speculation. We shall, however, transcribe one passage, as the basis for the passing animadversions we intend to submit. The title to the second section, conveys the general proposition in the following terms:

'The first objective ground of gracious affection, is, the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things, as they are *in themselves;* and not any conceived *relation they bear to self, or self-interest.*'

The principle is stated and contrasted with its opposite, more fully in the following passage.

'The first foundation of the delight a true saint has in God, is his own perfection; and the first foundation of the delight he has in Christ, is *his own beauty;* he appears *in himself* the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely. The way of salvation by Christ is a delightful way to him, for the sweet and admirable manifestations of the divine perfections in it. The holy doctrines of the Gospel, by which God is exalted and man abased, holiness honoured and promoted, sin greatly disgraced and discouraged, and free sovereign love manifested, are glorious doctrines in his eyes and sweet to his taste, *prior* to any conception of his *interest* in these things. Indeed, the saints rejoice in their interest in God, and that Christ is theirs; and so they have great reason: but this is *not the first spring of their joy.* They first rejoice in God as glorious and excellent *in himself:* and then secondarily rejoice in it, that so glorious a God is theirs. They *first* have their hearts filled with sweetness, from the view of Christ's excellency, and the excellency of his grace, and the beauty of salvation by him; and then they have a *secondary* joy, in that so excellent a Saviour and such excellent grace, are theirs. But that which is the true *saint's superstructure,* is the *hypocrite's foundation.*' Works, Vol. IV. p. 148.

The whole hypothesis, that love to God, even in a perfect creature, can exist in this abstract and independent form, or, at least, that it ever does so exist, appears to us as unfounded as it is unnecessary. That it should so exist in the heart of a converted sinner, prior to all sense of God's love to him, is at once impossible in theory, and in utter inconsistency with the whole tenour of the Gospel revelation. Can it be for a moment imagined, that love to God has ever been excited in any human breast, or that it ever was intended to be inspired in the hearts of believers, by the abstract contemplation of the Divine excellence

or holiness? Could the flaming swords of the cherubim which expelled our first parents from the Garden of Eden, or the desolating waters of the Deluge, or the fiery torrents that consumed the cities of the plain, or the appalling terrors of Sinai,—though all these spoke the Divine purity and excellence in the most impressive accents, have availed to inspire love of a higher and purer kind than that which is wrought in us by a sight of God's great love to us, then, must they have been preferable, as means of subduing the human heart. What, it may be asked, imparts to the Gospel an efficacy superior to that of the most vivid and impressive displays of the Divine perfections under the Law, but the very fact to which the Apostle refers?—"We have seen "and believed the love that God has *towards us.*" Of all the exhibitions of truth which the Gospel minister has to present, it is precisely the display of the Cross of Christ, not as an illustration of Jehovah's holiness, primarily, but as the superlative proof of his *love* to our souls, together with the accompanying offer of salvation, that is in fact found to possess a transcendant efficacy in winning the affection of the human heart.

Viewing the Gospel as a system of moral means, designed to produce love to God in the human heart, every part of it will be found to operate in a way completely the reverse of the Author's theory. Its first appeals are founded upon the implied principle of self-love in our nature: it excites a salutary sense of danger, and then it holds forth the promise of pardon, in a direct appeal to the same principle,—"He that believeth, shall be saved." The provisions of mercy for our benefit, are exhibited in all their multiplicity, and in all their fulness, not subsequently to our discovery of the Divine holiness, but as the primary means of subduing and moving the unbelieving heart. If the whole instrumentality of the Gospel be not constructed upon this principle in our nature, which is as strictly according to the will of our Creator as the terms of grace,—the love of happiness, then we have yet to learn what means *the love of God towards us.* The whole conduct of Christ in his personal ministry, was calculated to produce love to God and to himself, precisely through the medium of good bestowed: the *first* principle appealed to, was self-love; and the *first* emotion excited, was gratitude. The conduct of the Apostles was in every respect similar: they held forth glad tidings; they published peace; they dwelt upon the *promises* of God, rather than the evidences of his abstract excellence. "God so loved the world that he gave his only be-"gotten son, that whosoever believeth in him, might not perish, "but have eternal life." If this was not a direct appeal to the self-love of their hearers, we are at a loss to conceive what could be. The question of the jailor, sprang from the operation of the same principle: "What shall I do to be saved?" Yet it was

met by no rebuke from the Apostle. Upon the hypothesis of the excellent Author, the reply of the Apostle would seem adapted only to make him a hypocrite, by conveying to him in the first instance, a hope of *interest* in the blessings of salvation. If the President's theory were consistent with Scripture and with fact, we should have found Christ and his Apostles guarding their hearers against the delusive influence of the principle of love to their *own souls*, and against looking at the whole system of Redemption as a good *to themselves:* this view should have been kept in the back-ground, while every first effort to win the affections of unbelievers, should have been exclusively adapted to inspire their veneration for the Divine excellence and holiness, without any mixture of self, or any conception that a personal benefit of inestimable value, was subsequently to accrue.

We need merely refer to the general scope of the apostolic ministry, and to the emphatic terms of the angelic annunciation, "*Peace on earth, good will towards men,*" in proof that in the *first* instance, at least, the Scriptural process is the reverse of that which President Edwards has stated.

It was essential to the support of this theoretical refinement, that the Author should explode the principle of self-love, by confounding it with selfishness; and it was a dangerous effort which then became necessary to give plausibility to the theory, to identify gratitude, and the love of gratitude, with that same low and degraded principle. We think that the Author's usual metaphysical acuteness failed him entirely at this point; for the perfection of selfishness involves the destruction of the love of gratitude. In proportion as the love of gratitude is genuine and vivid, selfishness is weakened and suppressed. Upon this point, Dr. Chalmers's remarks, in his recent volume of Sermons, are exceedingly just and important, and supersede the necessity of our further pursuing the subject.

The remainder of the present Treatise, excepting a few expressions in the second and third sections, is free from all objection; and its republication at the present time, is the more seasonable on account of the powerful antidote it affords to Antinomian dogmas. We have great pleasure in giving Mr. Ellerby's abridgement our warmest commendation, as being, what few abridgements are, an improvement in many respects upon the original work.

Art. VI. *No Fiction*: A Narrative founded on recent and interesting Facts. 2 Vols. 12mo. pp. 667. Price 12s. London, 1819.

THE times are improved since the days of the Spectator, when a lady, on discovering that Plutarch's Lives, which she had been reading with avidity as a novel, were *no fiction*, lost all interest in the work, and sent back the borrowed volumes in high dissatisfaction. The best passport, now-a-days, which a novel or a tale can obtain, is, its being *founded upon fact*. This same title, No Fiction, is a capital bait for the public. Yet, it receives its own contradiction in the very title-page. For how can what is professedly only *founded* upon facts, be otherwise than in part *fiction*? And how can any fiction be otherwise than founded more or less upon facts? In the simplest details of an occurrence given in conversation, fact and fiction are, unconsciously indeed, but invariably blended. From the careful record of the grave historian, down to the circumstantial relation of the village gossip, the truest narratives are but fictions founded upon fact. How utterly incredible then, were it, that the author of a narrative extending through between six and seven hundred duodecimo pages, should have been able to make out his true story, without adding a pretty copious proportion of fiction! We are not disposed, nevertheless, to quarrel with the title: as we said before, it is, for obvious reasons, a good title; and the reader will sufficiently understand its import to be, that the main facts of the narrative were real occurrences, and the characters those of real personages. Of this, the work itself bears internal evidence; and so far from *the true* not being in this instance *probable*, the probability, in the absence of any such assurance, would have been in favour of the story being true. Who has not, within his little circle, met with a Lefevre, a Wallis, and a Douglas? An idle curiosity may be excited by the assurance that the work is no fiction, to know who was the real and original Douglas, or Lefevre, of the present tale. The deviations from fact in the conduct of the narrative, are professedly intended to baffle this unprofitable inquisitiveness, to which it was foreseen that the title would give rise. But if the story had been altogether a fiction, the characters would have been not the less natural; and what is natural, must be substantially true. Set a good draftsman to sketch a fancy scene, and another of less skill, to copy a real landscape; you will have most of nature, that is, most of truth, in the superior production; while the other, though founded on fact, will have in reality the most fiction. The question is, not whether the picture is copied from nature, but whether it gives a true representation of nature. And so, with regard to the moral tales and familiar histories, we take it for granted they

are founded on facts, for invention must draw its materials from observation and experience; but we ask not, whether the story is copied from real life, but whether it is true to life. The merit lies in its being natural, not in its being circumstantially true. And so does the interest of the narrative; for let the persons whose curiosity is on the stretch to be made acquainted with the prototypes of the tale, once gain possession of the secret, and be able to point out the real *Lefevre* and the real *Douglas*, the discovery by which the truth of the story is fully ascertained, will, we venture to affirm, be attended by a diminution of interest in the narrative. Its power permanently to impress the feelings, will depend upon the intrinsic qualities of the narrative, be it fiction or no fiction.

The only *moral* purpose of a tale, is, to present instructive exhibitions of human character. Events, or, as they are termed, facts, are of no further use than as they are the means and occasion of developing the characters which the writer wishes to delineate. The Author of "No Fiction" states, 'that as it was 'his design, in making these pages public, not to agitate the 'heart, but to amend it, to realize this, it was necessary not 'merely to throw together some striking events, but especially 'to develop the moral causes and effects with which they were 'associated.' One of the very worst effects attributable to novel-reading, is, its tendency to produce *a passion for incident*, — to induce a vague expectation of adventure in real life, which is impatient of the still, gradual pace at which things move on within the sphere of domestic duties and enjoyments, and too often inspires the attempt to create the incidents which they fail to supply. The present work is *not* chargeable with any such tendency: the incidents are by no means forced or crowded, and they are of that sober kind which our ordinary days, and weeks, and years are composed of. The Author has obviously trusted to the characters he delineates, to interest the reader: and by this means he has succeeded in producing a highly instructive and affecting piece of religious biography.

The prominent character is that of Lefevre, a relapsed convert; and the leading design of the narrative, is to point out the dangers which beset an impressible, sanguine, and unexperienced youth, on entering life, from the allurements and insinuating influence of worldly society.

'The history opens in the nineteenth year of Lefevre; and embraces a course of events, running through the twelve successive years of his life. It is, therefore, in its own nature, eminently adapted to those who are occupying or anticipating a similar period of existence; and the Writer has constantly held in view the improvement of the youthful character, in the choice and illustration of the incidents he has introduced.'

We shall not analyse the tale; nor do we deem it necessary to subject the literary merit of the composition to a severely critical estimate, however we may have been disposed to wish, on going through the volumes, that the Author had himself exercised a more rigid taste. The marked inequality of the style, would almost lead us to imagine that the work was the joint production of two different hands. The *ornamental* parts in particular, where there is an evident introduction of the *ad libitum*, the descriptive and sentimental interpolations which are intended to 'impart a relish for the beauties of nature,' might have been curtailed with great advantage to the work. We must confess that the first two or three chapters, produced in our minds very unfavourable anticipations of what was to follow; and we thought that if the conversation between Mr. Banks and Mr. Douglas, was 'no fiction,' fiction would have been better in this case than fact. The 'sentiments of blessed-'ness and love,' the feelings 'above utterance,' the 'still com-'munion' of the two friends, together with the dancing 'em-'blems of peace and freedom,' and the *groupe* of primrose, cowslip, and hawthorn, made us fancy we had taken up an old number of the Youth's Magazine. If such writing is adapted to please young persons, it must be very young persons; while those of maturer age, to whom the lesson of the tale is adapted more especially to be useful, are in some danger of being sickened before they enter upon it, by the meretricious graces and somewhat tedious conversation of the introductory chapters. As we wish not to advert again to what constitutes indeed the only defect of the work, we must here add, that the letter of Lefevre, in Chapter V., is in a strain more characteristic of a young lady of fourteen, than of a young man of twenty, and that Lefevre's conduct is made to border too closely upon childishness, to excite the reader's sympathy. When the Writer introduced the conversation at p. 91. about the butterfly, he surely must have forgotten for what class of readers he was preparing the narrative; and in detailing the conversation between Mrs. Lefevre and Douglas in Chapter XXIV., he appears equally to have lost sight of Mrs. Lefevre's character as depicted in an early part of the narrative. To a person of her age and Christian experience, in whose character 'Divine grace,' we are told, 'appeared less in the character of a combatant struggling for 'superiority, than of a sovereign reigning with undisputed 'control,'—what mode of address could be more inappropriate and offensive, as coming from a young man, than the following made speech of Mr. Douglas?

'"Life is troublous to the best of us, ma'am. In this world God designs our *improvement* rather than our *happiness*; and, if our trou-

bles only prepare us for eternal felicity, we shall in the end, number them with our blessings."'

These unimportant blemishes only shew that the Author has not been in the habit of composition. We hope we shall be acquitted of any unfriendly motive in pointing them out to his attention. Did we think less highly of the tendency of the narrative, we should not have thought it worth while to make these remarks upon the composition. We proceed to discharge the more pleasing part of our office.

The character of Wallis is very natural and well delineated. The progress of Lefevre's intimacy with him, the way in which he gradually gains an ascendancy over his mind, the relaxation of Lefevre's religious habits, his consequent uneasiness, ineffectual resolves, and eventual declension, are described with all the force of truth. Considerable judgement is exhibited in this part of the work; and there is a pointedness of remark, and a vigour in the style, which contrast with the feebleness of some of the preceding chapters. Of this description is the judicious remark on the subject of apparent frankness and liberality in worldly characters, that 'ease and warmth of manner are distinct from frankness; and that, as to liberality, if we only conform ourselves to the course of the world, there are few who will trouble themselves about our *idle* opinions.' Again; the exclamation put into Lefevre's mouth, is very striking, 'O, how dreadfully easy is it, in the company of the religious, to persuade ourselves we are like them!'

The following passage describes an early stage of Lefevre's religious retrogression.

'While Wallis was exulting in the hope of reclaiming his friend from melancholy and fanaticism; and while Lefevre was eagerly fleeing from the presence of a conscience which, because it told him the truth, he had foolishly adjudged an enemy; Mr. and Mrs. Russell were filled with most anxious concern.

'Lefevre had, indeed, preserved the best appearances before them; but his frankness of character did not allow him to beguile them into a false opinion; and their very attachment to him, whilst it apologized for his failings, was quick in their detection. They did not know enough of his engagements to say exactly how the change was effected; but they were too sensible a material change had occurred since the renewal of his intercourse with Wallis. His calm and regular pursuits, in which he was once so happy, were now abandoned; he was evidently reluctant to spiritual conversation; and they had reason to fear that, if the forms of devotion were not relinquished, the spirit had departed.

'They tendered their little attentions as usual, and even increased them; but, generally, they met no kindly return; and sometimes were succeeded by a tart reply. That cheerfulness of temper which prepared him formerly to receive and bestow happiness in the little

circle, was lost; and succeeded by a feverish hurry and irritation of spirit, which spoke of inward dissatisfaction. His evenings were seldom spent at home; and when they were, his refreshments were often taken in silence; and he hastily retired to his room, to forget himself in the engrossing interest of a novel, or romance.'

In a conversation with this worthy couple, which ensues, Lefevre expresses his gratitude to them for their prayers and their advice, but, in the spirit of self justification, adds:

'"But, what have I done?—I have done nothing that is wrong, have I?"

'"Nothing that is *wrong!*—I hope, my dear Charles, you do not limit this phrase to things directly immoral. This will never do for Christians. I remember my good old minister of Bridgenorth used often to say, there are three sorts of actions:—those that are good; those that are bad; and those that are doubtful;—and that we ought to be most cautious of those that are *doubtful*. 'For,' said he, (they are his very words), 'we are in most danger of these doubtful actions; because they do not alarm us, and yet they insensibly lead to greater transgressions—just as the shades of twilight gradually reconcile us to darkness.'"

'"But I do not know that I have done even what you would call *doubtful*," replied Lefevre, in haste, as if he thought conscience would forbid the sentence, if he paused.

'"I believe we shall find the best way of deciding on these *things doubtful*, is to judge rather by their *influence* upon us, than by their *sensible turpitude*. And now, my dear Charles, be candid with yourself, as you can be. Look back a little. Compare yourself, not with what you were yesterday, or yesterday week; but compare yourself with what you were six months ago. Are you not different to what you were *then?* Are you so tranquil, so happy, so satisfied with yourself? Have you so much spirituality of mind? so much deadness to the world?—such enjoyment of religion?—And must you not refer this change of feeling to a change of society and employments?"

'Lefevre threw himself back in his chair, and rested his eyebrows on the fore-fingers of his right-hand, evidently the subject of an inward conflict, which he yet wished to conceal. Mr. Russell was delighted to see he had brought him to this state of reflection; and that it might not be interrupted, he paused and began to charge his pipe, a thing he habitually did when he had nothing else to employ him.

'Mrs. Russell, however, had held her peace as long as she was able, and she remarked with some warmth—'But surely Mr. Lefevre you cannot think it *doubtful*, whether you ought to read such *scandalous* and *wicked* books as those which have been lying on your table, for the last two months?'

'Lefevre was not displeased at this ill-timed, but well-intentioned observation. It called him from painful, though salutary, reflections; and he felt, that if it did apply to some of the novels that had passed under his eye, it did not describe the whole of them, nor those that had afforded him most pleasure. He therefore answered with spirit,

—' That the books in question were not scandalous, and wicked;—that, on the contrary, they were designed to enforce good morals;—that they gave us an acquaintance with the world, and taught us a proper conduct in life.'

' 'I don't know,' replied Mrs. Russell, looking rather wisely,—' I believe you must allow, that it is not to novel readers we are to look, for "proper conduct" in the world. These wretched books, I am sure, have ruined multitudes of young people.'

' 'Well, ma'am, they have not ruined me,' said Lefevre, a little vexed at Mrs. Russell's close remarks, the more so, perhaps, because he felt his conscience inclined to her side.

' 'Oh! Mr. Lefevre, do not be angry! Do not talk lightly about being ruined. I cannot bear that!—But I cannot help thinking, that novels and plays are the *way* to ruin, and Mr. Russell and I, have not been easy about you, since you brought them into the house.—Say, Mr. Lefevre, you wo'n't read any more of them. Remember, you used to call them "rubbish and vile trash."—Oh! what would Mr. Douglas say if he knew you read them!'

' This feeling speech much affected Lefevre; but the appeal to Douglas, with which it closed, touched his pride; and he again replied,—' That Mr. Douglas would not condemn them as Mrs. Russel did; and, that she had no right to condemn them, since she had never read them. Read them,' said he, with rather an ungracious tone, ' and then give sentence.'

' 'Nay, my dear Charles,' said Mr. Russell, with his usual calmness, ' I hope you do not think it necessary to buy all our knowledge with experience. Surely you would not think of taking a dose of arsenic, to ascertain that it is poison. And when we see with our own eyes, the dangerous influence of these books on numbers of young persons; and hear the testimony of the best and most pious of men concerning them; we can need no other evidence, and are fully warranted in forming our own opinion.'

' Lefevre was asking himself, why he did not reason in this way at the time Miss Wallis first introduced her Tales to him, when Mr. Russell resumed: ' I tell thee what, Charles—I remember my younger days. I thought of many things as you now seem to think. I attempted to unite religion with, what the world calls, innocent pleasures. But, somehow or other, I found that these *innocent* pleasures, hurt my conscience, and unfitted me for devotion. I was in this unhappy state for a long time, and it distresses me to think how near I was to losing all taste for religion, by these worldly pleasures. However, that God whom I had sought as the guide of my youth, did not forsake me. I prayed that I might see my error, and read my bible more diligently; and, in a few weeks, I was almost another creature. I was so happy in religion, that I lost all relish for my foolish amusements. So true it is, that prayer will either draw us from the world, or the world will draw us from prayer. It was about this time, that I made some resolutions, and read them carefully every week; and I am sure, they have not only kept me from many a snare since, but I hope have often quickened me in the pursuit of heavenly things.

' ' Well, I was going to tell you the resolutions. These are they. I resolved :—

' ' *First*,—To think of nothing, that would unfit me for communion with God.

' ' *Secondly*,—To do nothing, on which I could not ask his presence and blessing.

' ' And, *Thirdly*,—To read nothing, which would make me uneasy, if I should read it before a modest female.'

' Lefevre retired from this, and similar converse, to his own chamber with a troubled spirit. Once more he fell on his knees, and with more fervor than he had used for many months, offered his supplications to God. He arose ; and gave himself to rest, with a composure, which was the more sensible to him, as he had been so long a stranger to the soothing efficacy of prayer.

' In the morning, his feelings were of a more mixed description. If his heart was at all influenced by penitence, it was not free from every emotion of resentment. He was vexed with himself, for having given an opportunity for rebuke ; and he was vexed with the indiscriminate, and, as he called it, excessive way, in which Mrs. Russell administered it.

' This lady, indeed, with the noblest intentions, often accelerated the mischief she wished to prevent. In the ardour of her friendship, she would say too much—do too much. In her eagerness to obtain a desirable object, she could not pause to ask the best *manner* of securing it. She could not estimate, and classify evils. If a thing was wrong—why, it was wrong—and must be opposed, and protested against, in the same way as any other wrong thing. Like an empiric in medicine, she would exhibit the same remedy for the same disease, without any regard to constitution or character. She did not know, that many weak persons are often hurried into the very thing one would have them avoid, by injudicious and ill-timed opposition.

' Unhappily, Lefevre had not learned to separate *advice*, from the *mode* of giving it. Mrs. Russell's remarks, therefore, were not generally successful ; sometimes they fretted him into anger ; and more frequently tempted him to forget a good admonition, in quarrelling with the way in which it was presented.' Vol. I. 176—183.

Many of the letters occasionally introduced, contain very admirable instruction. Some of them, we suspect, are transcripts of real communications. Lefevre, on being awakened to a sense of his criminal relapses, is naturally tempted to give way to despair ; a state of mind as remote from the humility and ingenuousness of true contrition, as it is from peace and self-satisfaction. ' Often,' he is represented as saying, ' have I concluded, ' that I am intended as an awful instance how far a man may go ' in religion, and yet be lost.' Douglas thus writes to his friend while exhibiting these symptoms of imperfect penitence.

' ' I was, principally, affected to observe the tendency you discovered to *despair*. No evil is to be dreaded more than this. Where it is found, no good can dwell. It withers up the energies of the

soul—it averts the eyes from the work of redemption—it shuts up the heart in obstinate impenitence. Your present circumstances may well give birth to prayer, to penitence, to circumspection: but they should by no means engender despair. There is every thing in God—every thing in the character of the Saviour—every thing in the spirit of the gospel, to encourage hope,—nothing to countenance despair. Hope is presented to the most miserable—the most criminal—of human beings; if we lose hope then, it is not because it is withheld, but because we cast it away from us. Cherish then, I entreat you, as a most invaluable blessing, the hope of salvation! Not that ignorant, indolent, indefinable hope, which springs, like the ignis fatuus, from the very bosom of corruption. This is miscalled; it is not hope but presumption. Cherish that operative, spiritual and immortal hope, which the scriptures describe, as eclipsing the world, purifying the heart, and laying hold of things invisible!

'Should you find, that the review of the past becomes an obstruction to your hopes, I would advise you *to begin your religion afresh.* I have found wonderful advantage in this simple rule. Many persons spend time in seeking after evidence of their *past* christian character, when it would be much better employed, in an *immediate* application to the Saviour. Say in such seasons of doubt,—"If I have not been really penitent, I will desire to be so *now*;—if I have not relied on the Saviour, I will rely on him *now*;—if I never have surrendered myself to him, I will make my surrender *now*." This often foils the enemy, at a moment, when he has been arranging a train of objections to our *former* piety.' pp. 225, 6.

Lefevre has involved himself in obligations to Wallis, of a nature which render it impossible for him to disentangle himself from his friendship. He gradually plunges deeper and deeper into dissipation; begins to think degradingly of mankind, to suspect the sincerity, and eagerly to detect the failings of the professors of religion; is tempted to disbelieve Christianity, and allows himself to read infidel authors; but

'he remained a believer in opposition to his desires, in opposition to his efforts. The most that he could, at any time, do, was to *doubt*, not to *disbelieve*, to be a *sceptic*, not an *infidel*.'

Intoxication, as presenting a fresh excitement, and a transient suspension of intolerable disquietude, completes the deterioration of his character. This is a natural progress, every fresh step in which, it is justly remarked, seems to heighten, both in feeling and in fact, the impossibility of return, by extinguishing, first the hope, and then the desire of returning, till the character is at least irreversibly sealed up by impenitent desperation. Hundreds and thousands of young men of half-formed religious principles—our public offices especially would afford numberless instances of the kind,—have run the downward career of Lefevre, not, like him, to be rescued.

The second volume contains some very interesting incidents, and some very pleasing writing. Perhaps we cannot select, for a concluding extract, a passage that shall do more justice to the talents of the author, than that which describes the temptation to suicide. If such thoughts and feelings may be with safety and benefit to the reader ever embodied in narrative, they could not have been more instructively, more impressively represented, than in the following recital.

'Thus silent, but restless, Lefevre went forth from the busy town. Where was he to go?—What was he to do?—were questions, that did not occur to him. He merely wished to escape the inquisitive eye—the impertinent question—the objects and concerns of a world, which had ruined him, which he loathed, and from which he felt he was severed for ever. In a word, he sought solitude. But solitude was not made for man; much less for the *guilty*. There grows the nightshade; there live the scorpion and the serpent; there dwell the beasts of prey "going about seeking whom they may devour;" and there are found the syrens of a lower world, decoying the reckless wanderer to his own destruction. Lefevre should have sought in the sanctuary of friendship, the medium between desolate solitude, and worldly tumult; but he had yet much to learn. The means he once more adopted for his relief, were such as would provoke his distemper; and, as he wandered carelessly away over hill and valley, to the eye of a compassionate spectator, he appeared as though he were "going out into the wilderness to be tempted."

'Long—long he wandered, thoughtless of place—of time—of appetite—of fatigue. At length, he was impeded in his course, by suddenly coming down on the margin of a considerable river. A fine old tree stood close beside him; and, spent with exertion, he threw himself beneath its refreshing shade.

'The prospect around him was pleasing. The river, in one direction, ran and winded, as far as the eye could see; and in the other, was, at about half a mile from the spot, decorated with a well formed bridge, which was animated by the foot of industry, and the rumbling of carriages. The arms of the bridge united the dwellings and inhabitants of two populous towns: while its elliptic arches presented in fine perspective, the cottages, meadows, and hills, which rested in the distance. On one hand, the hills again arose in larger and bolder form, clothed with a verdure that might have deceived one into spring. On the other hand, appeared, on a pretty eminence, the tower of a church, rendered beautiful, by being encircled with elm trees; respectable, by standing connected with the remains of an old baronial castle; and awful, by having at its feet the tombs of our fathers, and our fathers' fathers. On the whole scene the sun now shone with a living brightness. Nature had shed her dews profusely on the face of the earth, as if to hide the nakedness of autumn; and now they glittered on every object, with a crystal, silvery light.

'But what were delightful prospects to Lefevre! If his eye strayed over the scenery, it was unconsciously and for a moment; and,

if it had any effect upon him, it was without effort or comparison. Its gaiety and cheerfulness insensibly seemed to put him farther from happiness; and to deepen the darkness of his soul. There was but one object that could secure his attention, and on that it was fixed —*it was the river!* His eyes rose and fell upon its waters, so as to indicate a spirit under the changing sway of anguish, fear, and desperation. For some minutes, he had sat as still as the tree beneath which he rested, and then, with a low voice, as if opposing some objections, said—"Why should I live? My life is a curse to myself and to others. I know I am lost and must die—Why should I live? If I were dead, I should know what I have to suffer. My punishment is just—I allow it; why may I not *seek* it?" To this, a voice within him replied,—That though the sentence were just, he was not authorized to take the execution of it into his own hands—that the Author of life alone, has the right of disposing of life—and that to touch his own life would only be to add to his other transgressions the heinous one of self-destruction.

Lefevre, with all his waywardness, was not willing to add to his offences, and he had no argument to oppose to these suggestions; yet the tempter was busy in his soul. As he was silently revolving the perilous subject, and his reason and passion held doubtful conflict, a sheep belonging to a flock feeding near him, ventured from the circle; and, coming within a few yards of him, stood looking in his face. Lefevre's attention was called up. Dumb as the animal was, its features spoke it innocent and happy. He could not look upon it —it touched his heart! "I was once," thought he, "*like it*—what am "I *now?*" He turned away his head, rose from the ground, and began to walk from a spot so ensnaring to him.

'The tempter does not always expect immediate success to attend the temptation he offers. An alarming object must be reconciled to the sight, by frequent presentation, before it can be embraced. Lefevre's mind had been happily diverted from itself, in a moment of great danger; but the subject on which it dwelt was by no means dismissed. On the contrary, he returned to it directly—balanced it in his thoughts with an avidity he could have experienced on nothing else—and often rose to a tone of confidence, in deciding against doing an injury to his own person. This did not signify. His enemy had gained *one* point, perhaps the only one he proposed at this time—he had *familiarized* his thoughts to the act, by the very *consideration* of it. The hour of close assault was to come.

'The day, for the season of the year, had been remarkably fine and warm; and the evening partook of its nature. Lefevre had rambled about till, as the sun was declining, he came in view once more of the river; but at a distance of about five miles from the spot, to which a reference has already been made. The feelings, with which he had gazed upon it in the morning, powerfully revived within him; and he was, alas! too well prepared to indulge them with, at least, diminished horror. He advanced to the side of it. A bank had been made, several yards in length, for facilitating the conveyance of chalk and flint to the vessels; it was now in disuse, and covered with grass, except where a few calcareous stones were seen. The side to the water

rose perpendicular about four feet above the surface, and descended several feet below it. To this elevation Lefevre ascended. He walked to and fro, agitated with those throes of passion which, by the torment they gave, biassed his mind to the sinister resolution. Weary of action and weary of life, he sat himself on the stones at the very verge of the river. This was the moment of trial! The night had come on. Obscurity had fallen on every thing but the waters; on them the moon beams played with most fascinating sweetness. Lefevre's frame was heated with fever and exercise; no breeze was stirring to invigorate it; the river alone looked cool and refreshing, and seemed inviting him to its very bosom.—He listened—not a sound was to be heard. He looked round—not a living creature was to be seen. His purpose strengthened—he started on his feet. His spirit shuddered with horror—not at the leap to the waters—but at the idea of rushing into the presence of the Great God he had offended! He walked about in agitation—sat down again. He postponed a purpose which he had not power either to break or fulfil—he would do it when the tide came to a certain height. His aching eye hung over the bank, watching the awful progress of the rippling waters. Now they ran over the stone, which was to fill up the measure of his time—but they sank again! The blood fell back to his heart, and the sweat drops sprang on his forehead! Now again the little waves ripple over the mark—and—subside no more! He rises from his seat for the last time. He starts to see a person in the path which ran along the bottom of the bank. He paused to get the stranger out of sight. This was not so readily done. He waited—and waited; and, at last concluding the intruder meant to watch him, he descended to the pathway, and left the place full of indignation.' pp. 111—118.

Whoever be the author of "No Fiction," he has evidently no superficial acquaintance with the human heart. If he is not a practised writer, he must be an experienced Christian; and whatever defects may attach to the subordinate parts of the story, are amply compensated by the sterling good sense and piety which characterise the sentiments. Lefevre's penitence and restoration are described with great judgement; the connexion of pride and despair, of gratitude and hope, of self-distrust and assurance, is admirably illustrated; and the Writer with great propriety waives the question of the reality of Lefevre's former piety. We very cordially recommend the work as replete with the most valuable lessons, especially to young persons who are just entering upon life.

Art. VII. *A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians.* 32mo. pp. 69. Price 6d. 1819.

WE do not often notice Sunday School literature, to which, according to its original intention, this very interesting little Tract is to be referred; but the information which it contains, relative to a very remarkable people and an important field of missionary exertion, gives it a much better title to notice in our Journal than many publications of loftier pretensions; while, from the humble shape in which it appears, it may seem to stand more in need of being brought before the attention of our readers. The narrative is given as a faithful relation of facts which came under the Writer's personal observation, when recently in America. For the purpose of authenticating the account, the name of John Morrison Duncan, the very respectable publisher, is affixed to the Advertisement, as that of the Author of the Tract.

'The true character of the North American Indians,' he remarks, 'is, in this country, very little known. We have heard 'much of their cruelty, their treachery, and their love of re-'venge; but,' he adds, 'we mistake them very much.'

'The Indians, except in so far as they have been degraded by the wickedness of Europeans, are possessed of many of the most engaging qualities of human nature. Humanity, benevolence, and honesty, are, in peaceful times, their distinguishing characteristics.'

Their habits of industry and sobriety were first destroyed by the wickedness of Europeans. This, we believe, is a generally admitted fact. The conduct of the Whites to the Indians, has been, with few exceptions, 'an unvaried scene of aggression, 'treachery, and cold-blooded cruelty.' Not content with dispossessing them of their territory, 'Europeans, in their wars 'with each other, have not ceased to engage the Indians in 'disputes in which they had no interest, and which, whatever 'party was successful, only hastened the ruin of their unhappy 'race.' To these wrongs, an affecting allusion is made in the speech of an Indian *Sachem*, when questioned respecting the cause of his marked dejection on taking a view of the city of New York.

'"I will tell you brother. I have been looking at your beautiful city—the great water—your fine country—and see how happy you all are. But then I could not help thinking, that this fine country, and this great water, were once ours. Our ancestors lived here—they enjoyed it as their own, in peace—it was the gift of the Great Spirit, to them and their children. At last the white people came here in a great canoe. They asked only to let them tie it to a tree, lest the waters should carry it away—we consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land

them and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came, and they could not go away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter—we granted it to them. They then asked for some corn to keep them from starving—we kindly furnished it to them, they promising to go away when the ice was gone. When this happened, we told them they must now go away with their big canoe; but they pointed to their big guns round their wigwams, and said they would stay there, and we could not make them go away. Afterwards more came. They brought spirituous and intoxicating liquors with them, of which we became very fond. They persuaded us to sell them some land. Finally, they drove us back, from time to time, into the wilderness, far from the water, and the fish, and the oysters. They have destroyed the game; our people have wasted away; and now we live miserable and wretched, while you are enjoying our fine and beautiful country. This makes me sorry, brother, and I cannot help it!" "We are driven back," said an aged warrior, on another occasion, "until we can retreat no farther—our hatchets aré broken—our bows are snapped—our fires are nearly extinguished —a little longer, and the white men will cease to persecute us, for we shall cease to exist." ' pp. 10—12.

In the Letters from Susquehanna country, noticed in our last Number, there is an apologetical and panegyrical reference to the conduct of General Jackson at the expense of the character of the Indians. The following account, which completely reverses the statement there given upon hearsay authority, will show with what caution it is necessary to receive the reports of British refugees.

' This work of death is still going on. The conduct of General Jackson, in his late wars with the Creeks and Seminoles, has been that of a fiend rather than a man. Rapine and devastation have tracked his footsteps. He boasts, in his despatches, that "things were executed in style;" and one of his subordinate officers blushes not to avow, that every village they took was burned, that all the warriors were put to the sword; and so indiscriminate was the butchery, that even women and children were cut off without mercy. At another time, one of Jackson's officers, lying off the mouth of a river, in a schooner, was eager to entrap two Indians of considerable influence, who had hitherto eluded his grasp: to effect it, he hoisted, by Jackson's orders, the British flag at the mast head; the Indians hailed with joy the friendly ensign, and hastened on board, fondly hoping to escape from the destroyer. No sooner had they set their foot on deck than ropes were put round their necks, and they were hanged at the yard arm. Such are the men who stun our ears with outcries about liberty and the rights of man; and such is the humanity of those who call the Indians cruel! Men may palliate and excuse these enormities,

> ' But many a crime, deemed innocent on earth,
> Is registered in Heaven; and these, no doubt,
> Have each their record, with a curse annexed.

'Is it cause of wonder, that the Indians, thus goaded on to madness and despair, have sometimes turned with fury upon their persecutors; and when an opportunity offered, exacted blood for blood?' pp. 14—16.

'It may be thought somewhat out of place, but I cannot avoid stating here, in justice to the Americans, that this man's character is execrated by all well informed people, whether Federalists or Republicans. He became deservedly popular for his defence of New Orleans during the last war, but his subsequent conduct makes it appear that he considers himself elevated by his success there, far above the influence of all law. His execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, took place while I was in America, and excited among the well-disposed throughout the Union, the most decided abhorrence; the general feeling respecting this transaction was, that Great Britain would have been perfectly justifiable had she marked her indignation at it in a much more decided way than she did. The few who defended Jackson's conduct, were either the leaders in party politics, or those whose virulent antipathy to this country knows no bounds; and of these by far the greater proportion are disaffected refugees from different parts of Great Britain. The Americans have wronged and traduced the Indians, but many among us, no less maliciously wrong and misrepresent the Americans.' Note, pp. 14, 15.

It is for the interest of both nations, that the true state of things in the United States should be known; that both the delusive pictures of sanguine adventurers, and the distorted views of dissatisfied speculatists, as well as the still grosser or more malignant misrepresentations of party writers, should receive correction. In the present destitution of authentic and competent information, the only plan we can adopt, is, to receive accounts from each of these quarters with equal caution, and to let them correct or negative each other. Thus, Johnson and Cobbett may serve to expose the fallacies of Birkbeck, and Fearon, to expose Cobbett, as, in this instance the Susquehanna Secretary receives a direct contradiction to one of his statements, from a witness whose accuracy we see no reason to doubt.

The present Narrative, however, relates almost exclusively to one of the aboriginal nations of America. The Tuscarora Indians were once a numerous and powerful race, and possessed an extensive tract of country in North Carolina. A small tract of land, about four miles from the banks of Niagara on the American side, and about eight miles below the Falls, is now their only remaining nominal possession; and their number has dwindled down to about three hundred. During the recent war between Great Britain and the United States, this settlement shared in the desolation of all the villages on either side of the river; but these villages had been rebuilt some time before the Writer's visit, and the Indians had been again collected from their wanderings. Mr. Duncan heard at New York, that a missionary and a schoolmaster had been stationed among them;

and the favourable report which was given of their success, determined him on passing a sabbath at their village. It was on Sunday, the 18th of October, 1818, that this wish was realised. On entering the first log-house he came to, he inquired for the Church, and was directed to it by an old Indian who knew just enough of English to understand and satisfy his inquiry. He found it a log-house also, but larger than most of the others; it is a church on the sabbath, and, during the rest of the week, a school-house.

'The Indians, together with some white people, were just beginning to assemble; some of them were sitting round on trunks of trees; I seated myself beside them, and looked round me with much interest, on a scene such as I never before saw, and in all probability may never see again. The landscape was altogether American; the view was bounded by thick forests stretching far in every direction; round us the axe had been at work, and for a considerable extent, the ground was covered by the stumps of trees; part of it was divided into fields, surrounded by the zigzag rail fences, and crops of Indian corn had been partly gathered, and were partly ripe for it. Scattered around were the log huts of the natives, and before me was one devoted to the worship of God and the instruction of the young. No bell was ringing, but an Indian at the door was sounding a horn, and as it echoed through the woods, a congregation was assembling, different from any this country can show. It was not such an assemblage as crowd the streets of our populous cities, or the lanes of a country village; but the Red Indian of the forest, stately in his figure, and with a countenance and dress unknown in our native country, forsaking the superstitions of his forefathers, was assembling with his wife and children, to worship the Christian's God. Surely here was a scene calculated to awaken in the thinking mind, the most lively sensations of delight; and produce a powerful conviction of the advancing accomplishment of the Divine promise, that "His name shall be known in all the earth, his saving health among all nations."

'The personal appearance of these Indians, was very different from that of almost all those whom I had previously seen. The scattered remnants of these ancient proprietors of the soil, which are to be seen among the settlements of the Whites, present in general a pitiable appearance. Habitual drunkenness has ruined among them all that was noble in the Indian character; and they are often to be seen in rags and wretchedness, squandering at the tavern doors the little money they acquire; a deplorable picture of moral degradation. The Tuscaroras, however, who were gathering to church, presented a very different appearance. They were clean and decent in their dress—they bore every mark of sobriety and good behaviour—the men walked with the conscious independence of those who know and do their duty; and the aspect of the women and children, was such as betokened industry, frugality, and domestic comfort.

'They talked but little to each other when they were assembling, for the Indians are remarkable for their quietness and decorum. Some of the men awaited round the door the minister's arrival; the women

walked in and took their seats. In a short time, the minister Mr. Crane, with Mrs. Crane, arrived; some other white people accompanied them, and all followed them into the church. Within, it had a respectable appearance. Round the walls were hung the boards used in Lancasterian schools, containing the Alphabet and Spelling Lessons; from which the Indian children are taught during the week. Near the head of the room stood a desk for the minister, and forms were ranged round to accommodate the congregation. The appearance of the Indians was, in every respect, pleasing: they sat sedate and attentive, with their eyes fixed on the ground. The women, without exception, kept their cloaks wrapped closely round them; and with their left hand brought it over their mouth, leaving only the upper part of their face uncovered. This is their customary attitude before strangers, and has a singular but very becoming appearance.

'The exercises of the day commenced by the Indians singing a hymn in their native language. The tune was one of our common psalm tunes. Some of them had the music books before them, and they sang the different parts. Their voices were good; those of the females particularly sweet; and the effect was very pleasing. It was to me indeed an unknown tongue, yet I heard it with emotions of much pleasure. It was the first time in my life I had heard those who speak another language than myself, celebrating the praise of Jehovah in their native tongue; and reminded me of the day of Pentecost, when the strangers from foreign countries, collected at Jerusalem, heard the disciples declare to them in the various languages, the wonderful works of God. It produced on me a feeling very different from that with which I have sometimes heard the Papists, in one of their week-day services, chanting a Latin anthem;—that, suggested nothing but pity mingled with horror; for they, poor creatures, knew not the meaning of the words put in their mouths by the priests, which, for any thing they knew, might contain curses in place of blessings;—what delusion, to suppose that such service can be acceptable to God! But these Indians understood what they sung; and, from what I afterwards learned, I have no doubt it was with some of them, the acceptable praise of a renewed and a grateful heart.

'When the hymn was concluded, Mr. Crane addressed them on the nature and importance of religion—he spoke in English, and an old Indian, whose name, as I afterwards learned, was Kusack, stood beside him, and interpreted sentence by sentence. He told them that the object of God in sending the gospel to any nation, was to enlighten the people;—to teach them their true character;—to make known to them how their sins might be forgiven;—and to leave utterly without excuse, those who should refuse to hear; those who wilfully persisted in rejecting the offers of mercy which were sent to them. The old interpreter made this address intelligible to his Red brethren, and it was listened to with the most profound attention. On its being concluded, they united in singing another hymn; and after the hymn, Mr. Crane offered up a fervent prayer for the presence and blessing of God. He prayed, that his Indian auditory might understand and accept the offer of salvation;—that the careless might be awakened;—that believers might be strengthened;—that White and Red might

be brethren in Christ Jesus, and children of God by faith. Who, that knows the blessings of salvation, and has tasted that the Lord is gracious, could refuse to say Amen, to such a prayer, in such an assembly?' pp. 25—33.

A sermon followed, which was translated, sentence by sentence, by old Kusack, the interpreter; after which, one of the Indians was called upon to pray in his native language before the whole assembly, both Whites and Indians, to the God and Father of all. The service was concluded by singing a hymn, and the benediction. The Writer subsequently introduced himself to Mr. Crane, and from him he received some highly satisfactory details relative to the subjects of his ministerial labours. His congregation consisted of thirteen regular members, six men and seven women; but, besides these, a considerable number attended constantly, of many of whom he entertained a favourable opinion.

'Mr. Crane assured me, that a very beneficial change has been produced on the Tuscaroras by the introduction of Christianity. They were, some years ago, in a state of as great debasement as many of the other nations: but now, out of the three hundred of which the nation consists, there are but ten who ever indulge to excess in spirituous liquors. Even these do it but seldom, and are so conscious of their fault, that for a considerable time after each such occurrence, they keep as much out of sight as possible, till they think their misdemeanour has been forgotten. They now pay considerable attention to agriculture, and not only raise Indian corn, which requires little labour, and of which all the nations raise a little; but have begun to cultivate wheat, which is a much more valuable crop, and though it requires greater care, is less affected by the vicissitudes of the weather, and can therefore with much more confidence be relied on as a security against want. They are, as a nation, honest in their transactions with each other, and industrious in labouring for the support of themselves and their families. The benefits of Christianity, therefore, are not confined to those who have made a public profession of it, but it has greatly improved the whole nation. A standard of honesty and morality has been introduced among them; they have been taught to regard the good opinion of others, and to consider themselves as members of a body, for the good of which, all are bound to labour. pp. 50, 51.

It is not among the Tuscaroras alone, that missionaries are labouring; the work has been begun among some of the southern nations, with a prospect of success. The Writer was present when a sermon was preached at New York for the benefit of a mission among the Cherokees, at which four young men of that nation, who were educating as missionaries and teachers, formed part of the audience. But the Five Nations, viz. the Mohawks, Oneydas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas, of whom the scattered remains are chiefly collected at an Indian village near

Buffalo, continue obstinately to oppose all attempts to evangelize them. A New York newspaper states, that at a Council fire held in the Spring of 1819, they solemnly resolved not to encourage the introduction of Christianity among them; thereby, in effect, 'signing their own death warrant.' It is added: 'This remnant of the Five Nations will not exist much longer; 'no nations ever decreased with so much rapidity.' 'The re-'novating influence of the Christian religion,' remarks Mr. Duncan, 'would yet have saved them from extinction; but this ef-'fectual and only remedy they spurn from them, and soon will it 'be with them "as a tale that is told."' The tract concludes with a pressing appeal to the Christian reader, on behalf of the missionary cause, which, we hope, will not be unavailing.

Art. VIII. *Hints on the Sources of Happiness.* Addressed to her Children by a Mother, Author of "Always Happy," &c. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 680. London. 1819.

IT would be in the highest degree uncandid, to withhold praise from the intentions which dictated the present work. But the plea of maternal anxiety, as the motive to the undertaking, can avail only thus far, to make us respect the amiable character of the mother, while we examine the more doubtful claims of the Author.

Had the Writer, instead of setting herself to establish a theory, been content to suggest such practical hints on the sources of happiness as might have directed her readers to the diligent improvement of the actual means of enjoyment, it is possible, that she might have produced a useful and lively work. But she has fallen into the same error as a learned Divine did before her, whose treatise on Human Happiness, fell some years ago under our notice:* She has thought it requisite, in order to vindicate the ways of God to man, and the best means also of making her children happy, to shew that the unhappiness of mankind is a *grand mistake*; that men are not so unhappy as they imagine they feel themselves to be; that, at all events, they have no occasion to be unhappy, for 'there are but two causes 'for *rational* sorrow,—the death of friends, and the consciousness of guilt;'—of which two evils, 'the former has its consolations, and the latter its benefits;' and that 'three fourths of 'those who grieve, do so without adequate cause, or from causes 'distinct from *fate*.' To which is gravely added, that, 'when 'misery is not chimerical, it is either produced by ourselves or 'our fellow-creatures,'—for instance, by their dying! The process of reasoning by which these several propositions are established, introduce the discovery (p. 36) of 'another valuable 'fact;'—

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* Eclectic Review, N.S. Vol. I. pp. 545.

'That as that medium, virtue, is attainable to all ranks and degrees of intellect and fortune, so also is happiness within the reach of all. A conclusion perfectly compatible with all that reason and religion inculcates, and beautifully in unison with the *known justice* of a superintending Providence.'

We wonder what would be the effect upon this good lady's ideas of the *known justice* of Providence, as resting upon the equal distribution of the means of virtue and happiness, were she suddenly to find herself transported to the scene of missionary exertions among the Hindoos. Probably, she regards as very unnecessary, the great stir which is made about the conversion of those amiable idolaters. What cause for '*rational* sorrow' can they have, since their minds are undisturbed by the 'consciousness of 'guilt,' and they are actually found assisting in the death of their relatives with the most obliging alacrity?

But the glaring absurdity of these statements, does not form the ground of so serious a charge against the Writer, as the dangerous tendency of her notions of morality.

'In a general sense, we must,' she says, 'be permitted to estimate actions as they receive the approbation or reprehension of our fellow-creatures. How otherwise can we rate them?'

Scripture represents the praise of God and the praise of man as at variance, so that things which are in high esteem among men, are an abomination to Him.* But of the assistance of Scripture, the Writer has not thought it necessary to avail herself. She quotes David Hume; and so, strange to tell, she does Hannah More. She quotes, too, a Dr. Gregory, we know not what Dr. Gregory, as advancing the assertion, that 'To 'affirm that God *cannot* dispense with his own prescience, is to 'say, that God is not omnipotent.' The confusion of ideas in this string of words, we should be loath to charge on any author of respectability. But the length and breadth of the present Writer's religious sentiments, are more unequivocally exhibited in the concluding chapter, where she closes her remarks on religion, with the '*creed*' of 'the ingenious and ami-'able Dr. Franklin,' who has left behind him the assurance that the system of morals and religion taught by Jesus of Nazareth, had his decided approbation.

We cannot refrain from adding one hint on the sources of happiness, which we wish might be impressed on all the readers into whose hands these volumes may fall: in the old-fashioned work we have already alluded to, one of the sacred penmen says, "I have more understanding than all my *teachers*, for THY tes-"timonies are my meditation."

* On this subject, the Writer might be advantageously referred to an admirable sermon in Dr. Chalmers's last volume.

Art IX, *A Letter to the Right Hon. Charles B. Bathurst, M. P. on the Subject of the Poor Laws.* By Richard Blakemore, Esq. 8vo. pp. 34. London, 1819.

THE Writer of this Letter was one of the gentlemen deputed by the iron trade of South Wales, to oppose the Poor Law Settlement Bill, when pending in Parliament. He is also, it appears, a magistrate. The suggestions of every respectable individual of this rank in society, are to be invited, and they claim attention.

Mr. Blakemore represents, that by far the greater part of the litigations respecting Settlements, would be obviated, were the magistrate, instead of granting an order for removal, on the *ex parte* statement of the parish officer,—from which order, the parish to which the pauper is adjudged, can obtain relief only by appeal to the quarter sessions,—to transmit notice of the application for removal, to the pauper's supposed parish, and, in case of dispute, to have their appeal, and the evidence upon which it rests, laid before him, before the order is made final. 'Upon the painful dilemma in which magistrates are placed, in 'making an order final upon hearing only one half of the evi- 'dence, I may appeal,' says the Writer, 'to the experience of 'nearly every magistrate in the kingdom.'

Another suggestion relates to the deficiency of the security which the public at present possess, that the money professedly raised for the relief of the poor, is duly and rigidly applied to its legitimate object. Mr. B. contends, that, upon this subject, there has existed 'the most unaccountable, the most culpable 'remissness,' to which is attributable in a considerable degree, 'the dreadful extension of pauperism.' The provisions of the several statutes respecting parish accounts, he remarks, are found, in practice, to be useless and inoperative.

'The cause whereof, I think, may be traced to these funds having always been considered as of a private character; and to the presumption that, the parish in which they are paid having alone to do with their appropriation, as it is the interest, so it will be the practice of some individuals in it, to be vigilant in regulating the expenditure: but we too well know how parish business is conducted to admit this conclusion. Every day's experience shews, that what is the business of every body, is the business of nobody; and in every parish there are besides numerous individuals who pay to the rates, and are incapacitated, or otherwise prevented from interfering in their appropriation. The principle I therefore wish to introduce is, that not only the parish but the public at large also are interested in the expenditure of this money; and then it will follow, that such method and arrangement must be introduced into the accounts, they must be subjected to the same publicity and scrutiny, and ultimately to the same

parliamentary control as exists in respect to all other branches of our public expenditure.'

But the leading suggestion of the present Writer, is of a more startling nature. It is no other than this, that relief shall be given to the pauper only as a loan redeemable by actual labour; that it shall constitute a debt to the public, for which the public, that is, as it should seem, the State, may demand an equivalent in civil or military service; that the pauper shall sell to the State, or to the parish as the agent of the State, a certain portion of his freedom for so much bread and cheese, unless he can, within, as we imagine, a specified time, repay the amount of the relief which has been advanced to him. What is to become of his family, if he has any, while he is serving out the period of his slavery, Mr. B. does not mention. And there are other difficulties in the way of the scheme, of which he takes as little notice. The idea appears to have been borrowed from the policy of a celebrated Oriental statesman, named Zaphnathpaaneah, who, when the people had given all their money and all their herds, and had nought left but their bodies and their lands to sell for bread, bought both the men and their fields for Pharaoh, and removed the people to cities from one border of the country to the other; so, they were Pharaoh's servants. The State, however, has at present quite as many servants as it knows how to feed, leaving pay out of the question. Since, therefore, this new army of pauper borrowers must eat while they work out their debt, we do not see how the public would be much benefited by the proposed measure. We quite participate in Mr. Blakemore's indignation at *sinecurists*; but we cannot agree with him in regarding the poor in this light. 'The pensioners, placemen, and sinecurists,' he says, 'who 'really eat up the vitals of the State, are those who abusively 'partake of the eight millions a year raised for poor rates, upon 'the industry and tenantry of the country.' How a poor man who works hard all the six days for half the proper wages of labour, and has it made up to him 12*s.* a week out of the poor rate, can be styled a placeman or a *sinecurist*, we leave Mr. Blakemore to explain, and our readers to judge.

Art. X. *A Letter to the Right Hon. J. C. Villiers, on the Education of the Natives of India:* to which are added, an Account of Hindoo Widows, recently burnt alive in Bengal; and also some Extracts from the Reports of the Native Schools, published by the Serampore Missionaries. By William Ward, of Serampore, Bengal. 8vo. pp. 86. London, 1820.

'IT cannot be affirmed,' says Mr. Ward, 'that schools are few 'in India: schools are in fact numerous; but to expand the 'minds of the young, or to give them the elements of know-'ledge, is no part of the plan of these schools.' 'Not a single 'book on morals, on the duties of creatures towards each other, 'or to their Creator, is to be found in any of the common schools 'throughout India.' And even from these schools, such as they are, females are altogether excluded. The Hindoo female is forbidden all education, and has no means of sufficient employment. The total extinction of the moral sense, is the necessary consequence of this rayless ignorance. Mr. Ward affirms that 'falsehood is so common,' that he 'never knew a Hindoo who 'felt the least scruple on this head;' that perjury may be purchased at whatever price is offered, the false swearer being familiarly termed 'a four anas (eightpenny) man;' and that no man in India confides in the promises of another. Mendicity in its most loathsome form, superstition the most abject, universal licentiousness, infanticide, and suicide, compose the picture which, from personal observation, Mr. Ward exhibits, of the present state of Hindoo society.

And yet, he says, 'I doubt not but the Hindoos, if the appe-'tite for knowledge were supplied with food in due proportions, 'would become in mental stature almost equal to Britons them-'selves.' The wretched females, too, he pronounces to be 'quite 'capable of the highest cultivation.'

'Notwithstanding the immense disadvantages to which the female sex is subject, there exist two or three modern instances of mendicants or pilgrims of this sex, acquiring the Shanscrit, and instructing the men in the most abstruse parts of the Hindoo philosophy. Nor can I doubt but that if English females could be persuaded to live in India, and devote their lives to the improvement of their own sex there, schools for girls might easily be obtained, till at length the prejudices of the natives against female education would be removed, and the many millions of females in India, thus raised from the most abject state by the exertions of British females, would assist in raising, and improving, and solacing the other sex, and fixing in their hearts the love of the British government and of the English nation, so as to attach them to us for ever.'

The object to which Mr. Ward wishes to direct the benevolent exertions of the British public, is, 'the instruction of the

'Hindoos in such branches of knowledge, civil, natural, and moral, *as may be grafted upon their existing institutions.*' He thinks it very practicable to excite among them the love of knowledge, so as to induce the natives themselves to establish schools, in which the books of science and general knowledge which shall have been introduced among them, will be multiplied and diffused all over the country. 'The whole country,' he affirms, 'would go into an improved system of education.'

'Schools set up by the English, are very popular; and nothing can be more easy than to give them all the elements of modern science, and all the transforming ideas of that morality which has been communicated to us through the Sacred Scriptures. People are seldom so thankful for any thing as for knowledge. A Hindoo is taught to reverence his teacher more than his parents.'

Any attempt, however, to instruct the whole population *through the English language*, Mr. Ward contends, would be highly pernicious.

'If it be ideas which we want to communicate to the people of India, then, this object can never be obtained but by transfusing European knowledge into the languages with which they are familiar.' 'Give but a taste of the value of knowledge to India, and then she herself will carry on the work begun.'

We are rejoiced to gather from this interesting 'Letter' of the estimable Missionary, that it is in contemplation to form, in this metropolis, a Society for the Improvement of India. The claims of sixty millions of our fellow-subjects, loudly call upon the British public for the most active concurrence in giving to such a plan an efficiency commensurate to its grand and important design.

Some interesting extracts from the reports of the native schools instituted by the Serampore Missionaries, are given in an appendix. The Reports themselves, it is stated, may be had gratuitously, on application to Messrs. Black, Kingsbury, and Co. of Leadenhall Street.

Art. XI. *Sacred Lyrics.* By James Edmeston, foolscap 8vo. pp. 59. Price 4s. London, 1820.

DR. Johnson's remark, that all devotional poetry is 'unsatisfactory,' inasmuch as 'the paucity of the topics enforces 'perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the 'ornaments of figurative diction,'—has, like most of the general remarks of that great dogmatist, a foundation in truth; there is no species of poetry in which excellence is so rarely obtained. Few persons, however, who are conversant with the additions made to our devotional poetry since the days of Watts,

will be disposed to subscribe to the sweeping position as it stands, which would seem to intimate that the spirit of poetry is almost incapable of combining with devotion. We would not adduce the languishing sentimental devotion of Mr. Thomas Moore's sacred melodies, nor my Lord Byron's Hebrew melodies, as invalidating the Doctor's remark; other and worthier names will occur to our readers: not to speak of Herbert, and we should not be ashamed to add the name of Quarles, it were sufficient to mention Cowper, Charles Wesley, and Montgomery, as authors whose devotional poetry is the very reverse of unsatisfactory. Our present business lies, however, with these sacred lyrics, of which it would not perhaps be saying too much, were we to venture the opinion, that they might be held sufficient proof, that the topics of devotion do not reject the diction of poetry. Our readers shall judge for themselves.

V.

'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.—Rev. i. 10.

'Is there a time when moments flow
More lovelily than all beside;
It is, of all the times below,
A sabbath eve in summer tide.

'Oh then the setting sun smiles fair,
And all below, and all above,
The different forms of nature wear
One universal garb of Love.

'And then the peace that Jesus beams,
The life of Grace, the death of Sin,
With Nature's placid woods and streams,
Is peace without and peace within.

'Delightful scene—a world at rest.—
A God all love—no grief nor fear.—
A heavenly hope—a peaceful breast,—
A smile unsullied by a tear!

'If heaven be ever felt below,
A scene so heavenly sure as this,
May cause a heart on earth, to know
Some foretaste of celestial bliss.

'Delightful hour—how soon will Night,
Spread her dark mantle o'er thy reign,
And morrow's quick returning light,
Must call us to the world again.

'Yet will there dawn at last, a day—
A sun that never sets shall rise;
Night will not veil his ceaseless ray!
The heavenly sabbath never dies!' pp. 7, 8,

Art. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Mr. Foster, author of Essays on Decision of Character, &c. has in the press, and will publish in a few weeks, an Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance, in an octavo volume.

Mr. Philip, of Liverpool, is preparing a new life of Whitefield, the materials of which have been collected from various British and American sources.

Mr. Wm. Turner has in the press, in three octavo volumes, a Journal of a Tour in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land; with excursions to the river Jordan, and along the banks of the Red Sea to Mount Sinai.

Dr. Baron will soon publish in quarto, with engravings, Illustrations of some parts of his Inquiry respecting the Origin of Tubercles and Tumours.

Mr. G. E. Shuttleworth has in the press, Remarks on the Church and the Clergy, exhibiting the obligations of society, literature, and the arts, to the ecclesiastical orders.

Mr. Leigh Hunt will soon publish a translation of Tasso's Aminta, with an Essay on the Pastoral Poetry of Italy.

A new Edition of Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George the Third, continued to his death, is in considerable forwardness.

The Second Edition of Dr. Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George the Third, brought down to the time of his death, is expected in the course of a month.

Mr. Nichols is preparing for publication, a Fourth Volume of Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century.

Mr. James Kenney will soon publish, in octavo, Valdi, or the Libertine's Son, a poem, in five parts.

The Monastery, a romance, in three volumes, by the author of Waverley, &c. is in the press.

James Tyson, esq. has in the press, Elements of the History of Civil Governments, with an account of the present state and distinguishing features of the governments now in existence.

James Adamson, esq. has in the press, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Louis de Camoens, in two octavo volumes, with nine engravings.

Mr. Robert Walpole is printing in a quarto volume, with plates, Travels in various Countries of the East, being a continuation of Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey.

To be published by subscription, The Christian Family Assistant, in four Parts; Containing, 1st. A Discourse on Prayer, in ten chapters, with Anecdotes and Observations from various Authors. 2nd. Suitable Forms of Prayer for Domestic Worship, original, and selected from the works of the most eminent Divines. 3d. A Hundred Hymns, peculiarly adapted to Family Devotion. 4th. An Arranged List of suitable Portions of Scripture for Morning and Evening Worship, of every day in the year, with an Appendix, containing a Series of Essays on Domestic Duties, &c. By H. L. Pappewell. To which will be prefixed, an Historical Essay on Prayer. By Ingram Cobbin, A. M.

The Third and Fourth Volumes of Scripture Portraits, by the Rev. Robert Stevenson, of Castle Hedingham, are nearly ready for the Press, and will probably appear in the course of the ensuing Spring.

A New Edition of Mr. Jolliffe's interesting Letters from Palestine, descriptive of a tour through Galilee and Judea, with some account of the Dead Sea and the present state of Jerusalem, with additions, is in the press, and will be ready in the course of the month.

In the press, Memoirs of His late Majesty, Geo. III. By John Brown, esq. Author of The Northern Courts.

The final volume of Mr. Morell's Studies in History, being the 2d of England, is now in the press, and will

be published next month: it will commence with the reign of James the First, and will be continued to the death of George III.

The Rev. J. Gilbart, of Dublin, has in the press, and will shortly publish, A Series of Connected Lectures on the Holy Bible, illustrative and confirmatory of its character, as an economy of Religion instituted and revealed by God, for man.

The Rev. Mr. Clarke, author of the Wandering Jew, has in the press, The History of the Zodiacs, a fictitious narrative, designed to illustrate the natural origin of public institutions.

R. Ackermann proposes to publish, in six monthly parts, (part I. to appear on the 1st of May, 1829,) Picturesque illustrations of Buenos Ayres, and Monte Video, consisting of 24 Views, and faithful Representations of the Costumes, Manners, &c. of the Inhabitants of those Cities and their Environs, taken on the spot, by R. R. Vidal, Esq. and accompanied with descriptive letter-press.

Nearly ready for publication, a Picturesque Tour from Geneva, over Mount Simplon, to Milan, in one Volume, imperial 8vo. This work, which cannot fail to claim the particular attention of the continental traveller, will contain 36 coloured engravings, of the most interesting scenery in that romantic tract, and especially the most striking points of view in the new road over the Simplon. The engravings will be accompanied with copious historical and descriptive particulars respecting every remarkable object along the route.

Likewise, in great forwardness, at the Lithographic press, A Series of characteristic Portraits of the Cossacks attached to the Russian Army, which occupied Paris in 1815, and 16; with ample details of the history, manners, and customs of the different tribes to which they belonged. This will also form an imperial 8vo. Volume.

ART. XIII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

AGRICULTURE.

An Essay on the Management of Hedges and Hedge-row Timber. By Francis Blaikie, Steward and Agent to W. T. Coke, Esq. 2s.

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"In fact, I was persuaded that nothing remained to be done in political economy, but to circulate both among rulers and the mass of the people, doctrines respecting which there appeared to be among theoretical writers a universal accordance. I had done no more than this in the various works which I had at different times published upon the science at large, or upon several of its branches. I sometimes flattered myself that I had thrown greater light upon the system of Adam Smith, but without adding any thing to his ideas; and it did not appear to me that contemporary writers had been bolder than myself, or, at least, that their boldness had been more successful."

In drawing up that article, he was first led, by the indepen-

ral cannot fail to entertain opinions. The terms in current use among all classes of men of business, at once express and perpetuate opinions,—opinions unconsciously and involuntarily held, yet, continually acted upon, by numbers who either affect to contemn, or at least neglect to examine, the reasonings of political writers. These terms are often themselves remains of former exploded theories, which thus continue imperceptibly to maintain their ascendancy over men's ideas, long after they have been formally abandoned. And it is not till science has become so generally diffused as to bring new terms, the symbols of more correct ideas, into familiar use, that the abstract truths which constitute its principles, stand any chance of obtaining due attention in their practical application. There are terms now in current use among the lower classes, which were once mystic signs, even to the well educated, of ideas so remote from their knowledge as to require considerable circumlocution to render them intelligible. An abstract term, when it bears a perceived relation to our previously acquired information, is no more hard to be understood, than the simplest appellative. Yet it is the abstract nature of the terms employed in the discussions we are referring to, which is the chief source of the perplexity and difficulty most persons experience in first entering upon the subject. As the science shall be developed, and, according to the natural progress of knowledge, its terms find their way into the conventional medium, much of its apparent abstruseness will vanish; nor is it chimerical to anticipate that at no very distant period, the science of political economy, composed as it is, for the most part, of facts cognizable by men of the average understanding, will come to be as generally apprehended among persons of ordinary intelligence, as any of the physical sciences. Let it not be imagined that it is of a nature too abstract or too complicated, ever to become thus transfused into the general circulating mass of national intelligence. The abstract nature of an inquiry, presents an obstacle to the *discovery* of truth, but does not hinder what has once been clearly ascertained, from being generally made known. On all subjects on which men are capable of forming opinions, they are, assuredly, capable of genuine knowledge. Crude opinions on all the leading topics of political science, have long been exerting a pernicious influence on the minds of practical men. A writer, therefore, cannot do his generation a more important service than by contributing to displace those prejudices with what, from their obvious truth and clearness, may deserve the name of science,—facts separated from the theories in which they have been enveloped, principles relieved from the responsibility of the conclusions erroneously charged upon them, and deductions shewn to be in accordance with the *whole* of our experience.

of happiness to the human race within a given circumference. There appeared to me to be on all sides, men of worth who were doing mischief, patriots who were ruining their country, philanthropists who were but multiplying the number of paupers. I shall, perhaps, be charged with presumption in attacking the opinions of men whose understandings I honour as highly as I do their characters; but when the science of national prosperity is in question, an honest man ought not to suffer himself to be deterred from his duty, by any personal considerations.'

We will not longer detain our readers from the work itself, except to remark upon the auspicious circumstance of having a subject which has almost uniformly been treated of as a matter of dry calculation, with a studious exclusion of all considerations drawn from feeling, as foreign from such high investigations, rescued from the school of those heartless theorists, and its true character vindicated, as the science which has for its peculiar province, 'to watch over the happiness of mankind.' It will require all the reputation of M. Sismondi, to shield him from the contempt with which his assertion is likely to meet in many quarters, that 'in general, Adam Smith had too much accustomed himself to regard the science as exclusively subjected to calculation, whereas, in many respects, it comes within the sphere of sensibility and imagination, which are not subject to the laws of arithmetic.' Sensibility would, we readily admit, be a very sorry substitute for science as a guide in our inquiries; but there is always reason to suspect the justness of conclusions which are opposed to any part of our experience, and which require not a mere abstraction of thought, but an abstraction of feeling; which, in fact, render it necessary that, in order to be initiated into the knowledge of philosophy, we should be divested of a part of our moral nature, our sensibilities as men. The promise of having the knowledge of gods, would not be a sufficient temptation to partake of the discoveries of science, were this baleful influence upon the character the necessary result of that knowledge. But M. Sismondi has satisfactorily shewn, that true philosophy will always be found in unison with benevolence.

The work is divided into seven books. Of these, the first is introductory, and treats of the objects and the origin of the science. M. Sismondi lays it down as his cardinal proposition, that the science of legislation has for its twofold design, to augment the degree of happiness attainable by man in a state of society, and to make the greatest possible number of individuals participate in this happiness. A passion for equality, on the one hand, and an aristocratical preference of the interests of the few to those of the many, on the other, are, he contends, equally subversive of the true welfare of society.

'But nothing is more common than to lose sight of either one side

dent exercise of his own faculties, to results which struck him as of the nature of important discovery. The plan he adopted, for the sake of greater clearness as well as compression, was, instead of copying the reasonings of preceding writers, to go back to the first principles of the science, and to follow out for himself what seemed to be the just deductions from those principles; in short, to recommence the theory, as if nothing had been antecedently established. In treating of a subject which had so long employed his studious attention, he had no occasion to recur to any author. 'I went forward by myself,' he tells us, 'scarcely distinguishing what my memory supplied, from 'the result of original reasoning.' In this manner, he effectually disengaged himself from the shackles of the authority of system; and by this means he unexpectedly arrived at conclusions which seemed at once to solve all his difficulties, and to clear up the obscurity which hung over some part of the theory. He contented himself, however, with slightly indicating these new views in the article referred to, being of opinion that an Encyclopedia ought to be the depository of such facts and principles only as are universally admitted; that a work of that kind is 'a monument reared to science in its actual state, not a 'scaffolding for carrying it forward,' and that therefore all controverted points, as well as every thing of temporary interest, ought to be excluded. His views in undertaking the present more extended treatise*, in which he has attempted to develop and to establish the positions hazarded, not without some timidity, in that article, are thus forcibly stated.

'I was painfully affected by the commercial crisis under which Europe has for some years past been suffering, the cruel hardships of the manufacturing class of labourers, of which I had myself been an eye-witness in Italy, in Switzerland, and in France, and which all accounts represented to have existed in at least an equal degree, in England, in Germany, and in Belgium. I felt convinced that the governments of those countries, that the people themselves, were following a wrong course, and that they were but aggravating the distress they sought to remedy. I had observed with emotions not less painful, the combined efforts of landed proprietors, of legislators, and of political writers, to change those systems of cultivation which distribute the most happiness among the population of a country, and to sacrifice the comforts of the peasantry to the hope of obtaining a larger net produce. Rulers, as well as writers, seemed to me to have mistaken the proper subject of inquiry, some in seeking after the best means of augmenting national wealth, others, in studying the best means of increasing the population; whereas both of these, considered in themselves, are mere abstractions, and the true problem for the statesman to solve, is, what precise combination and relative proportion of population and wealth, shall guarantee the greatest sum

* The article written for the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, forms about a third of the present work.

f happiness to the human race within a given circumference. here appeared to me to be on all sides, men of worth who were oing mischief, patriots who were ruining their country, philanthro-ists who were but multiplying the number of paupers. I shall, per-aps, be charged with presumption in attacking the opinions of men hose understandings I honour as highly as I do their characters; ut when the science *of* national prosperity is in question, an honest an ought not to suffer himself to be deterred from his duty, by any ersonal considerations.'

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or the other of this twofold design. Some persons, passionate lovers of equality, revolt at every species of distinction: in estimating the prosperity of a nation, they compare the totality of its wealth, its rights, and its intelligence, with the quota enjoyed by each individual; and from the disparity which they find existing between the powerful and the defenceless, the opulent and the poor, the gentleman and the labourer, the man of letters and the clown, they draw the conclusion, that the privations of the latter are monstrous defects in the order of society. Others, fixing their attention too abstractedly upon the object of all human exertions, when they find a security provided for separate rights, and means of resistance, as in the republics of antiquity, call this order of things liberty, even although it is founded upon the slavery of the lower classes. When they find acuteness of faculty, depth of thought, a spirit of philosophical inquiry, a splendid literature, existing among the distinguished men of a nation, as in France before the Revolution, they recognise in this form of social order, a high degree of civilization, while, at the very time, four fifths of the population are unable to read, and all the provinces are immersed in the profoundest ignorance. When they find an immense accumulation of wealth, agriculture brought to its perfection, commercial prosperity, manufactures incessantly multiplying all the productions of human industry, and a government with treasures almost inexhaustible at its disposal, as is the case in England, they term the nation which possesses all these things, opulent, without stopping to examine whether all those whose daily labour originates this wealth, are not reduced to the most necessitous condition, and whether three fifths of the nation which is styled wealthy, are not exposed to more privations than an equal number of individuals in the nation which is termed poor!

'It is not in an absolute sense that wealth and population are the signs of national prosperity, but only in their reciprocal relation to each other. Wealth is a good when it distributes enjoyment among all the classes of the community: population is an advantage when every man is certain of procuring by his labour an honest livelihood. But a country may be miserable notwithstanding that some individuals in it may acquire colossal fortunes; and if its population, like that of China, always exceeds the means of subsistence, if it is constantly exposed to the danger of famine, this numerous population, far from being an object of envy, or a source of strength, is a calamity.'

After this enunciation of his general views as to the true design of legislative science, M. Sismondi takes a rapid review of the history of political economy, beginning with the first rude notions of finance entertained by those who regarded the national revenue as a fact of which they were to avail themselves, without concern about the nature or the causes of wealth. From the science of finance, when the exhausted state of the countries over which ambition had been dominating with mad rapacity, imposed on the minister the necessity of studying the sources and nature of revenue, arose that of political economy. To Sully

and Colbert he awards the praise of having been the first to obtain an insight into the true sources of national prosperity, and to turn their attention to the means of promoting its extension. With Colbert originated the mercantile system, which is thus analysed.

'The mercantile system must needs have some plausibility, since, even down to the present day, it has had for its advocates the greater number of men of business, both in finance and in commerce. Wealth, say these economists of the old school, consists in money. Money disposes of labour as well as of the fruits of labour; it is money which, by offering a price, causes their production; it is money by which the industry of a nation is sustained, and to which every individual owes his subsistence. Money is especially necessary in the relations which states bear to each other; money constitutes the strength of armies, and secures the success of war: the nation which has money, commands the nation which has none. The whole science of political economy, therefore, ought to be directed to the means of securing to the nation plenty of money. But the money which a country possesses, can be augmented in quantity only so far as it can either be dug out of the earth, or imported from abroad. Either, then, the nation must have recourse to working its mines, if there are any, or it must endeavour to obtain by foreign commerce, that which other nations have extracted from their own. In order to grow rich, in order to increase the quantity of its specie, it must therefore regulate its foreign commerce, so as to sell much to other nations, and to buy little in return. To be quite consistent, the advocates of this system should say, that it would be desirable always to sell and never to buy; but as they well know that such a prohibition to buy, would destroy all commerce, the authors of this theory have contented themselves with insisting that a nation should make no other exchanges than such as, in their final result, would supply a payment in money; for, say they, in the same way as every merchant, in doing business with his correspondent, sees, at the end of the year, whether he has sold to him more than he has purchased, and finds himself creditor or debtor by a certain balance which is paid in money; so, one nation, in casting up all its purchases and all its sales with another nation, or with every other, finds itself, at the year's end, creditor or debtor by a commercial balance which is to be paid in money. If the nation has to pay, it must continually grow poorer; if it has to receive, it must be growing rich.'

M. Sismondi notices the practical consequences of this now exploded theory, in the impolitic restrictions to which it gave rise; and he remarks, that though the mercantile system is no longer openly espoused by any writer of respectability, it has taken deep root in the minds of all those who have any concern in the affairs of government. It still operates, by the force of prejudice, and owing to the confusion of language, upon persons who are afraid of entangling themselves in abstract theories. The greater part of the still existing restrictions upon com-

merce, are but the applications of this system, and the balance of trade exists only in their imaginations who adopt it.*

The second system, or that of the French economists, is next briefly analysed. Quesnay published his *Tableau Economique*, in 1758. It was espoused and commented on by Mirabeau and by the Abbé de Rivière, was further developed by Dupont de Nemours, analysed by Turgot, and zealously adopted by a numerous sect of partisans, both in France and in Italy. This school has furnished more writings on the subject of political economy than any other. Their tenets are the very reverse of Colbertism. Money, according to Quesnay, is but the medium of exchange. Wealth has its source only in the soil, in the beneficence of nature. He ridiculed the figment of a balance of trade, denied that either the manufacturer or the merchant has the power of originating any portion of the national riches, viewing all the transactions of commerce as nothing more than a transmission from hand to hand, of what had been produced by other means; deprecated the interference of governments, and took for his favourite maxim, *Laissez faire et laissez passer.*

The system of Adam Smith introduced a new era in the science. He first, instead of setting about inventing *a priori* a theory, as his predecessors had done, to which he might accommodate facts, had the sagacity to perceive that the science of government rests upon experience.

'Rejecting both the exclusive systems, one of which made commerce, and the other, agriculture, the only source of wealth, Adam Smith sought for its origin in labour. All labour which leaves behind it an exchangeable value, appeared to him productive, whether it belongs to the country, or to the city, whether it creates the exchangeable material which is destined to become a portion of wealth, or enhances the value of what previously existed. But as labour appeared to him to be the only creative principle of wealth, so, economy he viewed as the sole means of accumulating it in the shape of capital.'

To develop and to perfect this system, is the avowed object of the present work. For the author of the "Inquiry into the "Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," M. Sismondi expresses the highest veneration, as the writer whose genius first struck out the true path of inquiry, and to whom is attributable the credit of whatever progress has since been made, by the light of his ideas, in the discovery of the science. Nevertheless, the practical results of the doctrines adopted from that

* As pamphlets are more easily read than books, we may refer our readers to Mr. Huskisson's pamphlet on the currency, for an able refutation of this commercial chimera, the balance of trade.

work, M. Sismondi regards as often diametrically opposed to the conclusions which its Author himself drew from them.

'We maintain, with Adam Smith, that labour is the sole origin of wealth, that economy is the sole means of accumulating it, but we add, that enjoyment is the sole object of this accumulation, and that no increase of national wealth takes place except when there is also an increase of national enjoyment.

'Adam Smith, confining his attention to wealth itself, and perceiving that all who are in possession of it, have an interest in augmenting it, concluded that this augmentation could never be promoted more effectually than by abandoning society to the free exercise of individual interests. He held this language to Government: The sum total of private property constitutes the national wealth; there is no individual possessed of riches, who does not exert himself to become richer; let him alone, and he will enrich the nation in enriching himself.

'We have accustomed ourselves to consider wealth rather in its bearings upon the population to which it ought to administer subsistence or the means of enjoyment. A nation, it has seemed to us, does not grow in opulence by the mere augmentation of its capital, but only when its capital, in proportion to its increase, distributes more enjoyment among the population which it ought to maintain; for, undoubtedly, a population of twenty millions is poorer with a revenue of six hundred millions, than one of ten millions, with four hundred millions. We have seen that the rich have it in their power to augment their wealth, either by a fresh production, or by appropriating a larger share of what had before been reserved as the wages of labour; and we regard it, therefore, as being almost constantly necessary to call in, for the purpose of watching over the progress of riches, that very interference on the part of the State, which Adam Smith deprecated. We regard Government as the natural protector of the weak against the strong, as the defender of the defenceless, and the representative of the permanent but tranquil interests of all, against the temporary but impatient interests of each. Experience appears to us to justify this new view of an old system. Although the authority of Adam Smith is far from being as yet universally admitted in all the departments of legislative economy, the fundamental dogma of a free and universal competition has made great progress in all civilized communities. From this, has resulted a prodigious development of the energies of industry, but frequently this has been attended by a dreadful pressure of suffering upon several classes of the population. Experience has made us sensible of the necessity of that guardian authority which we call for, in order to prevent the sacrifice of large portions of the community to the progressive increase of a wealth from which they derive no advantage. This intervention is always necessary, in order to correct the selfish calculation of an increase of product, by the only truly national calculation of an increase of the enjoyments and comforts of the whole population.'

These general views, which comprise the main difference between the disciple and his master, are, in the subsequent portions

of the work, more distinctly explained, and shewn to have a more solid basis than mere sentiment: their theoretical accuracy is proved to be equal to their practical importance. It is a charge which M. Sismondi brings against the modern followers of Adam Smith, that they have widely departed from this mode of conducting such investigations; that they have abandoned experience for speculation, and have soared in their abstractions far out of the sphere of practical matters of fact. The 'ingenious work' of Mr. Ricardo, (which, it seems, has found a translator and an able commentator in M. Say,) and M. Hauterive's *Elemens d'Economie politique*, are noticed as striking examples of the new direction which has been taken by recent writers on political economy. M. Sismondi's object throughout, is, to examine the principles of the science by the light of experience, in their practical bearings, not merely upon the wealth, but upon the happiness of nations. He arranges his system under six general heads, each of which forms the subject of a separate book: 1. Formation and Progress of wealth. 2. Territorial wealth. 3. Commercial wealth. 4. Money. 5. Taxation. 6. Population.

In proceeding to give an account of the manner in which wealth originates, M. Sismondi first puts the case of an isolated individual, whose wealth must be entirely the product of his own industry, and must terminate in his own use. Whatever production of human labour is either directly or indirectly conducive to the enjoyment of man, provided that it be capable of accumulation, or of being reserved for his future wants, constitutes wealth. Labour is in all cases the creative principle, as utility enters into the essential nature of wealth. In the case of the supposed solitary, the price which the products of his industry would fetch, cannot be regarded as the measure of his riches, since, by the supposition, all exchange is to him impossible; but his wealth is to be estimated by the extent and variety of wants which he has the means of satisfying, or, by the term during which he would be able to maintain himself upon the produce of his previous labour, without having recourse to any fresh exertion.

The only difference between the isolated man and man in a social state, in the present reference, is this, that the labour of the individual in the latter case, has no longer for its simple object, to provide subsistence and accommodation for himself only: he labours that others may enjoy or rest, and he reckons upon the labour of others to furnish his own enjoyments. The nature of wealth remains, however, the same under all the exchanges which take place throughout society, whether of the different products of labour, or of labour itself for produce. The *value*, too, of what is produced, depends upon the same conditions, that it is adapted to supply some want, real or artificial, and that it is

capable of being reserved for this purpose. The *price* of what is produced, or its relative value as exchangeable produce, is determined by the quantity of labour requisite in order to its production. This is the basis of all bargains between the purchaser and the vender; the cost of an article always representing in fact the amount of labour expended upon it. Wealth, then, consists of that surplus portion of the produce of labour which is available for future use. Whatever facilitates the process of production by increasing the efficiency of labour, as, for instance, the division of labour, and machinery, has the effect of rendering a larger proportion of the produce thus available, of increasing that excess of production beyond consumption, which constitutes wealth.

In a state of uncivilized nature, daily labour is found to do little more than keep pace with the daily wants of man; but, in the progress of civilization, the efficiency of labour soon outgrows the demand, so far as regards the bare necessities of life. Labour, however, has the power of creating a demand for itself, by presenting new enjoyments, which are the sources of new and artificial wants. Thus luxury is originated; and so long as there remains a conceivable means of enjoyment which human ingenuity can supply, there might seem to be no limit to the formation of wealth by the exertions of laborious industry. But M. Sismondi shews that this notion is an erroneous one. There are limits to the consumption of the fruits of labour. These limits are found in the revenues of the capitalist, and in the incompatibility of luxury with the laborious habits of the artisan.

'It is a great error,' says M. S. 'into which the majority of modern economists have fallen, to represent consumption as a power illimitable, always ready to swallow up an infinite produce. They are perpetually inciting nations to exert the powers of production, to invent new machines, to carry labour to its greatest perfection, in order that the quantity of work executed in one year, shall always surpass that of the year preceding. They are disturbed at seeing the number of unproductive labourers on the increase. The idle are held up to public indignation; and in a nation among whom the productive powers of workmen have been increased a hundred fold, it is held desirable that every man should be a workman, that every individual should labour for his livelihood.

'Were the whole nation to be converted into labourers, and, as the necessary consequence, were ten times the quantity of food, and lodging, and clothing to be produced than every one could possibly consume, is it imagined that each individual would be better off? Far otherwise. Every hand would have to sell as ten, and to buy only as one; every hand would sell his labour so much the worse, and would find himself so much the less in a condition to buy; and this transformation of the nation into one great manufactory of productive workmen incessantly employed, far from creating wealth, would cause universal misery.'

In this reasoning, foreign commerce is purposely left out of consideration, because what holds true of a nation, holds true of the general market. If it be possible for the supply to exceed the demand in reference to home consumption, it must be possible for the supply to exceed the commercial demand. And as the aggregate of individual incomes, forms the limit of the capacity of consuming the products of industry at home, so, the aggregate of the funds available for the purchase of its exported produce among other nations, must form the limit of the capacity of the foreign market. It is very true, that the demand for the products of human industry is continually extending, as new markets are opened to mercantile enterprise; and capital has, to a certain extent, the power of creating a market for what it has called into production by the employment of labour. The notorious fact, that the foreign market has frequently been overstocked, proves, however, that the power of consumption has its limits. Society at large cannot, any more than an individual can, without entailing ruin upon the community, consume annually more than its annual income. More ruinous systems than one, remarks M. Sismondi, have been founded on the confusion of ideas which has arisen from not sufficiently distinguishing between capital and income. No distinction is more important.

'There exist in society three permanent sources of wealth: we may without any danger make use of the streams which they originate, so long as we do not touch the spring.

'The soil is the first of these, which has in itself a productive principle that needs only to be directed to the use of man, in order to yield to the possessor an annual product, over and above the compensation of the labour employed upon it. This product is an income, and may safely be consumed without being reproduced, so long as the soil which has yielded it, is not withdrawn from its destined purpose of supplying the wants of man.

'The second source of wealth is, labour. When well directed, it yields, after replacing the cost, a surplus in favour of the employer. The cost, or wages of labour, is what is properly denominated the employer's circulating capital. That which is produced, comprises this same capital, and, added to this, a certain profit. Thus, profit is a revenue which may be expended without reproduction, provided that the capital which has originated it be not diverted from giving employment to the renewed process of labour.

'The third source of wealth, is, the life of the labouring population. So long as this is preserved, it furnishes the power of labouring; and this power is also a revenue, and may be expended or exchanged for articles of consumption without reproduction, provided that the life itself, and the vigour of the labourer, are so preserved as to be applicable to a renewal of his labour.'

These three species of wealth, are, in so many words, *rent*, the *profit* of capital, and *wages*. The whole of this wealth is

destined for consumption in some way or other, but in the different application of it, the important distinction above referred to, has its origin.

'One portion of this wealth, is devoted to the purpose of enhancing the profitableness of labour by making it go further, and to that of bringing the blind powers of nature to co-operate in the performances of human labour: this is termed *fixed capital*, under which are comprised, the clearing of ground, trenching, workman's tools, and all sorts of machinery. A second portion is destined to be rapidly consumed, in order to be reproduced in the work which it shall have caused to be executed, and to undergo incessant changes in its form, through all of which it retains the same value: this is termed *circulating capital*, and comprises the seed-corn of agricultural produce, the raw material of the manufacturer, and the wages of labour. Ultimately, a third modification of this wealth, detaches itself from the second portion; it consists in the surplus value by which the finished product exceeds the previous advances which were necessary to create it; and this surplus, which is termed the *revenue* of capital, (or income) is destined to be consumed without being reproduced: it is exchanged, for the last time before its final consumption, for whatever article the possessor may want for his own use. The sum total of the articles which every one requires for the supply of his wants, articles not possessing the property of any further reproduction to him, and which the individual purchases with his income, is denominated the *fund of consumption.*'

That which forms the revenue of the poor, is the capital of the rich. The only capital of the poor is, their life; for that portion of the capital of their employer which is advanced to them as the wages of labour, is seldom sufficient to allow of their retaining any part in the shape of capital for themselves. The effect of competition is always to bring down the price of labour to a bare sufficiency for the labourer's maintenance. Dividing, then, the whole population, for the sake of greater clearness, into two classes, capitalists and labourers, it will be found, that in proportion as the former takes a larger share of the annual produce which forms his income, for his own consumption, he encourages industry by extending the fund of consumption; but this is so much withdrawn from the fund for supporting labour; while that which he spares from his income, and adds to his capital, is so much given to the labourer in the shape of wages or revenue. The aggregate capital of a nation is that which furnishes employment to the labourer; the aggregate of individual incomes, is that which limits the demand for the products of labour. More than this total national income cannot be expended without trenching upon the national capital, without consequently withdrawing so much from the fund for maintaining labour, and lessening the reproduction of the following year. Again: if the expenditure of the nation does not suffice to absorb the whole of the annual

produce of labour, the process of reproduction will be suspended to the extent of what is unconsumed, because the capitalist will not have come into possession of his advances, and his operations will be at a stand. The superabundance of commodities will always in fact, by bringing down the price, hasten the process of consumption; but, as the total produce can but be exchanged against the total revenue, the advantage gained by the consumer at the expense of the producer, will be attended by a correspondent diminution of that capital which is at once the support of the labourer, and the source of future revenue to its possessor. An unproductive employment of capital will be attended by the same injurious results: by diminishing the profits of the capitalist, it reduces the fund which originates the demand for the productions of labour; by locking up his capital, even if it does not lessen it, it suspends the process of reproduction, which necessitates the demand for labour itself.

'Thus, then,' continues M. Sismondi, 'nations run what may seem contradictory risks: they may be ruined by expending either too much or too little. A nation expends too much, whenever it exceeds its income; for it cannot do this without trenching upon its capital, and thereby diminishing its future production. It does then, what the individual cultivator would do, should he eat up the grain which he ought to reserve as seed-corn. A nation expends too little, whenever, not having any foreign commerce, it does not consume its own produce, or when, having such commerce, it does not consume by exportation the excess of production over the home consumption; for it is then in the situation of the individual who should have his granaries so completely crammed beyond the possibility of his consuming what they contain, that, not to labour for the mere sake of labouring, he would be obliged to give over sowing his land.

'Happily, when a nation is not led away by any false system, when its government does not impel its exertions in a direction opposite to its natural interests, the increase of capital, of revenue, and of consumption, generally takes place simultaneously, so as not to stand in any need of being checked; and when one of these three corresponding elements of wealth for a moment gains the start of the others, foreign commerce is almost always at hand to re-establish the equilibrium.'

In the fourth book, which treats of Commercial Wealth, M. Sismondi has occasion still further to illustrate the importance of the principle which he has been aiming to establish, and the truth of which, recent facts appear so completely to justify, namely, that an excess of production beyond the demand, or beyond the power of consumption, tends to the impoverishment of a nation. Mr. Ricardo has maintained an opposite doctrine, and most of the followers of Adam Smith have been disposed to think, that supply and demand might safely be left to regulate each other, without the fear of any inconvenience as the result. M. Sis-

Sismondi contends, that commercial wealth is far from being absolutely a sign of national prosperity; that only so long as its increase keeps pace with the wants of society, does it conduce to the well being of all those who are employed in creating it; that, so soon as its formation exceeds the real demand, it produces, at least for all the lower classes, nothing but misery and ruin. A superabundance of commercial wealth, by creating an excess of production, leads to the deterioration of the commodity, and to the impoverishment of the trader. The capital of a country may either be too great or too small, to be conducive to the general prosperity.

'A nation is truly prosperous, in the department of its commerce, as in that of its agriculture, when the circulating capital which it has accumulated, is just sufficient to put in motion all the labour which can be turned to good account; when no improvement or new production of which the actual population stands in need, or which it is in a condition to pay for well, remains unattempted for want of capital sufficient to maintain the labourer up to the time of exchanging the produce of that labour against the funds which are ready to take it off. A capital which corresponds to a revenue already formed, and which is sure of being replaced by that revenue, will never fail to obtain an ample indemnification for the essential service it affords: interest will under these circumstances be high, and the profits of commerce will be considerable; two new portions of revenue will spring from it the following year, and these will maintain in comfort those who shall have the disposal of them, and will contribute, by a rapid consumption, to an abundant reproduction.

'When the capital of a country has for a length of time been inadequate to its wants, there can scarcely result any degree of suffering from the circumstance, since the population which would have been supported by additional capital, has not been called into being; the only consequence is, a negation of enjoyment in reference to beings non-existent. In the mean time, the insufficient capital which actually exists, affords the greater revenue, facilitates accumulation, as well as stimulates to it by holding out employment for newly formed capital, and encourages marriage by promising beforehand the increase of the funds which are to supply the poor with employment. Such is the situation of things in the United States. The capitals already formed there, though considerable, are still inferior to the wants of the people, and to the demand.

'But when existing capitals have been destroyed, whether by some great calamity, or by the prodigality of the capitalists themselves, or by that of the government, the inadequate capital which remains, is found to be wholly out of proportion, not merely to the wants and demands of the consumers,—that would entail no very grievous privations,—but to the number of heads which ought to be maintained by it, and who, having been brought up in times of greater plenty, find themselves deprived of the wages of labour which should serve as their revenue; this class is then left exposed to indigence or utter starvation.

'When the capital of a country is, on the contrary, more than adequate to its wants or to the power of consumption, the first distressing result of this superabundance, is, that the possessors of capital, struggling with each other for the employment of it, are, in the end, compelled to be satisfied with a smaller remuneration; the rate of interest is lowered, the income of those who are in possession of this essential part of commercial wealth, is decreased, and their means of enjoyment diminished.

'This is not all. Manufacturers no longer regulating the amount of work which they command, by the actual wants of society which they may be able to supply, but by the capital they have at disposal, manufacture more than can possibly be consumed, and contending with each other for customers, are induced, in order to make sales, to put up with smaller profits. The lowered rate of mercantile profit, has the effect of diminishing the incomes of all who live by trade, and of reducing their means of enjoyment.

'Finally, this redundance of capital will not only have excited an immoderate activity of competition among principals, but must needs have the same influence upon the working classes. Work has been executed, not because there was any certain prospect of disposing of it, but because their employers had capital sufficient to enable them to make large advances in the payment of labour; and the poor have been encouraged to furnish children, by the offer of a price for labour which cannot long continue to be given. A new population has thus been created by holding out the promise of employment which it will not always be possible to provide. The number of hands soon becomes, under these circumstances, as superabundant as was the capital; a fall in the price of labour is the consequence; and thus, this third class, who also live out of commercial profits, are reduced to narrower incomes, fewer comforts, and diminished means of enjoyment.'

In a former article* on the recent distresses of the country, we had occasion to maintain that a diminution of the national capital, and a consequent suspension of the productive powers of the nation, presented the only adequate cause of that general stagnation which was imputed by all the government writers, to the mere transition from a state of war to a state of peace. The fact, that at that crisis, many capitalists, who had for some time been living upon their capital, suddenly found themselves utterly ruined, was too notorious to be controverted. But still, there were persons who contended that the destruction of capital could not be the occasion of the existing distress, because there was found at that very time among commercial men, a redundance of capital, which shewed itself by the low rate of interest in the money market. These two circumstances are, however, perfectly compatible. A destruction of the private capital of individuals may take place to a great extent in a country,—to an

* E. R. N.S. Vol. vii. p. 101.

extent sufficient to throw large portions of the labouring classes out of employment, while, at the same time, the national capital may exhibit in some particular branches, the signs of superabundance; and these opposite evils may be both together pressing upon the community. The destruction of individual capital, has no tendency whatever to alleviate the injurious effects of a redundant national capital. The ruin of the capitalist withdraws him indeed from the number of competitors, whose efforts to employ their capital have led to a general decrease of profits, and a consequent diminution of the income available for expenditure; but at the same moment it plunges into sudden destitution all those whose reproductive labour was set in motion by the capital which is annihilated. When the power of supply continues, as it may for some time, to exceed the demand, it is evident, that, in the general derangement of affairs, both causes are simultaneously operating to diminish the future income which is to consume the produce of laborious industry. The supply will eventually fall more nearly to the level of the demand, but, in the interim, a long period of universal suffering must take place. Workmen cannot be transferred from an unproductive branch of labour, to one which still yields a profit to the capitalist; they will rather continue to work at lower wages, and thus enable the proprietor to carry on his operations long after they have ceased to be a benefit to the community. Again, fixed capital cannot be converted to the purposes of a new enterprise on the part of the manufacturer, even if he should be able to change his business: the greater part of this sort of capital, must, in that event, be altogether lost; and he will therefore go on as long as possible in the face of a falling market and diminished profits, in the hope that the accidental causes to which he is led to ascribe the decline of trade, will cease to operate, and that *things will take a turn*. So far is it from being true, that the profits of all branches of industry must, under all circumstances, find a level, or that capital will at once detach itself from an unproductive branch, to form some new combination with human labour, that may yield an adequate profit to its possessor.

It is agreed on all hands, that the supply of labour is, in our own country, at this moment, greater than the demand, though every theorist has his own way of stating and accounting for the fact. In reviewing the various publications on the Poor Laws,* we endeavoured to shew, that an imaginary redundance of the population as measured by *the means of subsistence*, has absolutely nothing to do with the acknowledged evil. Redundant the population may be, but it is so as measured, not by the

* E. R. N. S. Vol. x. p. 203.

means of subsistence, but by the capital which is available for the employment of labour. We say available capital, because there is a large amount of circulating capital, and a still larger amount of fixed capital, which is not at this moment in effective cooperation with labour in order to its own reproduction. The proportion of the population, however, who are *absolutely unemployed*, is not perhaps much greater than it has been at former periods, and if so, as it is capital which employs them, there cannot be on the whole a want of capital in the country. Notwithstanding the extent to which the destruction, first, of revenue, and then, of capital, has been going on, we believe that the contrary is the fact,—that there is a superabundance of capital, more especially of fixed capital in the country, and that the universal diminution of the income arising from capital in the shape of *profits*, is the true cause of the existing pressure. It is not that the poor are unemployed, but that the wages of labour have fallen, with all other profits, below a living price. Trade is at a stand, not for want of capital, but because the productive powers of the country, which have been stimulated to the utmost, are greater than the consumption of both the home and the foreign markets taken together. The cause of this disproportion, as regards the home consumption, is to be found in the sudden collapse of income which has taken place from the falling off in the profits of capital. Every where, this excess of supply beyond the demand, occasioned by the gigantic powers of production which were called into action during the war, is making itself felt, to the disadvantage of the mercantile speculator. The following testimony is borne to the fact by M. Sismondi.

'The statements of merchants, the daily papers, the accounts of travellers, all concur in exhibiting proofs of this excess of supply beyond consumption; of this manufacturing rage, which is regulated, not by the demand, but only by the capital which has to be employed; of this restless spirit of commercial speculation, which urges merchants to rush in crowds to any new opening, and exposes them in turn to the most ruinous losses in every enterprise which promised to be lucrative. We have seen merchandise of all sorts, but especially that of England, the great manufacturing power, abounding in every market in Italy in a proportion so greatly above the demand, that traders, in order to recover a part of their funds, have been compelled to part with their goods at a fourth or a third below the cost, instead of obtaining a profit. The torrent of commerce, driven back from Italy, has turned itself upon Germany, upon Russia, upon Brazil, there soon to encounter the same obstacles.

'The last accounts announce similar losses in new countries. In August 1818, they were complaining at the Cape of Good Hope, that all the warehouses were crammed with European merchandise, which, though offered at lower prices than in Europe, could not be disposed of. In the month of June, at Calcutta, the merchants

were making complaints of the same nature. It was a strange phenomenon that had at first been exhibited,—England sending her cotton goods to India, and, by working cheaper than the half-clothed inhabitants of Hindoostan, succeeding in reducing her labourers to a still more miserable existence. But this eccentric direction given to commerce, did not last. British goods are now to be had cheaper in India than even in England. In the month of May, they had been obliged to re-export from New Holland, a large quantity of European commodities which had proved too abundant for the demand. Buenos Ayres, New Granada, Chili, are already regorging European merchandise in the same way. Mr. Fearon's Travels in the United States, in the spring of 1818, present a still more striking illustration of this state of things. From one end of that vast and flourishing continent, to the other, there was not a city, there was not a little town, in which the quantity of goods on sale was not infinitely greater than the means of the buyers, notwithstanding the tempting offers of very long credit held out by the merchants, and all sorts of facilities for payment both as to time and as to the nature of the articles which they were willing to take in exchange. No fact has presented itself to us in more places at once, or under a greater variety of aspect, than the disproportion which the means of consumption bear to those of production; together with the impossibility of manufacturers renouncing their business because it has fallen off, and the certainty that their ranks will never be cleared except by bankruptcies. How is it that philosophers will not see what is every where so obvious to persons of common understanding?'

Facts must be allowed to take the precedence of theories; and surely these facts sufficiently attest the truth of three negative propositions: first, that annual production is not, as Mr. Ricardo represents, the same thing as annual revenue, for, till it is actually consumed, it is possible that the capital employed in producing it, may yield no revenue in the shape of profit; it is still in a transitive state, and has not yet become wealth: secondly, that the means of consumption are not actually illimitable: and thirdly, that manufactures and commerce, when their productive force so far exceeds the possibility of demand, do not contribute to an increase of the national wealth; for even where the capitalist succeeds, in this state of things, in enriching himself, if it is at the expense of the working classes whose labour is depreciated, it does not enrich the nation. This principle, we think, Mr. Sismondi clearly establishes, and the present situation of England affords but too palpable a verification of his doctrine.

Here we must for the present terminate our analysis of the work. We have already presented our readers with more than sufficient specimens of the just views, and able reasonings, and admirable sentiments by which it is characterised, to answer the purpose of recommending these volumes to the attention of those of our readers who may have it in their power to make them-

selves acquainted with the original. As no English translation of it has yet appeared, there are many, however, who may feel interested in tracing these Principles in their application to the other branches of Political Economy. We shall, therefore, probably resume the subject in the next number.

Art. II. *Sermons practical and occasional; Dissertations, Translations, including new Versions of Virgil's Bucolica, and of Milton's Defensio Secunda, Seaton Poems, &c. &c.* By the Rev. Francis Wrangham, M.A. F.R.S. Of Trinity College, Cambridge. In three vols. 8vo. [Portrait.] £2. 2*s*. London, 1816.

WE have long been accustomed to connect sentiments of respect and approbation with the name and writings of Mr. Wrangham. His works of different descriptions have often afforded us both gratification and instruction; and we have had frequent occasion to admire the liberality of his sentiments, the ample furniture of his mind, and the ready and skilful versatility with which he has applied his talents to a great variety of subjects. But we have never regarded him with sincerer admiration than when we have found him, with an exemplary superiority to prejudice and vanity, and with a pure and unmixed anxiety to do good, taking his stand on the foundations laid by Doddridge and Baxter, and addressing their sentiments, and recommending their productions, to those who, but for him, would never have known, or would have known only to despise, the names and compositions of those eminent servants of the Redeemer.

The admirable work on "The Rise and Progress of Religion "in the Soul," may be considered as the joint production of Watts and Doddridge; since, though composed by the latter, it was projected, planned, and revised by the former. Few books have been more useful; and notwithstanding some slight defects, scarcely separable from the plan, there are not many works which we should so cordially recommend for distribution among the youthful and the inquiring. Many a well-conceived work has been marred by falling into hands unequal to its effective execution; but in the present instance, the task could not have been committed to a more suitable person. Doddridge, in our opinion, was better suited than his venerable friend, to the executive part. His style, though irregular and unfinished, has much occasional richness and beauty: it is less stiff and precise than the usual language of Watts, and its very inequality has possibly contributed to its popularity. Baxter's "Saint's Ever-"lasting Rest," is a work similar in its object, but of larger calibre and weightier metal. It combines strong reasoning with powerful and eloquent appeal; it grapples fearlessly with diffi-

culties, and launches boldly into the deep things of the gospel. We should augur ill both of the intellect and the heart of the man who could read it without its setting his thoughts and feelings in motion. But with all these excellencies, it has, considered as a popular work, some material faults. The first, is its length—nearly 330 folio pages of double columns. Baxter's mind was of inexhaustible fertility; and when his pen was once in his hand, he seems never to have been able to persuade himself to lay it down. A second fault lies in the apparatus of notes and Latin quotations from the Fathers, the schoolmen, and other writers both of ancient and modern times. A third consists in the occasional use of technical forms of argument, and in the indulgence of a tendency to unseasonable disquisitions and distinctions. Fawcett's excellent abridgement of this admirable but somewhat unwieldy book, is far more generally available than the original.

These invaluable works have been most judiciously selected by Mr. Wrangham as the *substrata* of two sets of sermons, which occupy together nearly the whole of his first volume.

'The scarcity of sermons,' remarks Mr. W. in his preface to his adaptations of Doddridge, 'which, while they *preach the gospel to the poor*, disgust not the fastidious ear of modern elegance by triteness or vulgarity, has long been a subject of regret and complaint. This consideration first suggested to me the idea of the present undertaking. Fame, it is certain, in its popular meaning, could hardly have entered into the views of One who, in these days of literary refinement and of religious indifference, endeavours with DODDRIDGE'S subject to unite much of his plainness and familiarity. But there is a fame—the commendation, I mean, of the wise and of the good—which is ever worth ambition; and that (if to that my purpose, rather than its accomplishment, give me any title) will abundantly console me for the absence, or the loss, of all other renown. In soliciting for my contracted work (what the Author entreated for his more extensive performance) that it may be thoroughly perused before it is finally judged, I shall not, I hope, even in this age of superficial reading, be deemed wholly unreasonable. Let it be considered at least, in my excuse, that we are generally but too prone to seize, and to defend, separate portions of our common Christianity; to rend into useless shreds a system which, like the coat of its great Teacher, is *without seam woven from the top throughout*; and to look upon our opponents with an eye of jealousy and suspicion, "as if preparations for securing "one part of a ship in a storm, implied a contrivance to sink the "rest."'

Though there is a richness and fulness in the original, which is necessarily in some degree impaired in the abstract, and though we recognise in Doddridge a fearlessness in his appeals to the freeness and sovereignty of Divine Grace, which is somewhat tamed in these more correct and classical compositions, yet, we

regard this abridged republication as extremely valuable, and as likely by its intrinsic merit, and by the aid of Mr. Wrangham's sanction, to gain a cordial reception where the work in its primary state would be contemptuously cast aside.

The same remarks are applicable to the sermons from Baxter, with this qualification, that, as Mr. Wrangham's materials were of a higher order, his adaptations are more impressive. We have not observed any intimation from which we can ascertain whether or not they are now published for the first time; and we are only withheld from a more detailed exposition of their contents and quality, by the probability that, although new to us, they have been, like the greater part of the contents of these volumes, previously laid before the public.

The second volume consists, we believe, entirely of republications; the larger portion of which we are glad to see under their present more permanent arrangement. There are, however, two or three against which we should be disposed, were this a convenient place and season for controversial discussion, to take very serious objection. In his fourth sermon, preached in March, 1808, at the York Assizes, we find Mr. W. joining, too cordially by far for a man of his ability, in the common-place eulogies on the British legal code. Mr. Wrangham, than whom no man is better qualified for the business of inquiry, will pardon the expression of our regret, that he should have spoken authoritatively on a subject which had, most clearly, never fairly exercised his mind. Had he given himself time, and collected the necessary materials for reflection, we are persuaded that he would not have permitted himself to specify among the 'serious objections essentially inherent in every human system 'of legislation,' the impossibility that any 'power of divination 'can anticipate,' or any 'dexterity of expression pre-define 'offences with so much precision, as universally to comprise 'them all.' Was not Mr. W. aware that the impracticability of this precise pre-definition, is the inevasible demonstration of the absurdity of attempting it? Or has it never occurred to him, that the simple definition of social and individual rights, of itself determines the quality of offences against them? The framers of English law have invariably set all principles at defiance; and seem to have regarded all interests but those of the expounders of the law, with systematic negligence. Our forensic forms are so mixed up with accumulated words and phrases, antiquated and technical terms, senseless repetitions, and ridiculous inuendos, that every juridical question goes before our tribunals in a shape of inextricable complication; the perfect opposite of that naked simplicity which should be studied in nothing so entirely as in legal proceedings. Law is for the benefit of all, and should therefore be universally intelligible and accessible.

We shall not embark our readers on the stormy ocean of the Calvinistic controversy. Mr. Wrangham has treated it somewhat largely, but to very little purpose, in his seventh sermon. We are sorry to be compelled to say, that he has not handled his subject even fairly; for his quotations from Calvin in his notes, do not fully support the imputations in the text. Besides, for what worthy purpose can a theological writer of the present day, ransack the volumes of Calvin for phrases and tenets which are as strongly disavowed by those who have been long, though not altogether correctly, distinguished by his name, as by Mr. Wrangham himself? When we find him amusing himself with the 'shrewd remarks' of Dr. Hey on the hitherto unanswered reference to the Divine foreknowledge, we cannot help suspecting him of something like running away from an opponent that he is afraid to meet; and we would simply remind him, that ingenious comments can never supply the absence of hard arguments. When, too, we find a man of Mr. Wrangham's acquirements and estimable character, descending so low as to identify himself with the shallow and bigoted illiberalities of Balguy and Jortin, we must take leave to express our suspicion, that if he had been more confident in the stability of his cause, he would not have contented himself with substituting the virulent assertions of the Authors he quotes, for original reasoning.

With respect to the poetical contents of the third volume, we shall not be expected to say much. A considerable portion has been long before the public, and, we believe, has been favourably received. Mr. Wrangham's poems are certainly the productions of an accomplished mind: they display considerable command of language, and a familiar acquaintance with the theory and practice of rhythmical construction; but to the 'higher moods' of poetry, his 'strain' seldom aspires. We are persuaded that Mr. W. himself considers them as nothing more than the *Horæ subsecivæ* of a man of talent and literature.

We are reminded that we have too long deferred to notice this complete edition of the Author's works, by the circumstance of its being dedicated, with permission, to the lamented Princess Charlotte of Wales. It did not fall into our hands till a considerable time after its publication.

Art. III. *Poems descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery.* By John Clare, a Northamptonshire Peasant. f.cap 8vo. pp. xxxii, 222. Price 5s. 6d. London. 1820.

IF it be the characteristic privilege of genius, as distinguishable from mere talent, 'to carry on the feelings of childhood 'into the powers of the man,'—to combine the child's sense of wonder and novelty with the every day appearances of nature,

> 'With sun and moon and stars throughout the year,
> With man and woman,—'

and if there be any truth in the assertion, that, 'so to represent 'familiar objects as to awaken the minds of others to a like 'healthy freshness of sensation concerning them, is its most 'unequivocal mode of manifestation,'—there can be no hesitation in classing the Author of these poems, to whatsoever rank in society he should prove to belong, among the most genuine possessors of this dangerous gift. That a peasant should write verses, would, in the present day, afford no matter of astonishment; and did the individual challenge attention in the character of a prodigy, the wonder would soon be over. There is nothing prodigious in real genius, under whatsoever circumstances it has been developed. But a genuine and powerful interest, that does more honour to its object, cannot fail to be excited by the perusal of these exquisitely vivid descriptions of rural scenery, in every lover of nature, who will feel a sort of affinity to the Author; and the recollection that the sensibility, the keenness of observation, and the imaginative enthusiasm which they display, have discovered themselves in an individual of the very humblest station in society, in a day-labourer, whose independence of spirit alone has sustained him above actual pauperism, will be attended by sensations similar to those with which he would recognise some member of his own family in a state of degradation. Talent is, we admit, cheap enough in the present day: the average stature of mind has been raised pretty extensively throughout society. But genius such as characterises these productions of John Clare, is not common in any rank; and that state of things cannot be favourable to the general welfare, which offers to such an individual no means of rising above the condition of extreme indigence in which, almost literally with his spade in the one hand, and his pencil in the other, Clare has hitherto been earning the scanty pittance of hard labour among the most vulgar of mankind. We feel confident, however, that the present appeal to the public on his behalf, will not disappoint the expectations of his friendly and intelligent Editor, nor crush the modest hopes of 'better life' which he has been the means of awakening. Let our readers say whether the Author of the following lines, is a man that should be thrown back into obscurity.

'Hail, scenes obscure! so near and dear to me,
The church, the brook, the cottage, and the tree:
Still shall obscurity rehearse the song,
And hum your beauties as I stroll along.
Dear, native spot! which length of time endears;
The sweet retreat of twenty lingering years,
And, oh! those years of infancy the scene;
Those dear delights, where once they all have been;
Those golden days, long vanish'd from the plain;
Those sports, those pastimes, now belov'd in vain;

When happy youths in pleasure's circle ran,
Nor thought what pains awaited future man;
No other thought employing, or employ'd,
But how to add to happiness enjoy'd:
Each morning wak'd with hopes before unknown,
And eve, possessing, made each wish their own;
The day gone by left no pursuit undone,
Nor one vain wish, save that it went too soon;
Each sport, each pastime, ready at their call,
As soon as wanted they possess'd them all:
These joys, all known in happy infancy,
And all I ever knew, were spent in thee.
And who, but loves to view where these were p
And who that views, but loves them to the last?
Feels his heart warm to view his native place,
A fondness still those past delights to trace?
The vanish'd green to mourn, the spot to see
Where flourish'd many a bush and many a tre
Where once the brook, for now the brook is g
O'er pebbles dimpling sweet went whimpering
Oft on whose oaken plank I've wondering stood,
(That led a pathway o'er its gentle flood),
To see the beetles their wild mazes run,
With jetty jackets glittering in the sun:
So apt and ready at their reels they seem,
So true the dance is figur'd on the stream,
Such justness, such correctness they impart,
They seem as ready as if taught by art.
In those past days, for then I lov'd the shade,
How oft I've sigh'd at alterations made;
To see the woodman's cruel axe employ'd,
A tree beheaded, or a bush destroy'd:
Nay, e'en a post, old standard, or a stone
Moss'd o'er by age, and branded as her own,
Would in my mind a strong attachment gain,
A fond desire that there they might remain;
And all old favourites, fond taste approves,
Griev'd me at heart to witness their removes.

'Thou far fled pasture, long evanish'd scene!
Where nature's freedom spread the flow'ry green;
Where golden kingcups open'd into view;
Where silver daisies in profusion grew;
And, tottering, hid amidst those brighter gems,
Where silken grasses bent their tiny stems;
Where the pale lilac, mean and lowly, grew,
Courting in vain each gazer's heedless view;
While cowslips, sweetest flowers upon the plain,
Seemingly bow'd to shun the hand, in vain:
Where lowing oxen roam'd to feed at large,
And bleating there the shepherd's woolly charge,
Whose constant calls thy echoing vallies cheer'd,
Thy scenes adorn'd, and rural life endear'd;

No calls of hunger pity's feelings wound,
'Twas wanton plenty rais'd the joyful sound:
Thy grass in plenty gave the wish'd supply,
Ere sultry suns had wak'd the troubling fly;
Then blest retiring, by thy bounty fed,
They sought thy shades, and found an easy bed.

'But now, alas! those scenes exist no more;
The pride of life with thee, like mine, is o'er,
Thy pleasing spots to which fond memory clings,
Sweet cooling shades, and soft refreshing springs.
And though fate's pleas'd to lay their beauties by
In a dark corner of obscurity,
As fair and sweet they bloom'd thy plains among,
As bloom those Edens by the poets sung;
Now all laid waste by desolation's hand,
Whose cursed weapon levels half the land.
Oh! who could see my dear green willows fall,
What feeling heart, but dropt a tear for all?
Accursed Wealth! o'er-bounding human laws,
Of every evil thou remain'st the cause.
Victims of want, those wretches such as me,
Too truly lay their wretchedness to thee:
Thou art the bar that keeps from being fed,
And thine our loss of labour and of bread;
Thou art the cause that levels every tree,
And woods bow down to clear a way for thee.

'Sweet rest and peace! ye dear, departed charms,
Which industry once cherish'd in her arms;
When ease and plenty, known but now to few,
Were known to all, and labour had its due;
When mirth and toil, companions through the day,
Made labour light and pass'd the hours away;
When nature made the fields so dear to me,
Thin scattering many a bush and many a tree;
Where the wood minstrel sweetly join'd among,
And cheer'd my needy toilings with a song;
Ye perish'd spots, adieu! ye ruin'd scenes,
Ye well known pastures, oft frequented greens!
Though now no more, fond Memory's pleasing pains,
Within her breast your every scene retains,
Scarce did a bush spread its romantic bower,
To shield the lazy shepherd from the shower;
Scarce did a tree befriend the chattering pye,
By lifting up its head so proud and high;
No, not a secret spot did then remain,
Throughout each spreading wood and winding plain,
But, in those days, my presence once possess'd,
The snail-horn searching, or the mossy nest.

'Oh, happy Eden of those golden years
Which memory cherishes, and use endears,

Thou dear, beloved spot! may it be thine
To add a comfort to my life's decline,
When this vain world and I have nearly done,
And Time's drain'd glass has little left to run.
When all the hopes, that charm'd me once, are o'er,
To warm my soul in extacy no more,
By disappointments prov'd a foolish cheat,
Each ending bitter, and beginning sweet;
When weary age the grave, a rescue, seeks,
And prints its image on my wrinkled cheeks,—
Those charms of youth, that I again may see,
May it be mine to meet my end in thee;
And, as reward for all my troubles past,
Find one hope true—to die at home at last!' pp. 5—11.

For minute fidelity and tastefulness of description, we know scarcely any thing superior to the sketches of Noon, Summer Morning, and Summer Evening. It is evident from a line introduced between inverted commas in the first of these, that the Author had seen Cunningham's 'Day.' This, however, is the extent of his obligations. Clare's descriptions are as far superior in spirit, and picturesque beauty, and tasteful expression, to the namby pamby style of Cunningham's pastorals, as the scenes from which he derives his inspiration, are to Vauxhall gardens. It is, indeed, remarkable, that Clare's style should be so free from the vices of that school of poetry, to which his scanty reading appears to have been confined. Colloquialisms and provincialisms abound in his poems, and attest its substantial originality; but of the grosser vulgarity of affected expression, of all attempt at fine writing, he has steered most commendably clear. We must make room for the whole of

'SUMMER EVENING.

'The sinking sun is taking leave,
And sweetly gilds the edge of Eve,
While huddling clouds of purple dye,
Gloomy hang the western sky.
Crows crowd croaking over head,
Hastening to the woods to bed.
Cooing sits the lonely dove,
Calling home her absent love.
With "Kirchup! kirchup!" 'mong the wheats,
Partridge distant partridge greets;
Beckoning hints to those that roam,
That guide the squander'd covey home.
Swallows check their winding flight,
And twittering on the chimney light.
Round the pond the martins flirt,
Their snowy breasts bedaub'd with dirt,
While the mason, 'neath the slates,
Each mortar-bearing bird awaits:

By art untaught, each labouring spouse
Curious daubs his hanging house.
Bats flit by in hood and cowl;
Through the barn-hole pops the owl;
From the hedge, in drowsy hum,
Heedless buzzing beetles bum,
Haunting every bushy place,
Flopping in the labourer's face.
Now the snail hath made his ring;
And the moth with snowy wing
Circles round in winding whirls,
Through sweet evening's sprinkled pearls,
On each nodding rush besprent;
Dancing on from bent to bent:
Now to downy grasses clung,
Resting for a while he's hung;
Then, to ferry o'er the stream,
Vanishing as flies a dream;
Playful still his hours to keep,
Till his time has come to sleep;
In tall grass, by fountain head,
Weary then he drops to bed.
From the hay-cock's moisten'd heaps,
Startled frogs take vaunting leaps;
And along the shaven mead,
Jumping travellers, they proceed:
Quick the dewy grass divides,
Moistening sweet their speckled sides;
From the grass or flowret's cup,
Quick the dew-drop bounces up.
Now the blue fog creeps along,
And the bird's forgot his song:
Flowers now sleep within their hoods;
Daisies button into buds;
From soiling dew the butter-cup
Shuts his golden jewels up;
And the rose and woodbine they
Wait again the smiles of day.
'Neath the willow's wavy boughs,
Dolly, singing, milks her cows;
While the brook, as bubbling by,
Joins in murmuring melody.
Dick and Dob, with jostling joll,
Homeward drag the rumbling roll;
Whilom Ralph, for Doll to wait,
Lolls him o'er the pasture gate.
Swains to fold their sheep begin;
Dogs loud barking drive them in.
Hedgers now along the road
Homeward bend beneath their load;
And from the long furrow'd seams,
Ploughmen loose their weary teams:

Ball, with urging lashes weal'd,
Still so slow to drive a-field,
Eager blundering from the plough,
Wants no whip to drive him now;
At the stable-door he stands,
Looking round for friendly hands
To loose the door its fast'ning pin,
And let him with his corn begin.
Round the yard, a thousand ways,
Beasts in expectation gaze,
Catching at the loads of hay
Passing fodd'rers tug away.
Hogs with grumbling, deaf'ning noise,
Bother round the server boys;
And, far and near, the motley group
Anxious claim their suppering-up.
From the rest, a blest release,
Gabbling home, the quarreling geese
Seek their warm straw-litter'd shed,
And, waddling, prate away to bed.
'Nighted by unseen delay,
Poking hens, that lose their way,
On the hovel's rafters rise,
Slumbering there, the fox's prize.
Now the cat has ta'en her seat,
With her tail curl'd round her feet;
Patiently she sits to watch
Sparrows fighting on the thatch.
Now Doll brings th' expected pails,
And dogs begin to wag their tails;
With strokes and pats they're welcom'd in,
And they with looking wants begin:
Slove in the milk pail brimming o'er,
She pops their dish behind the door.
Prone to mischief boys are met,
'Neath the eaves the ladder's set,
Sly they climb in softest tread,
To catch the sparrow on his bed;
Massacred, O cruel pride!
Dash'd against the ladder's side.
Curst barbarians! pass me by;
Come not, Turks, my cottage nigh;
Sure my sparrows are my own,
Let ye then my birds alone.
Come, poor birds! from foes severe
Fearless come, you're welcome here;
My heart yearns at fate like yours,
A sparrow's life's as sweet as ours.
Hardy clowns! grudge not the wheat
Which hunger forces birds to eat:
Your blinded eyes, worst foes to you,
Can't see the good which sparrows do.

Did not poor birds with watching rounds
Pick up the insects from your grounds,
Did they not tend your rising grain,
You then might sow to reap in vain.
Thus Providence, right understood,
Whose end and aim is doing good,
Sends nothing here without its use;
Though ignorance loads it with abuse,
And fools despise the blessing sent,
And mock the Giver's good intent.—
O God, let me what's good pursue,
Let me the same to others do
As I'd have others do to me,
And learn at least humanity.

'Dark and darker glooms the sky;
Sleep 'gins close the labourer's eye:
Dobson leaves his greensward seat,
Neighbours where they neighbours meet
Crops to praise, and work in hand,
And battles tell from foreign land.
While his pipe is puffing out,
Sue he's putting to the rout,
Gossipping, who takes delight
To shool her knitting out at night,
And back-bite neighbours 'bout the town—
Who's got new caps, and who a gown,
And many a thing, her evil eye
Can see they don't come honest by.
Chattering at a neighbour's house,
She hears call out her frowning spouse;
Prepar'd to start, she scodles home,
Her knitting twirling o'er her thumb,
As, loth to leave, afraid to stay,
She bawls her story all the way:
The tale so fraught with 'ticing charms,
Her apron folded o'er her arms,
She leaves the unfinished tale, in pain,
To end as evening comes again;
And in the cottage gangs with dread,
To meet old Dobson's timely frown,
Who grumbling sits, prepar'd for bed,
While she stands chelping 'bout the town.

'The night-wind now, with sooty wings,
In the cotter's chimney sings;
Now, as stretching o'er the bed,
Soft I raise my drowsy head,
Listening to the ushering charms,
That shake the elm tree's mossy arms:
Till sweet slumbers stronger creep,
Deeper darkness stealing round,
Then, as rock'd, I sink to sleep,
'Mid the wild wind's lulling sound.' pp. 130—139.

The Village Funeral is a very touching little poem: the following stanzas in particular, are exquisitely beautiful.

'There the lank nettles sicken ere they seed,
Where from old trees eve's cordial vainly falls
To raise or comfort each dejected weed,
While pattering drops decay the crumbling walls.

'Here stand, far distant from the pomp of pride,
Mean little stones, thin scatter'd here and there;
By the scant means of Poverty applied,
The fond memorial of her friends to bear.

'O Memory! thou sweet, enliv'ning power,
Thou shadow of that fame all hope to find;
The meanest soul exerts her utmost power,
To leave some fragment of a name behind.

'Now crowd the sad spectators round to see
The deep sunk grave, whose heap of swelling mold,
Full of the fragments of mortality,
Makes the heart shudder while the eyes behold.' p. 76.

After describing the grief of the helpless orphans on leaving behind them in the dust, their only friend and provider, the Poet feelingly exclaims:

'Yon workhouse stands as their asylum now,
The place where poverty demands to live;
Where parish bounty scowls his scornful brow,
And grudges the scant fare he's forced to give.

'Oh, may I die before I'm doom'd to seek
That last resource of hope but ill supplied;
To claim the humble pittance once a week,
Which justice forces from disdainful pride!'

There are some very fine poetical thoughts in the Address to Plenty, but we have quoted enough for our purpose. We must, however, make room for two noble sonnets; the first for its picturesque beauty, the second for its sentimental excellence.

"TO THE WINDS.

'Hail, gentle Winds! I love your murmuring sound;
The willows charm me, wavering to and fro;
And oft I stretch me on the daisied ground,
To see you crimp the wrinkled flood below:
Delighted more as brisker gusts succeed,
And give the landscape round a sweeter grace,
Sweeping in shaded waves the ripening mead,
Puffing their rifled fragrance in my face.
Painters of Nature! ye are doubly dear;
Her children dearly love your whispering charms:
Ah, ye have murmur'd sweet to many an ear
That now lies dormant in death's icy arms;
And at this moment many a wind ye wave,
That hides the bard in his forgotten grave.' p. 198.

'TO RELIGION.

'Thou sacred light, that right from wrong discerns;
Thou safeguard of the soul, thou heaven on earth;
Thou undervaluer of the world's concerns,
Thou disregarder of its joys and mirth;
Thou only home the houseless wanderers have;
Thou prop by which the pilgrim's woes are borne;
Thou solace of the lonely hermit's cave,
That beds him down to rest on fate's sharp thorn;
Thou only hope to sorrow's bosom given;
Thou voice of mercy when the weary call;
Thou faith extending to thy home in heaven;
Thou peace, thou rest, thou comfort, all in all:
O sovereign good! on thee all hopes depend,
Till thy grand source unfolds its realizing end.' p. 204.

We hope we have by this time amply substantiated the opinion we gave at the outset, as to the extraordinary merit of these productions: if so,—if, instead of thinking them *very clever considering they are by a day-labourer*, our readers agree with us in conceding to them a high degree of poetical merit quite independent of the circumstances of their Author, they will be prepared to enter with the requisite sympathy, into the simple details of his history.

John Clare was born at Helpstone near Peterborough, on the 13th of July, 1793. He is the only son of Parker and Ann Clare, who are also natives of the same village, where they have always resided in extreme poverty. Parker Clare was a farmer's labourer, and was latterly employed in threshing; but disabled by repeated attacks of rheumatism, he is now a helpless cripple and a pauper, receiving an allowance of five shillings a week from the parish.

'John Clare has always lived with his parents at Helpstone, except for those short periods when the distance to which he was obliged to go for work, prevented his return every evening. At his own home, therefore, he saw poverty in all its most affecting shapes, and when he speaks of it, as in the Address to Plenty, at p. 48,

'"Oh, sad sons of Poverty!
Victims doom'd to misery;
Who can paint what pain prevails
O'er that heart which want assails?
Modest shame the pain conceals
No one knows but he who feels"—

he utters no "idly feign'd poetic pains:" it is a picture of what he has constantly witnessed and felt.

'While such was the destitute condition of his parents, it may seem extraordinary that Clare should have found the means to acquire any learning whatever; but by extra work as a ploughboy, and by helping his father morning and evening at threshing, he earned the

money which paid for his education. From the labour of eight weeks he generally acquired as many pence as would pay for a month's schooling; and thus in the course of three years he received, at different times, so much instruction that he could read very well in the Bible. He considers himself to have derived much benefit from the judicious encouragement of his schoolmaster, Mr. Seaton, of Glinton, an adjoining parish, from whom he sometimes obtained threepence a week in rewards, and who once gave him sixpence for repeating, from memory, the third chapter of Job. With these little sums he bought a few books.

'When he had learned to read tolerably well, he borrowed from one of his companions that universal favourite, Robinson Crusoe, and in the perusal of this he greatly increased his stock of knowledge and his desire for reading. He was thirteen years of age when another boy shewed him Thomson's Seasons. They were out in the fields together, and during the day Clare had a good opportunity of looking at the book. It called forth all the passions of his soul for poetry. He was determined to possess the work himself; and as soon as he had saved a shilling to buy it with, he set off for Stamford at so early an hour, that none of the shops were open when he got there. It was a fine Spring morning, and when he had made his purchase, and was returning through the beautiful scenery of Burghley Park, he composed his first piece of poetry, which he called "The Morning Walk." This was soon followed by the "Evening "Walk," and some other little pieces.

'But the first expression of his fondness for Poetry was before he had learnt to read. He was tired one day with looking at the pictures in a volume of poems, which he thinks were Pomfret's, when his father read him one piece in the book to amuse him. The delight he felt, at hearing this read, still warms him when he thinks of the circumstance; but though he distinctly recollects the vivid pleasure which thrilled through him then, he has lost all trace of the incidents as well as of the language, nor can he find any poem of Pomfret's at all answering the faint conception he retains of it. It is possible that his chief gratification was in the harmony of the numbers, and that he had thoughts of his own floating onward with the verse very different from those which the same words would now suggest. The various melody of the earliest of his own compositions, is some argument in favour of this opinion.

'His love of Poetry, however, would soon have spent itself in compositions as little to be remembered as that which has just been mentioned, had it not been for the kindness of Mr. John Turnill, late of Helpstone, now in the Excise, who was indeed a benefactor to him. From his instruction Clare, though he knew a little of the rudiments before, learnt Writing and Arithmetic; and to this friend he must, therefore, consider himself indebted for whatever good may accrue to him from the exercise of those powers of mind with which he is naturally endowed.' pp. x—xii.

Most of his poems were composed under the immediate impression of the surrounding scenery, in the fields, or on the

road sides. The 'Elegy on the Ruins of Pickworth,' he told the Editor, was written one morning after he had been helping to dig the hole for a lime-kiln, 'where,' he adds, 'the many 'fragments of mortality and perished ruins, inspired me with 'thoughts of other times, and wrapped me into song.' Not being able to trust his memory, it has been his custom to write down his thoughts with a pencil on the spot, 'his hat serving 'him for a desk.'

'And if it happened that he had no opportunity soon after of transcribing these imperfect memorials, he could seldom decypher them, or recover his first thoughts. From this circumstance several of his poems are quite lost, and others exist only in fragments. Of those which he had committed to writing, especially his earlier pieces, many were destroyed from another circumstance, which shews how little he expected to please others with them: from a hole in the wall of his room, where he stuffed his manuscripts, a piece of paper was often taken to hold the kettle, or light the fire.

'It is now thirteen years since Clare composed his first poem: in all that time he has gone on secretly cultivating his taste and talent for Poetry, without one word of encouragement, or the most distant prospect of reward. That passion must have been originally very strong and pure, which could sustain itself, for so many years, through want, and toil, and hopeless misery. His labour in the fields through all seasons, it might be thought, would have disgusted him with those objects which he so much admired at first; and his taste might have altered with his age: but the foundation of his regard was laid too deeply in truth to be shaken. On the contrary, he found delight in scenes which no other poet has thought of celebrating. "The swampy falls of pasture ground, and rushy spreading "greens," "plashy streams," and "weed-beds wild and rank," give him as much real transport as common minds feel at what are called the most romantic prospects. And if there were any question as to the intensity or sincerity of his feeling for Poetry and Nature, the commendation of these simple, unthought of, and generally despised objects would decide it.' pp. xx—xxii.

This very individual was working, during the greater part of last year, for nine shillings a week and his food; 'out of which 'he had to pay one shilling and sixpence a week for a bed,' his engagement being at the distance of nine miles from Helpstone. 'But at the beginning of November, his employer proposed to 'allow him *only seven shillings a week*, on which he quitted 'his service, and returned home.'

'The Author and his Poems,' continues his friendly Editor, 'are now before the Public; and its decision will speedily fix the fate of the one, and, ultimately, that of the other: but whatever be the result to either, this will at least be granted, that no Poet of our country has shewn greater ability under circumstances so hostile to its development. And all this is found here without any of those distressing and revolting

alloys, which too often debase the native worth of genius, and make him who was gifted with powers to command admiration, live to be the object of contempt or pity. The lower the condition of its possessor, the more unfavourable, generally, has been the effect of genius on his life. That this has not been the case with Clare, may, perhaps, be imputed to the absolute depression of his fortune. It is certain that he has not had the opportunity hitherto of being injured by prosperity; and that he may escape in future, it is hoped that those persons who intend to shew him kindness, will not do it suddenly or partially, but so as it will yield him permanent benefit. Yet when we hear the consciousness of possessing talent, and the natural irritability of the poetic temperament, pleaded in extenuation of the follies and vices of men in high life, let it be accounted no mean praise to such a man as Clare, that, with all the excitements of *their* sensibility in *his* station, he has preserved a fair character, amid dangers which presumption did not create, and difficulties which discretion could not avoid. In the real troubles of life, when they are not brought on by the misconduct of the individual, a strong mind acquires the power of righting itself after each attack, and this philosophy, not to call it by a better name, Clare possesses. If the expectations of "better life," which he cannot help indulging, should all be disappointed, by the coldness with which this volume may be received, he can

> "——— put up with distress, and be content." p. 4.

'In one of his letters he says, "If my hopes don't succeed, the hazard is not of much consequence: if I fall, I am advanced at no great distance from my low condition: if I sink for want of friends, my old friend Necessity is ready to help me, as before. It was never my fortune as yet to meet advancement from friendship: my fate has ever been hard labour among the most vulgar and lowest conditions of men; and very small is the pittance hard labour allows me, though I always toil'd even beyond my strength to obtain it."' pp. xxvi—xxviii.

We deem it a very happy circumstance, that Clare has apparently fallen into so good hands; and we earnestly hope that no ostentatious act of injudicious kindness on the part of any who may feel disposed to serve poor Clare, will frustrate the object which his friends have in view. A situation of honourable industry, in which, while elevated above the fear of want, he should not be discharged from the necessity of daily exertion, in which poetry should still continue to be, not his occupation, much less his trade, but his solace and his pride,—would be the most conducive to his happiness. Let him not be cursed with an Exciseman's place, nor fettered with a scanty pension from a titled patron, nor imprisoned in a town till his mind becomes morbid, or his morals tainted by its atmosphere, nor tempted to play the idler. Let him still be suffered to live, and to labour too, in the presence of Nature, but to live free, and to labour for an object that shall sustain and compensate his exertions.

One word to the Editor of the present volume. We are not

disposed under present circumstances, to find fault with any of the specimens which he has presented to us, of Clare's genius; and it was quite proper that they should appear with all their inaccuracies and provincialisms, just as they proceeded from his pen. But as the permanent interest of the volume will depend on the intrinsic merits of the composition, we cannot imagine that a few corrections from the hand of Clare himself, at the suggestion of his Editor, would render a new edition less valuable. We by no means intend this remark to apply to the greater number of the words thrown into the glossary,—some of them needlessly enough; as, for instance, 'folds,' 'standard 'trees,' 'tools,' 'won't,' &c. Many of the provincial terms are forcibly expressive, and can scarcely fail to be understood. What we chiefly refer to, is, an occasional grammatical blemish, although both the diction and the construction of the periods, are, upon the whole, singularly chaste and correct. A more important improvement, however, would consist in a careful revision of the selection of pieces offered to the Public. Several in the present volume, we should be extremely glad to see displaced by subsequent productions; in particular, 'My Mary,' 'Dolly's 'Mistake,' and 'The Country Girl.' Clare does not succeed in humour: his poems display a playful fancy, but it is a playfulness quite distinct from the unbridled joyousness of dramatic humour, or the epigrammatic smartness of wit. Humour belongs to other scenes than the quiet landscape of human life: it draws its materials from the fantastic modifications of character which are given birth to by the action of men upon one another in an artificial state of society. What may be the effect of further cultivation and a more extended experience, on the mind of Clare, we will not venture to predict. It belongs to the nature of real genius, to convert all knowledge to its own nutriment, and to enrich itself with the spoils of time. There have, however, been instances in which the imagination has been confused, and its vigour impaired, by the attempt to improve upon the finer instincts of nature by means of subsequent cultivation. Clare is hardly likely to produce anything much more beautiful than some of the descriptive passages in the present volume. However this may be, he will not in future be able to yield with the same zest and simplicity of feeling, and in the same unsolicitous mood as formerly, to the tide of his own emotions; and though he may write better, he will scarcely enjoy in an equal degree the luxury of his solitary thoughts. But he may, and we trust he will, be put in possession of the more substantial means of permanent enjoyment. Society owes it to itself, to prevent the Author of these poems from adding another name to the annals of unbefriended genius.

Art. IV. *Some Account of the Life of Rachael Wriothesley Lady Russell.* By the Editor of Madame Du Deffand's Letters. Followed by a Series of Letters from Lady Russell to her Husband, William, Lord Russell; from 1672 to 1682; together with some Miscellaneous Letters to and from Lady Russell. To which are added, Eleven Letters from Dorothy Sidney Countess of Sunderland, to George Saville Marquis of Halifax, in the year 1680. Published from the Originals in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire. 8vo. pp. 390. London. 1819.

THE character of Lady Russell has all the interest of romance. Her heroism, her saintly virtue, her devoted fidelity to her illustrious lord, combined with the recollection of the touching circumstances of his trial and death, have imparted to her name a never-dying virtue, which

'still smells and blossoms from the dust.'

And yet, no character could be more perfectly sober and unaffected, more thoroughly feminine and domestic—we add with pride, more entirely and peculiarly English. And in this consists much of the force of her example. She deserves to live in the remembrance of her countrywomen, as the ornament and model of the sex. To the unfortunate events in which her dearest interests were implicated, she owes, perhaps, all her celebrity; but then, she is not indebted to that unsought for celebrity any further than as the mere occasion of bringing her virtues into open day; and they reflect back upon the page of history more lustre than they borrow from fame. 'The peculiarity which is most striking in Lady Russell,' remarks the noble biographer of her husband, 'is, that she was esteemed 'and consulted by her contemporaries, and has been admired 'and esteemed by posterity, without any ambitious efforts of her 'own. She neither sought to shine in the world by the extent 'of her capacity, nor to display, by affected retirement, the 'elevation of her soul; and when circumstances obliged her to 'come forward on the stage of history, she shewed herself in the 'appropriate character of a wife and a mother.' 'Hence,' he adds, 'we may believe, that the unobtrusive modesty of private 'life, contains many a female capable of giving the same example 'to her sex and to mankind.' Lady Russell's published letters, undistinguished by any extraordinary literary merit, have nevertheless an historical interest, and a charm arising from their simplicity and pathos, which make them deserve to rank among the classics of English literature. We are not indeed disposed to estimate them lightly, considered as epistolary compositions. Nothing can be more dignified, affecting, and every way admirable, than some of the letters to Dr. Fitzwilliam, written after the loss of her husband. Without making any pretensions to

genius or wit, the Writer displays in every period a fine understanding, and an elevation of mind which could have been derived only from the influence of genuine piety. Nor do her letters suffer by comparison with those of her distinguished correspondents. Those in the present volume are confessedly less intrinsically worthy of preservation: they are, many of them, the mere chit-chat communications of the wife and the mother, to her husband; and they require, in order to be understood, a familiar acquaintance with the incidents and personages to which they abound in passing allusions. As the letters of Lady Russell, they cannot, however, fail to interest the reader; and the Editor has been at the pains of supplying a running commentary, which will greatly add to his entertainment. They were originally sorted and arranged for the Duke of Devonshire, from a mass of family papers. At the solicitation of several persons to whom the collection was shewn, His Grace was induced to allow of its publication; and the same friend who had undertaken the sorting of the papers, was applied to, to draw up the biographical notice prefixed to the letters, which forms by no means the least interesting portion of the volume. The letters themselves are valuable, chiefly as they admit us to the interior recesses of the Writer's character, exhibiting her 'in 'the captivating form of the most tender and attached of 'women.'

'The strain of artless passion,' remarks the Editor, 'of love exalted by every sentiment of the heart and of the understanding, which breathes through all those addressed to her lord, make them, certainly, the most touching *love letters* I ever read; while the almost prophetic exhortations they contain, both to him and herself, to be prepared for the loss of a happiness she appreciated so justly, give them a singular interest, when combined with her subsequent misfortune, and the deep and lasting manner in which she felt it.'

The following extract from the third letter in the present collection, presents a striking specimen.

'[*From London to Stratton, September* 23, 1672.]

'If I were more fortunate in my expression, I could do myself more right when I would own to my dearest Mr. Russell what real and perfect happiness I enjoy, from that kindness he allows me every day to receive new marks of, such as, in spite of the knowledge I have of my own wants, will not suffer me to mistrust I want his love, though I do merit, to so desirable a blessing; but, my best life, you that know so well how to love and to oblige, make my felicity entire, by believing my heart possessed with all the gratitude, honour and passionate affection to your person, any creature is capable of, or can be obliged to; and this granted, what have I to ask but a continuance (if God see fit) of these present enjoyments? if not, a submission, without murmur, to his most wise dispensations and

unerring providence; having a thankful heart for the years I have been so perfectly contented in: He knows best when we have had enough here: what I most earnestly beg for from his mercy is, that we both live so as, which ever goes first, the other may not sorrow as for one of whom they have no hope. Then let us cheerfully expect to be together to a good old age: if not, let us not doubt but he will support us under what trial he will inflict upon them. These are necessary meditations sometimes, that we may not be surprised above our strength by a sudden accident, being unprepared. Excuse me, if I dwell too long upon it; it is from my opinion that if we can be prepared for all conditions, we can with the greater tranquillity enjoy the present, which I hope will be long; though when we change, it will be for the better, I trust, through the merits of Christ. Let us daily pray it may be so, and then admit of no fears; death is the extremest evil against nature, it is true; let us overcome the immoderate fear of it, either to our friend or self, and then what light hearts may we live with?' pp. 168—170.

Another letter, written only three years before Lord Russell's murder, begins in this touchingly affectionate strain.

'My dearest heart, flesh and blood cannot have a truer and greater sense of their own happiness than your poor but honest wife has. I am glad you find Stratton so sweet; may you live to do so one fifty years more; and, if God pleases, I shall be glad I may keep your company most of those years, unless you wish other at any time; then I think I could willingly leave all in the world, knowing you would take care of our brats: they are both well, and your great one's letter she hopes came to you.'

And again, in the same year, she writes:

'Absent or present, my dearest life is equally obliging, and ever the earthly delight of my soul, it is my great care (or ought to be so) so to moderate my sense of happiness here, that when the appointed time comes of my leaving it, or its leaving me, I may not be unwilling to forsake the one, or be in some measure prepared and fit to bear the trial of the other.

'I hope we shall enjoy those dozen years he speaks of,' Lady Russell writes at another time, referring to a passage in one of her husband's letters; 'and cannot,' she adds, 'forbear wishing 'to double them: as one pleasure passes, I doubt not but we 'shall find new ones; our nursery will help to furnish us.' And within a few months of their tragical separation, she thus concludes a note dated from Stratton, the beloved scene of their domestic privacy.

'I know nothing new since you went; but I know, as certainly as I live, that I have been, for twelve years, as passionate a lover as ever woman was, and hope to be so one twelve years more, happy still and entirely yours, R. Russell.'

Had these expressions of impassioned tenderness occurred in the letters of an unknown individual, it might have been unsafe

to risk their exposure to the public. Doubts would have been started whether this affection was reciprocal, whether it was unfeigned, and whether it was as lasting in its fidelity, as ardent in its professions. But when it is known that they proceeded from the high-minded and idolized wife of Lord Russell, who assisted him at his trial, and in his last hours surprised and sustained him by her fortitude, and that during the forty years of her widowhood, her devotion to the memory of him she loved so fondly, continued to be the ruling principle of her life, all such surmises of a cold-hearted scepticism are at once precluded; and the possible existence of a passionate attachment in both parties of the married state, as virtuous as it is happy, and as permanent as it is tender, this single fact were sufficient to establish. We cannot refrain from transcribing as a counterpart to the extracts we have given, a few passages from a letter written by Lady Russell to Dr. Fitzwilliam, two months after the fatal catastrophe. Referring to those expressions in the Doctor's letter, in which he had endeavoured to assist her in lifting up her mind to heaven for consolation, she replies:

"I need not tell you, good Doctor, how little capable I have "been of such an exercise as this. You will soon find how unfit I am "still for it; since my yet disordered thoughts can offer me no other "than such words as express the deepest sorrow, and confused as "my yet *amazed* mind is. But such men as you, and particularly "one so much my friend, will, I know, bear with my weakness, and "compassionate my distress, as you have already done, by your good "letter, and excellent prayer. * * * *

* * "You, that knew us both, and how we lived, must "allow I have just cause to bewail my loss. I know it is common to "others to lose a friend; but to have lived with such a one, it may "be questioned how few can glory in the like happiness, so, conse-"quently, lament the like loss. Who can but shrink from such a "blow! * * * * * * *

"Lord, let me understand the reason of these dark and wounding "providences, that I sink not under the discouragement of my own "thoughts! I know I have deserved my punishment, and will be "silent under it; but yet secretly my heart mourns, too sadly, I fear, "and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion "and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, "to walk with, to eat, and sleep with. All these things are irksome "to me. The day unwelcome, and the night so too; all company "and meals I would avoid, if it might be: yet all this is, that I enjoy "not the world in my own way; and this sure hinders my comfort. "When I see my children before me, I remember the pleasure he "took in them: this makes my heart shrink. Can I regret his "quitting a lesser good for a greater? Oh! if I did but steadfastly "believe, I could not be dejected; for I will not injure myself to "say, I offer my mind any inferior consolation to supply this loss. "No; I most willingly forsake this world, this vexatious, troublesome

" world, in which I have no other business, but to rid my soul of " sin, secure by faith and a good conscience my eternal interests, " with patience and courage bear my eminent misfortune, and ever " hereafter be above the smiles and frowns of fortune." ' pp. 45—47.

In an unfinished paper, ' the writing of which,' we are informed, ' denotes the trembling hand of extreme old age,' she thus, in reviewing her life for a devotional purpose, adverts to her irreparable bereavement, and to the subsequent loss of her son.

' " Vanity cleaves to me, I fear, O Lord! in all I say, in all I do. " In all I suffer, proud, not enduring to slights or neglects, subject to " envy the good parts of others, even as to worldly gifts. Failing in " my duty to my superiors; apt to be soon angry with, and without " cause too often; and by it may have grieved those that desired to " please me, or provoked others to sin by my rash anger. Not ready " to own any advantage I may have received by good advice or ex- " ample. Not well satisfied if I have not all the respect I ex- " pected, even from my superiors. Such has been the pride of my " naught heart, I fear, and also neglect in my performances due to " my superiors, children, friends, or servants—I heartily lament my " sin. But, alas! in my most dear husband's troubles, seeking help " from man, but finding none. His life was taken away, and so " sorely was my spirit wounded, even without prospect of future " comfort or consolation—the more faulty in me, having three dear " children to perform my duty to, with thankfulness for such a bless- " ing left me, under so heavy a dispensation as I felt the loss of him " to be. But, alas! how feeble did I find myself both then, and " also poorly prepared to bear the loss of my dear child and only " son, in 1711.

' " If I carry my sorrow to the grave, O Lord, in much mercy " let it not be imputed as sin in me! His death was a piercing " sorrow to me, yet thou hast supported me, Lord! even in a very " old age, and freer from bodily pains and sickness than most feel— " I desire thankfully to recollect." ' pp. 148—149.

Of Lady Russell's life previous to her second marriage, but few particulars have been preserved. She was the second daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, by his first wife, Rachael de Ruvigny, whose brother, the Marquis de Ruvigny, was long the head of the Protestant interest in France, as deputy-general of the reformed churches. She was born about the year 1636; and, in her seventeenth or eighteenth year, was given in marriage to Francis, Lord Vaughan, eldest son of the Earl of Carberry, by whom, in 1665, she had one child, who died in his infancy. She became a widow, it should seem, very soon after, probably in the following year; for in 1667, she appears to have received the addresses of Mr. Russell, then only a younger brother. They were married about the end of 1669. Her eldest daughter, afterwards

Dutchess of Devonshire, was born in 1674; her second daughter, afterwards Dutchess of Rutland, in 1676; and 'her domestic 'happiness seemed to be completed by the birth of a son,' in November 1680. The happy years which she passed with Lord Russell, were divided between their summer residence at Stratton, to which she always adverts with pleasure, and their winters at Southampton House. After the dreadful events of 1683, she remained for some time at Woburn, the seat of her father-in-law, the Duke of Bedford, struggling in solitude to arm her mind for the duties in order to discharge which she was reconciled to life.

' "It is possible I grasp at too much of this kind for a spirit so " broke by affliction; for I am so jealous that time, or necessity, " the ordinary abaters of all violent passions, nay, even employment " or company of such friends as I have left, should do that, my " religion or reason ought to do, as makes me covet the best advices, " and use all methods to obtain such a relief as I can ever hope for: " a silent submission to this severe and terrible providence, without " any ineffective unwillingness to bear what I must suffer; and such " a victory over myself, that when once allayed, immoderate pas- " sions may not be apt to break out again upon fresh occasions and " accidents, offering to my memory that dear object of my desires " which must happen every day, I may say every hour, of the longest " life I can live, that so, when I must return into the world, so far " as to act that part is incumbent upon me in faithfulness to him " I owe as much as can be due to man, it may be with greater " strength of spirits, and grace to live a stricter life of holiness to my " God." ' pp. 55, 56.

From a letter addressed to her at this period by Bishop Burnet, it appears that she had taken the resolution to devote so much of her time to the education of her daughters, as that they should need no other governess; and this resolution, there is reason to believe, she well fulfilled. Her feelings on the prospect of revisiting 'that now desolate place, Stratton,' are touchingly expressed. From London too, she shrinks back as, 'in thought, a place of terror' to her; 'but,' she adds, 'having so many months mourned the substance, I think (by 'God's assistance) the shadows will not sink me.' After this period, Lady Russell's published letters supply her biographer with the chief materials for the memoir of her character. The Prince and Princess of Orange had, through the medium of Dykevelt, the minister plenipotentiary from the States of Holland, communicated to Lady Russell the lively interest they took in her loss, regarding her lord's death as a great blow to the interests of the Protestant religion. On their accession to the throne, one of the first acts of the government was, the reversal of Lord Russell's attainder; and honours were showered on the two families to which Lady Russell was the most nearly

allied, more than sufficient to elate a person of ordinary mind. It appears, however, from the printed letters, that the publicity and length of the Parliamentary proceedings which were instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the advisers and promoters of the atrocious measures of 1683, were a severe trial to Lady Russell, and served rather to depress her feelings. She herself now became the object of universal respect and consideration. We find Tillotson applying for her sanction of his acceptance of the dignity offered him by King William; and Lady Sunderland, the wife of one who had been a principal minister and adviser of Charles II. at the time of Lord Russell's execution, now soliciting her intercession.

'Such, indeed, was the deference paid to her opinion, and the the importance attached to her good will, that even the confident mind of the Duchess of Marlborough thought it necessary to assure herself of Lady Russell's approbation, in the critical juncture of advising the Princess Anne to acquiesce in the settlement of the Crown on the Prince of Orange. From Lady Russell we find no intimation of this flattering reference; but the Duchess of Marlborough herself records, that she could not satisfy her own mind till she "had "consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, "and particularly with Lady Russell of Southampton House, and "with Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury." Both before and after Tillotson's exaltation and his dignity, we find him giving a detailed account to Lady Russell of the intended preferments in the church, and assuring her of the respect which the King was disposed to pay both to her wishes and those of Lord Bedford, in his nominations to preferment in London.'

There appears to be no other foundation, however, than this circumstance, for Madame de Staël's representation, that Lady Russell was consulted by the ministers of King William, and by Queen Anne herself, on political measures. The author of the present Biographical notice adverts also to another erroneous statements, namely, that Lady Russell wept herself blind. Her ladyship's complaint proved to be a cataract on her left eye, for which she underwent, in 1695, the operation of couching, with success. In 1700, her son succeeded, on the death of his grandfather, to the Dukedom, and was appointed, as soon as he was of age, to the lieutenancies of the three counties of Bedford, Middlesex and Cambridge, which had been held by the former Duke. Her maternal anxieties seemed now to be rewarded to the utmost; but she was destined to have all her sorrows renewed by his sudden removal in the midst of health and the vigour of life. He fell a sacrifice to the small-pox in the thirty-first year of his age. Lady Russell attained the advanced age of eighty-six. Of her last illness and death, no particulars have been preserved. She expired at Southampton House, Sept. 29, 1723. The memoir closes with the following paragraph.

'May the writer of the foregoing pages be allowed to hope, while fast sinking to the grave that must shortly close on an insignificant existence—may she be allowed to hope, *that* existence rescued from the imputation of perfect inutility, by having thus endeavoured to develope, and hold up to the admiration of her countrywomen, so bright an example of female excellence as the character of Lady Russell? a character whose celebrity was purchased by the sacrifice of no feminine virtue, and whose principles, conduct, and sentiments, equally well adapted to every condition of her sex, will in all be found the surest guides to peace, honour, and happiness.'

In the Miscellaneous Letters will be found an admirable letter, highly worthy of preservation, addressed by Lady Russell to her son, the Duke of Bedford. It is too long to extract, but we recommend it to the particular notice of the reader. The letter from Mr. Howe to Lady Russell, is interesting as being characteristic of the writer.

Lady Sunderland's letters to Lord Halifax, consist of the political gossip of the day, which the old lady duteously set herself to collect and transmit to her son-in-law. They are entertaining enough, but of little value. Lady Sunderland was the Saccharissa of Waller; and she thus unceremoniously introduces the Poet's name: 'Mrs. Middleton and I have lost *Old* '*Waller;* he is gone away frightened.' 'My Lord Russell' is once referred to, in the slang language of the court party, as one of Lord Shaftesbury's 'blind followers.' 'Mutineers' is the term generally bestowed on the Country Party in these letters. Lord Sunderland, her son, is spoken of, and commended, as having advised the issuing of an order of council to the Judges, in 1680, to convict all Papists strictly charged, and not to prosecute other Dissenters from the Church of England; an order, however, which the Judges knew better than to obey. In a subsequent letter, she says: 'He (Lord Sunderland) told me 'he had heard Judge Weston had not performed the orders he 'had to make a distinction between the Papists and the Fana-'tics.' The events of that period shew how little the King was disposed to sanction any measures for the relief of the Non-conformists. The Editor has been indefatigable in supplying illustrative notes.

Art. V. *The Family Mansion.* A Tale. By Mrs. Taylor, of Ongar, Author of Maternal Solicitude, Practical Hints, &c. 12mo. pp. 206. London, 1819.

MRS. TAYLOR, in her first publication, let her readers into the secret, that she was then commencing her career of authorship at the age of fifty-six,—a career, as it has proved, of flattering success, and certainly, one of more than ordinary usefulness. Although that is six years ago, we are too polite to

style her even now, an old woman: her mind, at all events, has not passed its prime. But we may be permitted to remark, that a literary effort of the present description is not very common at the period of life at which the Author has arrived. It is not very usual to find the fancy putting forth fresh shoots at what used to be termed the grand climacteric; or the mind, if its vigour be unabated, exerting itself in a new direction. Mrs. Taylor's preceding publications have been of that simply didactic kind which requires but the exercise of a sound judgement, guided by correct principles, and the prophetic light of sage experience, to make them an efficient means of instruction; but to compose a good tale, is a more costly effort of the faculties, a literary adventure far more perilous. It is pleasing to remark, that the success which has attended Mrs. Taylor's former works, so far from tempting her to relax in the pains bestowed upon her productions, as if an inferior article might now be made to pass current under favour of her name, has had the effect of a stimulus; has encouraged her to try her powers in a work of imagination, composed, evidently, with great care, but conceived with spirit, and executed with a graphical skill that exceeds any display of talent in the Author's previous literary productions. If we had had the least reason for suspecting that the opinion we have on former occasions expressed, was too partial or too complimentary—for we will own that, towards persons who come before the public in the character which belongs to Mrs. Taylor as an author, we are susceptible of such a bias,—the present work would have satisfied us, and we think it will satisfy our readers, that we have not over-estimated her literary pretensions. Her motives, it would be impossible to estimate too highly.

We are not told whether the Family Mansion, is a fiction or no fiction; but whether the story be real or not, it is all true,—true in the most important sense; it has the truth of painting, and the truth of sentiment. Mr. Parkhurst, an opulent merchant, a man of piety and domestic habits, has married—a handsome wife. Nay, Mrs. Edward Parkhurst was more than handsome: she was accomplished, sweet-tempered, and passed for intelligent. But she had one fault; she had no feeling—except for herself, and consequently, no character. To delineate a form without outline, is a difficult task; but in delineating the heroine of the tale, Mrs. Taylor has effected this task, as we think, to admiration. She has shewn how much positive unhappiness may spring from the mere negation of virtue; how adequate a cause is mere selfishness, of the ruin of domestic peace; how much friction may be produced by a smooth surface, and how melancholy a thing is a heartless smile. The incidents of the tale are purely domestic, and would scarcely

interest the reader in the detail. Mr. Parkhurst too late perceives the error of his choice, yet without the strength of mind requisite to remedy it: he sees his plans thwarted, his affairs involved in embarrassment, his parental hopes blasted; and dies a victim to anxiety. Caroline, his only daughter, who has eloped with an adventurer, finds herself the wife of a domestic tyrant, whose temper is soured by his disappointment in respect to her fortune. The character of Bateman will be recognised in too many living originals. After some years of salutary suffering, Mrs. Bateman becomes a widow, and, reduced to the necessity of maintaining herself and her orphan children by her own exertions, she undertakes a school. The Family Mansion, the scene of her early years, becomes once more her residence, and that of her mother, the still good-humoured and smiling relict of 'poor Mr. Parkhurst.' But here, the unfeeling heart which had so long been impregnable to affliction, is at length made sensible of a pang; the sluices of feeling are opened, and the love of this world is expelled by new and vivid views of another. A moral revolution takes place in the character of the now aged Mrs. Parkhurst, which forms the consummation of the tale.

It is in the delineation of the characters that the merit of the work consists; and we think it has, in this respect, great merit. The characters are not conveyed to the reader by means of a formal analysis, but pass before him in the shape of living actors. That of the elder Mrs. Parkhurst, the mother of Mr. Edward Parkhurst, is an admirable portrait of the aged and matured Christian. But we must introduce our readers to her daughter-in-law.

'The inauspicious gloom which had begun to pervade the mind of Mr Parkhurst, was nearly dispelled by the prospect of his becoming a parent. He anticipated the new relation in which he hoped shortly to stand, with the emotions of a man possessing a heart as affectionate as ever glowed in a human bosom; and he never harboured a doubt but that emotions, if possible still more tender, would be excited in that of his still loved Caroline. This was the circumstance, he thought, which must infallibly give a turn to her whole conduct and feelings: with rapture he contemplated her in that tender relation; while he anticipated a complete renovation of her taste, in every thing in the Family Mansion, on which he had been forced to look with disapprobation.

'The time arrived, and he embraced a daughter! Her grandmother folded her to her maternal bosom, kissed her velvet cheek, and offered up a fervent prayer and thanksgiving. The old servants pressed around; and while each took her in turn, one declared she was like their deceased master, another said she resembled their mistress, and a third that she was the very model of her papa; but all agreed that she was one of the loveliest babes that ever saw the sun;

and this, perhaps, was nearer the truth than such assertions frequently are. Even Mr Oliver was pleased, felt proud, and claimed a sort of property in the little stranger. And young Mrs. Parkhurst was pleased too—she was pleased to find herself alive, and in such a state of convalescence as promised a speedy return to the world; for even her joyous and sanguine temper had not been able to prevent the possibility of a different result occasionally crossing her mind: and while her situation kept her a prisoner, and precluded some of her accustomed pleasures, there were enjoyments in it which, on the whole, formed a pleasing variety, and for which no one had an acuter relish than herself: besides, she contemplated an excursion, to recruit strength which had never failed, spirits which had never been depressed. And she was pleased with the infant, too, when quiet in the arms of its nurse; but its cries always gave her the head-ach, and it was sure to incommode her if kept in the room too long. When *she* was asked who she thought it resembled, she replied, she thought it was like itself! Mr. Parkhurst observed and felt these things, but still he flattered himself that, as every day would render the infant more interesting, she would not fail by degrees, at least, to excite a mother's feelings. Besides, he candidly attributed much of his wife's apparent insensibility, to the supposed languor of her present circumstances. The fond hope of his dear Caroline's ultimately uniting with him in the tender and endearing task of training their interesting charge to knowledge and to virtue, was too precious to be abandoned by a slight discouragement, or by present appearances, however inauspicious they might seem.

'When all was in readiness for the proposed excursion, the infant was taken so extremely ill, as to render it necessary to postpone their journey, while the agitation and distress of Mr. Parkhurst knew no bounds. On a female friend's endeavouring to console his wife by the prospect of the babe's recovery, her reply was—that she thought, for her own part, she could give her up with a great deal of resignation! It was certainly well for the present feelings of Mr. Parkhurst that he did not hear this confession.

'On her return from the excursion, things went on as usual; former objects maintained their accustomed interest, which was by no means abated by recent circumstances. An uniform good humour, amounting to joyousness, maintained unimpaired that bloom of high health, which had ever overspread her cheek, and given lustre to her eye, and which, at every gaze, still made her fond husband forget for the moment, or at least forgive, what his better judgment disapproved.' pp. 25—29.

'Mrs. Parkhurst was one of those characters who have neither enemies nor friends: with a constitutional dislike to every thing unpleasant or disagreeable, she was never embroiled in the petty feuds which agitated her neighbours; she made the best, and put the most favourable construction upon every thing that was amiss; and she so scrupulously observed all the rules of etiquette, as never to afford the slightest occasion for offence on that score: so that she glided along tranquil and unruffled, and seemed to have acquired the happy art of keeping every vexation and every care at bay, while she looked on

unconcerned at those which annoyed the peace of her neighbours. And yet, amid all this tranquillity, it may be questioned whether there existed a being (with the exception of her husband and Mr. Oliver) who ever felt for her the glow of genuine affection. If this constitutes the happiness of social life, Mrs. Parkhurst was one of the most desolate and forlorn of the human race: but thoroughly satisfied with herself, it is probable the idea of any such deficiency never glanced across her mind; or if it did, it would not interrupt that felicity which was derived from very different sources.' pp. 29—31.

The character of Miss Vincent, Miss Caroline's governess, is very naturally drawn.

'Miss Vincent, like some other people, had a failing or two: one, not the least prominent, was the pride of intellect, which made her look down with sovereign contempt on all whom she deemed her inferiors in sense or knowledge: another fault, equally conspicuous, was the love of admiration. On the gentlemen, especially, she played off her intellectual artillery with all the skill and address of which she was mistress; whether from old or young, single or married, her vanity, ever craving and voracious, sought its gratification indiscriminately. Moreover, for some reason or other, she had an insuperable dislike to handsome women; and as they are frequently vain, they were persons whom she conceived it to be her bounden duty to humble. Some evil-disposed individuals have affirmed, that Miss Vincent was herself a coquette at heart; but to such slanders we do not listen. Certainly she could not have encountered a character better adapted to the development of her own, than that of Mrs. Parkhurst: elated with her personal charms and long established popularity, and never harbouring a regret respecting her mental deficiencies, she viewed Miss Vincent in the light in which she apprehended every one else must view her, attaching little more importance to her station, and paying her little more respect, than to a superior domestic, indeed much less than to her favourite Alice. These ladies, therefore, soon perfectly understood each other, and indirectly used every means to express their mutual sentiments. Where people live under the same roof, there are choice opportunities for this sort of warfare. They would have made you believe that they were perfectly indifferent respecting each other's opinion; but nothing could be more apparent than that they were *not* indifferent, but that they did purposely harass and torment each other in no inconsiderable degree. The beautiful, the *happy* Mrs. Parkhurst, and the intelligent Miss Vincent, were, in fact, in a perpetual broil: yes, the beautiful, the happy Mrs. Parkhurst stood in awe of her daughter's governess! and the intelligent Miss Vincent was mortified to the quick, by the contemptuous airs and neglect of her pupil's mother!

'In the mean time, the unsuspecting Mr. Parkhurst was increasingly interested in the intelligent society of his new companion: there was such reaching down volumes and turning over pages together, such critical disquisitions, in which poor Mrs. Parkhurst could feel no interest and take no part, that, for the first time in her life, she felt her own littleness; her ordinary style of remark was no longer played off,

from the consciousness that it would no longer do, that her antagonist's quick eye would discern its weakness, and that her husband was too much interested in what was no ordinary style of remark to pay any attention to it.

'And now the time was come, when Mrs. Parkhurst was quite as much disposed to *take up* her troubles as other people, as much even as her husband had been; and although she was conscious (to use her own mode of expression) that all the fretting in the world could not regain the time she had lost, and cultivate her mind, so as to make her a suitable companion for an intelligent man, and place her on a level with the provoking Miss Vincent; yet she did *fret*, or at least she felt sensations that approached very near to fretting: sensations which proved (what does not want to be proved) that there is some vulnerable point in every one, which, if yet undiscovered, only waits the appropriate attack.

'While her husband was utterly unconscious of what was passing in her mind, Miss Vincent saw and feasted on the havock she was making in family peace. Not satisfied with this, she so plied her arts on all the gentlemen visitors, as to monopolize nearly the whole of their attention, leaving Mrs. Parkhurst only such a portion of it as good breeding would claim. She possessed such an agreeable vivacity of manner, such a fund of appropriate and well-selected anecdote, and displayed so much general information and intelligence, that her personal disadvantages were not obtrusive; and as it was her constant study to produce the same effects without beauty that other women do with it, she generally succeeded in making the company forget the plainness of her face.

'Mrs. Parkhurst, seeing herself thus receding into the back ground, found one resource in venting her complaints to her confidential maid, who, from her own personal feelings, was thoroughly disposed to fan the flame: she had sagacity enough to discern that the rigid way in which Caroline had been denied any intercourse with her, by Miss Vincent, implied a reflection on her character which she could ill brook, and she determined to use all her influence in ridding the house of so hateful an inmate.

'Thus while Mr. Parkhurst was innocently (although, perhaps, imprudently) gratifying his taste in the society of an intelligent woman, (for that was the only light in which he viewed her,) and congratulating himself on the progressive improvement of his daughter, his wife was preparing to add another disappointment to the long list which had already clouded his days, and spread a gloom over his once fair prospects.

'Whether Miss Vincent, however well qualified in other respects, was exactly the person calculated to form a young mind to piety and to virtue, as well as to knowledge, is another question, and a question quite distinct from the dissatisfaction of Mrs. Parkhurst, which originated in sources very different from any solicitude for the welfare of her daughter.

'Sensible people are sometimes very short sighted, and do very foolish things; this, at least, seemed to be the case with Miss Vincent, when she affected to claim Caroline as her exclusive property,

totally independent of her mother's control. "Miss Vincent says I must not do that," or "I must do this," was often the reply and the excuse for disobedience. It may be questioned whether Mrs. Parkhurst ever felt the relation in which she stood to her daughter so forcibly as at the present juncture: she felt her rights, and with an energy new to her, she determined to enforce them, which she did in a manner so firm and decided, that her husband was almost led to question her identity. She told him in plain terms that she had lost all authority with Caroline, that she did not improve under the tuition of Miss Vincent, that she was altogether dissatisfied with her mode of instruction, that, in short, she wished her to be dismissed, and the child sent to one of the best boarding-schools!

'The astonishment of Mr. Parkhurst at this unexpected demand, could be equalled by nothing but his vexation and chagrin, and he was disposed to make the most determined resistance, while he expected his mother's opinion and feelings to correspond with his own. But mothers and wives are sometimes more quick-sighted than husbands and sons. She had for some time suspected the truth, had anticipated the result, and was often on the point of giving her son a gentle hint on the subject, but hesitated as to the manner of doing it. She now pointed him to a few traits in the character of Miss Vincent which had hitherto escaped his notice, but which were as inimical to family peace, as they were exceptionable in a governess; and other corroborating circumstances darting across his mind, he saw at once the propriety of a separation, while he deeply regretted its necessity, as well as that of sending his child from home, who was now the principal object which rendered it interesting to him.' pp. 55—62.

Our last extract must be taken from the close of the work, where the Author describes the process by which the once blooming, gay, and worldly Mrs. Parkhurst becomes transformed into the chastised and humble Christian.

'But (now) in her two grand-daughters she began to take a degree of interest which was new to her, and became susceptible of feelings towards them to which she had hitherto been a total stranger; while their dutiful attentions seemed to render them essential to her happiness, and even to her existence: they vied with each other in attending to her wants, and in anticipating her wishes, but Sophia, as the elder, naturally took the lead; she read to her grandmamma, she related every thing of an interesting nature that was passing either in or out of the school; she talked to her on religious subjects with a simplicity, and yet with an earnestness, which was calculated to excite attention, and to raise a sort of novel interest in her mind. As this increased, her inordinate love of the world seemed to abate, although by no means in the same proportion; for these favourable symptoms made such gradual progress, as to afford equal ground in the mind of her daughter for hope and for fear.

'About this time a fever broke out in the school, which, however, had but *one* victim; that victim was Sophia! the interesting Sophia! —whose infancy had been eminently marked with sorrow, and whose "*dood ni*', mamma," as she passed her mother's sick chamber years

before, had left traces in her memory too deep ever to be erased; the little infantile voice was recalled to her fond recollection many a long year after it was silent in the dust. Sophia had been the affectionate and assiduous companion of her grandmother, and had entwined herself around every fibre of her heart—a heart which had hitherto been proof against all the endearing ties that ought to have bound it. It was the pious conversation and exemplary carriage of this interesting child that had been the means, in some degree, of rousing her from that lethargy of soul which had equally pervaded her days of prosperity and adversity, and from which no previous circumstance appeared capable of rousing her. Mrs. Parkhurst had once said respecting Sophia's mother, when an infant, that she could part from her with a great deal of resignation! but now a parting-time was come when she was called to practise that Christian virtue in earnest, she now really suffered and watched, with an anxiety new to her, the variations of the disease.

'The conflict was protracted and severe; it seemed when death at last snatched away the darling object of her heart, as if he had laid it open to her view, and exhibited it bleeding and mangled as it was with all its hidden vices and secret propensities: now the sluices were opened, and the torrents gushed forth which had been so long blocked up by selfish indulgences and an inordinate love of the world. It is not by a gentle process that such spirits are usually subdued, not by the still small voice of the gospel of grace; but by the whirlwind and by the tempest: the furnace of affliction must be made seven times hotter for them than for others, ere it can "purge away all their dross, and take away all their tin."

The day before Sophia died, she fixed her eyes stedfastly on her grandmother while she sat watching by her bed-side, and then said, "Grandmamma, how old are you?"

"How old am I, my love!" said she, "why do you wish to know that?"

'"Because," said she, "when I was reading the Bible the other day, I was struck with that passage which says, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten;" and I cried to think what a little while you must have to live. Ah! I did not then know that I should die first; but soon, very soon you must come and lie down by me in the cold grave. Ah! my dear grandmamma, I hope the remainder of your time will be taken up in thinking about another world: one thing *is* needful; and those who lie dying, as I am, will be sure to think so, whatever they have thought before. Oh, what should I do now, if I had not thought of death, nor come to Jesus when I was well?"

'"*The days of our years are threescore years and ten!*" This sentence, with its striking inference, issuing from the lips of her dying child, sunk deep into her heart: the thought of her advancing age she had heretofore endeavoured to force from her, and whenever her glass reminded her of it, she invariably turned away; but now this emphatic warning seemed like the striking of a clock, admonishing the traveller to prepare for his journey, who had delayed till the sun was sinking in the horizon. Yes—I have but a little while to live,

said she, and yet what a great deal I have to do! Oh that, like my dear Sophia, I had devoted my youthful days to God; then I could have felt tranquil at the approach of old age and death, like my dear mother Parkhurst—she whose graces and whose virtues I wanted the virtue and the grace to appreciate. Can "my death ever be the "death of the righteous? can my latter end be like theirs?"

'Such were the exercises of her mind for a long and dreary season; but at length, even in this hitherto unfavourable soil, the peaceable fruits of righteousness began to spring up; affliction had watered it, and it appeared that God had indeed given the increase. Now it was that *she* could afford consolation to her afflicted daughter—consolation very different from that which she had been accustomed to administer on former occasions; it came from an aching heart, and could, therefore, reach one: her language was no longer that of unmeaning common-place, or a string of texts kept in readiness for the occasion; but it bore all the characteristic marks of genuine submission and Christian fortitude.'

Art. VI. *A Vocabulary, or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America.* To which is prefixed an Essay on the Present State of the English Language in the United States. Originally published in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and now republished with Corrections and Additions. By John Pickering. 8vo. Boston, 1816.

THERE will inevitably subsist a difference more or less broadly marked, between the written language of a country as exhibited in its standard literature, and the idiomatic phraseology in current use. This difference, so long as the number of writers is comparatively small, will be sufficiently palpable; as the purity of the language will stand in little danger of being corrupted by a too free admixture of unauthorized phrases, unless it be by such as are adopted, in mere pedantry, from the learned languages. In the mean time, every province will have its dialect, every city its peculiar vulgarisms, and every science, or mystery, or profession, its technical jargon. The progress of civilization will, as its first effect, blend down these varieties of the national dialect into the general conversational medium. Technical, provincial, and exotic phrases will soon come to form no small part of the Vocabulary from which, without scruple, individuals of all classes shall help themselves to convenient modes of expression in familiar speech; while as yet they are disowned by the lexicographer, and the line of demarcation between the written and the unwritten language, is still respected by all who venture upon authorship. But as readers, and consequently writers, multiply, and knowledge of all kinds becomes more generally diffused, a nearer approach is insensibly made by authors in general, to the forms of common speech; a more popular style is affected, as best adapted to the majority of readers

at the same time that the classic models of the language become less generally studied; and a democratic insubordination spreads through the republic of letters, which, were it not for the salutary authority of us Reviewers, would speedily terminate in a total disregard of the constituted lexicographical authorities, in the degradation of the literary aristocracy, and, in short, in a kind of literary anarchy.

Whoever will be at the pains of calculating the immense number of words which have obtained letters of naturalization, in our own literature, since the days of Dr. Samuel Johnson, taking Mr. John Walker's Dictionary as the present standard of received terms, or simply reckoning the additions made to the work of the great Lexicographer by Mr. Todd,—will be convinced that it is time some stand was made against an indefinite increase of our literary currency by fresh issues upon the doubtful credit of private authorities. It is not in the United States only, that the English language is threatened with 'a torrent of 'barbarous phraseology.' Some of the most eloquent writers of the present day in our own country, are chargeable with a remarkable disregard of accuracy; and the dashing, declamatory style which has been so extensively adopted, has any thing to recommend it, rather than idiomatic purity, or classical elegance. Few indeed, we apprehend, are the modern writers who follow Dr. Johnson's advice, to 'give their days and nights to the 'volumes of Addison.' What is worse, we doubt whether Addison himself would now, as an anonymous writer, command either the attention of the public, or the admiration of the critic. There is perhaps not a little affectation in the high and unqualified praise which has been bestowed upon Addison's style, by some writers who have departed widely enough from their professed model; but assuredly, it is most refreshing, after being nauseated with the highly seasoned compositions of modern paragraph-makers, to recur to the pure English, the calm and unaffected style of the Spectator.

Mr. Pickering adverts to the determination expressed by Mr. Fox, to 'admit no word into his History for which he had not 'the authority of Dryden.' 'This determination,' he remarks,

'may perhaps seem at first view, to have been dictated by too fastidious a taste, or an undue partiality for a favourite author: but unquestionably, a rule of this sort, adopted in the course of our education, and extended to a few of the best authors, would be the most effectual method of acquiring a good English style. And surely, if Fox found no necessity for any other words than Dryden had used, those writers have little excuse, who take the liberty, not only of using all the words they can find in the whole body of English authors, ancient and modern, but also of making new terms of their own at

pleasure. Who shall have a right to complain of scarcity, where that distinguished orator found abundance?'

The fact is, that the invention of new words, or of new modifications of old ones, is in general the resource of persons who are unacquainted with the genuine powers of their own language. Solitary thinkers are peculiarly apt to frame to themselves an arbitrary dialect, and to connect with particular phrases a train of indistinct ideas, which, perhaps, if translated into familiar language, would lose all their supposed originality. Except in the case of some real addition to our knowledge, it can never be necessary to innovate upon the standard phraseology which constitutes the vehicle of thought; and all unnecessary innovations, so far from enriching a language, only render it less adapted to the purposes of philosophy, by taking away from its precision as much as from its purity. Writers are sometimes tempted to innovate, from mere indolence of mind: it would cost them some patient circumlocution, or perhaps, a recasting of the thought, to accommodate their meaning to the established laws of expression; and to avoid this trouble, they have recourse to forcible means, pressing words of all kinds into an illegal service, making the parts of speech change places, and giving the chief posts to a set of italic foreigners. But no words, as a correspondent of our Author's justly remarks, 'are more frequently invented and 'admitted, though sometimes only for the moment, than *burn-*'*ing, glowing* words.' These, however, often derive their whole effect from being apparently struck off in the heat of the moment,—from what has been ludicrously termed their *unexpectedness:* they would fail to answer the writer's purpose a second time, and therefore, how allowable soever, as an occasional rhetorical stratagem, as they add nothing to the real powers of the language, are unworthy of any writer who makes pretensions to a good English style.

We do not mean to deny, that many very acceptable additions have been made, within a comparatively short period, to the resources of our language. The extension of physical discovery has rendered the invention of a new nomenclature absolutely necessary; and the familiar and metaphorical use of scientific, technical, and exotic terms, has been gaining ground as a natural consequence of the more general diffusion of knowledge. Our neighbours, the French, have been going on quite as fast in the invention and naturalization of new terms and phrases. English words have, of necessity, been transplanted, together with English ideas, into the national dialect, and the French begin to talk of being *comfortable*. For some of our newly coined expressions, it appears that we must condescend to own ourselves indebted to our Transatlantic brethren. Of this description are, 'organize,' 'influential,' 'subserve,' and others which have been

for some time finding their way into usage. Some of our readers will possibly be able to recollect how the term *unwell*, when first brought up, was ridiculed as a *Yankee*-ism; yet it is now in general use. The word *poorly*, in the sense of indisposed, is *not* an Americanism; being, as Ash remarks, a well-known colloquial word. Many of the words in current use in America, are either antiquated words carried over by the first settlers from this country, or provincialisms, still familiar in certain parts of England, or of Scotland, which have more recently emigrated. Others, such as *demoralize*, *derange*, *constituted authorities*, &c. have been adopted by our own writers, in common with the Americans, from the French. But a very considerable number of the terms in Mr. Pickering's Vocabulary, are, among us, simple vulgarisms. For the admission of these, the Compiler assigns as a sufficient reason, that he 'was not making a dictionary of the language, but a glossary of provincialisms, and 'that many words should be admitted into such a work, (as they 'are in fact by the English glossarists,) which would be rejected 'from a dictionary.' His object in undertaking the Collection, which is the result of much patient labour, has been, to promote a restoration of the language to the purity of the English standard, by 'setting a discountenancing mark' upon such unauthorized words and phrases as are not rendered indispensably necessary by the peculiar circumstances of the country. This plan, Dr. Franklin, it seems, long ago recommended to his countrymen; and since his time, it has become still more necessary. 'It has long been the wish of our scholars,' Mr. Pickering says, 'to see a work of this kind.' He adds,

'By knowing exactly what peculiar words are in use with us, we should, among other advantages, have it in our power to expose the calumnies of some prejudiced and ignorant writers, who have frequently laid to the charge of our countrymen *in general*, the affected words and phrases of a few conceited *individuals*;—words and phrases which are justly the subject of as much ridicule in America as they are in Great Britain.

'Many words will be found in the collection, which are not, in fact, of American origin, or peculiar to Americans; but it appeared to me that it would be useful to insert all words, the legitimacy of which had been questioned, in order that their claim to a place in the language might be discussed and settled. Several of the words have been obtained from British Reviews of American publications; and I may here remark, how much it is to be regretted, that the Reviewers have not pointed out *all* the instances which have come under their notice, of our deviations from the English standard. This would have been doing an essential service to our literature, and have been the most effectual means of accomplishing what those scholars appear to have so much at heart—the preservation of the English language in its purity, wherever it is spoken.'

The most objectionable innovations noticed in the present Vocabulary, are those which appear to have originated in a mistaken use of a familiar word: the continued use of such terms, is only the perpetuation of a blunder. Of this kind are 'To 'convene,' in the sense of to be convenient to; 'To conduct,' as a verb neuter; 'To improve,' in the sense of to occupy; 'To revolt,' used as an active verb; 'To realize,' for to substantiate, or, to ascertain; 'Popular,' for populous; 'Honorary,' for honourable; 'To lay,' for to lie; 'Brief,' for rife; 'Appli-'cant,' in the sense of a diligent student; 'To appreciate,' as a verb neuter, for to rise in value; &c. &c. One of the most curious Americanisms, perhaps, in the volume, curious as being highly characteristic of the nation, is the following:

'BALANCE.—This mercantile word is much used by the people of the *Southern* States in conversation, as a general term signifying the *remainder* of *any thing*. *Ex.* I spent a part of the evening at a friend's house, and the *balance* at home: A quarter part of the army were killed, and the *balance* taken prisoners, &c. The word is also often used in the debates of Congress, as I am informed (but only by the *Southern* members), in the following manner: A member moves, that the first section of a bill should be amended, and the *balance* of the bill struck out.'

Our readers will probably be pleased to receive the following account of the etymological derivation of the strange word, *caucus*, which has been introduced in some recent publications.

'CAUCUS.—This noun is used throughout the United States, as a *cant* term for those meetings which are held by the different political parties, for the purpose of agreeing upon candidates for office, or concerting any measure, which they intend to carry at the subsequent *public* or *town*-meetings. The earliest account I have seen of this extraordinary word, is the following, from *Gordon's History of the American Revolution*, published at London in the year 1788.

'"The word *caucus* (says the Author) and its derivative *caucusing*, are often used in *Boston*. The last answers much to what we style parliamenteering or electioneering. All my repeated applications to different gentlemen have not furnished me with a satisfactory account of *caucus*. It seems to mean a number of persons, whether more or less, met together to consult upon adopting and prosecuting some scheme of policy for carrying a favourite point. The word is not of a novel invention. More than fifty years ago, Mr. Samuel Adams's father and twenty others, one or two from the north end of the town, where all the ship-business is carried on, used to meet, make a *Caucus*, and lay their plan for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power. When they had settled it, they separated, and used each their particular influence within his own circle. He and his friends would furnish themselves with ballots, including the names of the parties fixed upon, which they distributed on the days of election. By acting in concert, together with a careful and extensive distribution of ballots, they generally carried the elections to their own

mind. In like manner, it was, that Mr. Samuel Adams first became a representative for Boston." *Gordon's Hist.* vol. i. p. 240, *note.*

'An English traveller, (Mr. Kendall) who has taken notice of many American words, seems to think that this "*felicitous term*" (as he ironically calls it) is applied only to party meetings, or consultations, of the *members of the legislature* in the different states; but this is not the case. All meetings of parties, for the purpose of concerting any measures, are called by this name.

'From the above remarks of Dr. *Gordon*, it should seem that these meetings were first held in a part of Boston where "all the *ship-business* was carried on;" and I had therefore thought it not improbable that *Caucus* might be a corruption of *Caulkers*, the word meetings being understood. I was afterwards informed by a friend in *Salem*, that the late Judge Oliver often mentioned this as the origin of the word; and upon further inquiry I find other gentlemen have heard the same in *Boston*, where the word was first used. I think I have sometimes heard the expression, *a caucus meeting*. [i. e. *caulkers' meeting*]. It need hardly be remarked, that this *cant* word and its derivatives are never used in good writing.' pp. *55—57.*

'Declension,' in reference to the act of declining, is wholly unauthorized; but we speak of a person's declension from the path of virtue. 'Delinquency,' in the sense in which it is used in America, would *not* 'pass' here, even 'in conversation: 'e. g. 'the *delinquency* of the United States *to* prepare,' &c. 'Des-'titution' is a good word, and, on account of the equivocal import of the term, want, deserves to be brought into more frequent use: *deficiency* does not express the same idea. 'Do-'minant,' adopted by Mr. Todd on the authority of Milton, is, we think, getting into general use. 'Educational,' is a convenient word: e. g. educational prejudices. 'Eulogium,' for eulogy, is neither English nor Latin, and deserves to be exploded from all dictionaries: the use of it has probably arisen from the similar termination of the word *encomium*. No authority can reconcile us to so palpable an incorrectness. 'Ex-'changeable' is to be found repeatedly occurring in modern works upon Political Economy. 'Fiducial' is still occasionally used by theologians. 'Governmental' is an execrable barbarism. Nor are we in any *degree* reconciled to the word, *grade*, which is creeping into use among us by means of italics: it is at present used half in burlesque, but, if care be not taken, it will, before long, find its way into serious composition. 'I 'guess,' is a colloquialism not confined to America, but it is so favourite a term there, that the people 'guess as how' about every thing. There is no danger of this vulgarism becoming an authorized mode of expression even among transatlantic writers. Of all the uncouth and fantastic novelties in Mr. Pickering's collection, no one, perhaps, will strike our English readers as more ridiculous than 'Happifying'—making happy.

Yet, this is sometimes heard from American pulpits, and is said to have occurred in some printed sermons. It was noticed long ago by Dr. Witherspoon. 'Improvement,' as a theological term, will be found in every Section of Dr. Doddridge's Expositor. 'Liability' will probably, on account of its being a common law term, establish itself in general usage. The corrupt use of 'Obnoxious,' in the sense of noxious, or offensive, is common to American and English writers, and we fear that this impropriety has rooted itself too deeply in modern literature, to be got rid of. Ash gives this sense of the word as a colloquialism in his day. Mr. Pickering cites Burke and the Quarterly Review as authorities for the American use of it; but certainly, *liable* or *subject to*, is its proper import, and in any other sense it is superfluous. When once a term has become so equivocal, a good writer will avoid it altogether. 'Profanity,' for profaneness, would seem to be a Scotticism: it is to be found in no good author, although it is a common colloquial inaccuracy. 'Remove,'—*e. g.* 'Such a procedure is scarcely a 'remove short of pious fraud,'—is not an *American* vulgarism: the above sentence is cited by Mr. Pickering from Porson's Letters to Travis. It is, however, an affected expression; and 'an *infinite remove*,' (an expression used by Dr. Mason,) is an infinite absurdity, for the only use of the word is, to express a short distance. 'Result,' and 'To Result,' in the technical sense peculiar to American ecclesiastics, deserve to be exploded. 'Scanty' is good colloquial English. 'Serious,' in the 'cant 'acceptation' of religious, is very common, we believe, both in England and Scotland: we wish we could get rid of it, for it is both an unmeaning and an offensive phrase.

The following words—clever, curious, decent, grand, handsome, mighty, and ugly, have among the vulgar in this country, as well as in the United States, a cant acceptation in which they are destitute of any settled meaning. But *clever*, as implying goodness of disposition without any reference to capacity in the individual, and *awful*, as applied to any thing surprising or disagreeable, *e. g.* an awful medicine, or an awful-looking woman with an awful nose, — are genuine New England barbarisms. *Musical*, in the sense of humorous, is another most unaccountable variation. As for beaker, docity, gumption, gawky, muggy, slosh, tidy, and the verbs, to roil, to slam to (a door), to squiggle (like an eel), to swop, or to make a swop (or exchange), to whop, and to wilt, (or wither) they all belong to the *unwritten* language of our own country, and claim a place in the National Glossary.

It is not from such words as these, nor from vulgarisms of any kind, that the purity of the English language is in any danger in this country; but from affected innovations both of construction and of phraseology, and from the habit of careless composi-

tion in writers of popular talents, who trust entirely to their rapid eloquence for success in making their readers blind to their faults and converts to their opinions. Were we to fix on the work which has contributed more than any other, or than every other, to vitiate the taste of English writers, to introduce a loose and declamatory style, and to corrupt the purity of the language, we should name the Edinburgh Review. From no contemporary Journal, would it be more easy to select specimens of almost every species of inaccuracy. A collection of unauthorized words and phrases to be found in the pages of respectable English writers of the present day, on the plan of Mr. Pickering's Vocabulary, would be a very acceptable service rendered to our literature. For our own parts, finding ourselves cited as an authority for the use of words on the other side of the Atlantic, we shall be more on our guard than ever, against all illicit tampering with the King's English.

Art. VII. *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*: including various Political Observations relating to them. By William Wilkinson, Esq. late British Consul to the above-mentioned Principality. 8vo. pp. 294. London, 1820.

THE idea of settling the affairs of nations by a committee of sovereigns and ministers, was certainly an admirable one; and if it might but supersede the old mode of transacting territorial bargains and other imperial business by means of fire and sword, it would be a very considerable saving both of time and of expenditure. The Congress of Vienna, it must be admitted, despatched more business in a short time, than has often been accomplished by a seven years of hard fighting. It was really surprising with what ease and alacrity a proposal for shifting the boundaries of a kingdom, or transferring some few hundred thousands of population from one liege sovereign to another, was moved, seconded, and resolved unanimously. It will hardly be charged upon that august assemblage, that they accomplished too little; and yet, it is a pity that, while the map of Europe was before them, they did not take into consideration some of the waste lands which would seem to have warranted their passing a bill of enclosure. For instance: 'When,' says the present Author, 'we reflect upon the deplo-'rable condition of Wallachia and Moldavia, examine the 'causes of their evils, and cast an eye upon the numerous gifts 'with which nature has enriched them, it is hardly possible not 'to regret that the question of a change in their political fate, 'was not proposed and resolved at the late congress of Vi-'enna.' We do not profess to understand these high matters; but according to Mr. Wilkinson's representation, the magnitude

and importance of the object gave it claims to the attention of 'Christian Europe,' at least equal to those of the question relating to the Ionian Islands, 'to which the Turks had no smaller 'pretensions, though neither more nor less valid.' And possibly, the securing of the independence of these Principalities, would have been as beneficient an achievement as the cession of Parga. Were the consideration of much importance, it might be added, that the representatives of the ancient Dacians would themselves have had no objection to an arrangement which should have delivered them from the patronage of the Conqueror of the World. Whenever either the Russian or the Austrian armies have entered their territory in the wars against Turkey, the natives, Mr. W. asserts, have uniformly joined the invader.—The following anecdote, if it may be implicitly relied upon, speaks pretty intelligibly on this point.

'At the beginning of the war in 1806, Bukorest (the capital of Wallachia) was garrisoned by about 10,000 Turks, who declared themselves determined to make a desperate stand against the Russians, and to burn the city, if they should finally see the impossibility of preventing them from taking possession of it. Some inhabitants gave information of this plan to the Russian commander in chief Michaelson, who immediately despatched to Bukorest, a corps of 6,000 men, under the command of General Miloradovith, which, by forced marches, arrived suddenly before that city, and three days previous to the time they were expected by the Turks. These latter were seized with consternation; all the inhabitants rose against them, and some armed with sticks, others with bricks, tongs, pokers, daggers, swords, and with every thing, in short, that came within their reach, they fell upon the poor Ottomans without mercy, and cleared the town of them as the Russians were entering it. More than 1500 Turks were left dead in the streets.'

Mr. Wilkinson assigns other and weighty reasons for the measure which he in preference recommends, namely, the partition of the two principalities between Austria and Russia. The consideration which would have been likely to have the greatest weight at Vienna, is this, that Russia will inevitably one of these days help herself to both, and by this means extend her whole frontier on the side of Turkey to the Danube. Our Author affirms, indeed, that in so doing she will only be performing an act which 'common humanity dictates to any Christian power.' And then, when the Russians are once 'entirely masters of the bor-'der of that river, the road to Constantinople is open to them, 'and the political existence of the Turkish empire is left to de-'pend on the will and pleasure of the Russian emperor.' If this be the case, we may hope that the Sublime Government will not long continue to insult over the ruins of fallen Greece.

The countries now known under the names of Wallachia and

Moldavia, have been, from the earliest historic periods, doomed to be the theatre of the bloody games of conquerors. The Romans, the Goths, the Hunns, the Gepidæ, the White Hunns, the Franks and Bulgarians, and subsequently, various Scythian hordes of intruders, have been in succession the masters and despoilers of these and the neighbouring provinces. Under the Tartars, the last of these barbarian invaders, in the eleventh century, the work of devastation terminated in the expulsion of all the natives, and in the withdrawment of the intruders after having reduced the country to a complete desert. It remained in this state till the year 1241, when the inhabitants of Fagarash and Maramosh, two colonies formed by the original refugees on the other side of the Carpathian mountains, came, in two separate detachments, at nearly the same period, and took possession of Upper Wallachia and Moldavia. Raddo Negro (Rodolphus the Black) the chief of those who entered Wallachia, halted, with his followers, at the foot of the mountains, where he laid the foundations of a city named Kimpolung, the walls of which still shew its original extent. His successors transferred their residence to Tirgovist, which is most delightfully situated in the plains; but this city, Constantine Bessarrabba abandoned in 1698, for Bukorest, the present capital. Raddo, and the Moldavian chief, Bogdan, both assumed the Slavonic title of Voïvode, (commanding prince,) acknowledging the supremacy of Hungary; but ever since 1391, when the Wallachians sustained a signal defeat from the Turks under Sultan Bajazet, the country has been, with the exception of short intervals, tributary to the Porte. Mr. Wilkinson gives the following as the substance of the treaty entered into between the Turks under Sultan Mahomet II. and the Wallachians in 1460, which still forms the basis of its constitution, although the formality of electing the Voïvode has long been dispensed with.

'1. "The Sultan consents and engages for himself and his successors, to give protection to Wallachia, and to defend it against all enemies, assuming nothing more than a supremacy over the sovereignty of that principality, the Voïvodes of which shall be bound to pay to the Sublime Porte an annual tribute of ten thousand piasters."

'2. "The Sublime Porte shall never interfere in the local administration of the said principality, nor shall any Turk be ever permitted to come into Wallachia without an ostensible reason."

'3. "Every year an officer of the Porte shall come to Wallachia to receive the tribute, and on his return shall be accompanied by an officer of the Voïvode as far as Giurgevo on the Danube, where the money shall be counted over again, a second receipt given for it, and, when it has been carried in safety to the other side of that river, Wallachia shall no longer be responsible for any accident that may befall it."

'4. "The Voïvodes shall continue to be elected by the archbishop, metropolitan, bishops, and boyars, and the election shall be acknowledged by the Porte."

'5. "The Wallachian nation shall continue to enjoy the free exercise of their own laws; and the Voïvodes shall have the right of life and death over their own subjects, as well as that of making war and peace, without having to account for any such proceedings to the Sublime Porte."

'6. "All Christians who, having once embraced the Mahometan faith, should come into Wallachia and resume the Christian religion, shall not be claimed by any Ottoman authorities."

'7. "Wallachian subjects who may have occasion to go into any part of the Ottoman dominions, shall not be there called upon for the haratsh or capitation tax paid by other *Rayahs*."

'8. "If any Turk have a law-suit in Wallachia with a subject of the country, his cause shall be heard and decided by the Wallachian divan, conformably to the local laws."

'9. "All Turkish merchants coming to buy and sell goods in the principality, shall, on their arrival, have to give notice to the local authorities of the time necessary for their stay, and shall depart when that time is expired."

'10. "No Turk is authorised to take away one or more servants of either sex, natives of Wallachia; and no Turkish mosque shall ever exist on any part of the Wallachian territory."

'11. "The Sublime Porte promises never to grant a Ferman at the request of a Wallachian subject for his affairs in Wallachia, of whatever nature they may be; and never to assume the right of calling to Constantinople, or to any other part of the Turkish dominions, a Wallachian subject on any pretence whatever."' pp. 20—22.

Moldavia became tributary to the Sultan in 1536; voluntarily, say Moldavian historians, as a measure of precaution and security. No native prince has been, in either province, appointed to the government since 1714; the policy of the Porte having led to the selection of 'more suitable tools' from among the Greeks of Constantinople, whose habits of servile obedience, and consequent degradation of character, render them still fitter instruments of despotism than even a Turkish pasha. The plan of administration, and the outward form of government, are still the same as under the Voïvodes. The prince, or bey, is allowed to hold a court, to confer dignities and titles of nobility, and to keep up a show of sovereign splendour;—'circumstances,' says Mr. W. 'which are most flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, and which have proved useful to the interested views of the Porte.' His public entry into the capital of his new sovereignty, is attended with a great display of magnificence; and, from the ceremonies observed on the occasion, he assumes the title of God's anointed. His subjects address him by the title of υχηλοταλε, most high; and his sons are styled Beij-Zaaday, prince's son. All the empty symbols

and appendages of royalty are with safety conferred upon these depositories of the sovereign authority, but they are most strictly forbidden to maintain or to collect troops, under any pretence whatsoever, lest they should acquire that military power which might tempt them to aspire to independence.

'In the course of the last century, a variety of Greek princes succeeded to each other in the government of the principalities. One alone, Constantine Márrocordato, appointed in 1735 to Wallachia, devoted himself with zeal to the welfare of his country. Some wise institutions attest the liberality of his views, and a generosity of character which is not to be traced in any of his successors. But he was twice recalled, because he refused to comply with demands of the Ottoman government, which appeared to him incompatible with the duties he owed to the Wallachians. The other princes, less scrupulous, and more careful of their own interests, marked their administration by the most violent acts of extortion, and an invariable system of spoliation. Few of them died a natural death, and the Turkish scymeter was, perhaps, frequently employed with justice among them. In a political point of view, the short reigns of most of these princes offer nothing of sufficient importance or interest to deserve a place in history.'

The executive administration is divided into various regular departments. The divan, composed of twelve members, appointed annually by the prince, is the supreme council. The metropolitan only has in it a permanent seat. All the public officers are appointed annually: the reason assigned for this inconvenient custom, is, that the boyars, or nobles, whose number in Wallachia, amounts to nearly thirty thousand, claim public employment, at least for a time, as a right to which they are each entitled.

'The first families, in particular, consider it as their birthright; but as their chief object is gain, they scramble for places with the most indecorous avidity, and never regard their want of capacity for any branch of public service.'

There is nothing, perhaps, very singular in this: a similar propensity has, in former times, discovered itself in the aristocracy of other countries. But to how great perfection must the system of spoliation be carried in a country where the possession of even an inferior office under government for but one year, is so well worth scrambling for! We are not told whether the 'livery servants' of the court are appointed by the year: if not, it should seem that their post is not among the least lucrative stations.

'A certain ceremony is practised at court upon all promotions and nominations. It takes place once or twice every month, when the prince, seated on an elevated throne, verbally notifies to the candidate, who is introduced by the first postelnik (the master of the cere-

monies at court) the rank or office to which he raises him. A robe of honour is then placed on his shoulders, and he advances in the most respectful attitude, and kisses the prince's hand. He is then conveyed home in one of the state carriages, or on one of the prince's horses (according to his new rank), and accompanied by a great number of chiohadars or livery servants of the court, *to whom he pays a considerable fee.*'

No system was ever better adapted to the purpose of reducing to harmless insignificance of character, the nobility of any country, by extinguishing in their minds every independent feeling, and every elevated sentiment, that might prompt the wish to be free. The boyars of Wallachia accordingly exhibit all the pernicious effects of their social institutions. They are indolent to excess, incapable of mental exertion. Money is the only stimulus of which they are susceptible; and the means they employ to obtain it, ' are not the efforts of industry, nor are ' they modified by any scruples of conscience.'

' Habit has made them spoliators; and in a country where actions of an ignominious nature are even encouraged, and those of rapacity looked upon as mere proofs of dexterity and cunning, corruption of principles cannot fail to become universal. Their prodigality is equal to their avidity: ostentation governs them in one manner, and avarice in another. They are careless of their private affairs, and, with the exception of a few more prudent than the generality, they leave them in the greatest disorder. Averse to the trouble of conducting their pecuniary concerns, they entrust them to the hands of stewards, who take good care to enrich themselves at their expense, and to their great detriment. Many have more debts than the value of their whole property is sufficient to pay; but their personal credit is not injured by them, neither do they experience one moment's anxiety for such a state of ruin.

' The quality of nobility protects them from the pursuits of the creditor; and the hope of obtaining lucrative employments, by the revenues of which they may be able to mend their affairs, sets their minds at ease, and induces them to continue in extravagance. Some bring forward their ruin as a pretext for soliciting frequent employment, and when the creditors have so often applied to the prince as to oblige him to interfere, they represent that the payment of their debts depends upon his placing them in office. The office is finally obtained, and the debts remain unpaid. When a sequester is laid upon their property, they contrive to prove that it came to them by marriage; and as the law respects dowries, they save it from public sale.' pp. 131—133.

' In the daily occupations and pastimes of the Boyars, little variety takes place. Those who hold no place under government, spend their leisure in absolute idleness, or in visiting each other to kill time. In Wallachia, the management of their estates and other private concerns, which do not relate to public appointment, does not occupy much of their attention, and sometimes the finest of their lands are

left in total neglect, or in the hands of mercenary agents, who enrich themselves with their spoils. They hardly ever visit their country possessions, which some let out for several years, for much less than their real value, when they find customers who are willing to pay the whole amount of rent in advance. They build fine country-houses which they intend never to inhabit, and which, in a few years, fall into ruin. The most delightful spots in their beautiful country have no power to attract them, neither is it at all customary with them to quit the town residence at any season of the year.

'The Boyars in Moldavia, like those in Wallachia, are the great land-proprietors; but they bestow much more of their attention and time to (*on*) the improvement of their estates, which they make their principal source *of* riches. The revenues of some of the most opulent, from landed property, amount to two or three thousand piastres, and their appointment to public employment is generally unsolicited.' pp. 137, 138.

About two hundred and ten days of the year, Mr. Wilkinson states, are *holidays*; which, so far as relates to the cessation from all kinds of work, are strictly observed. The public offices are allowed, besides, 'a fortnight's vacation at Easter and 'during the hottest days of summer.' These days of idleness, the boyars devote to etiquette visits, to riding about in their crazy, gilded caléches, and to intrigues; the lower classes spend them in the English fashion, 'at the brandy shops,' where prostitutes 'are kept for the purpose of attracting customers.' The degraded state of public morals, is shewn in nothing more remarkably than in the disgraceful frequency of divorce upon the slightest pretences. 'The matrimonial faith,' Mr. W. affirms to have become in consequence 'merely nominal.'

'Parents never marry their daughters, to whatever class they may belong, without allowing them dowries beyond the proportion of their own means, and to the great detriment of their male children, who, finding themselves unprovided for, look upon marriage as the means of securing a fortune, and consequently regard it as a mere matter of pecuniary speculation.

'Sometime back, a Wallachian lady of quality, who had brought but a small fortune to her husband, became desirous of fixing her residence in one of the principal streets of the town, and she pressed him to lay aside his accustomed system of economy, to sell his estate, the revenue of which gave them the principal means of support, and to build a fine house in that street. The husband, more reasonable than herself, positively refused to listen to her extravagant proposal; and the lady, incensed at his upbraiding her for it, quitted his house, and shortly after sued for divorce, which she obtained. This lady, who has since remained single, professed great piety, and is still considered as a very pious woman.

'Not long after, a young Boyar, contrary to custom, fell in love with a very beautiful young woman, of the same rank and age. The parents of both agreed on their union, and the nuptials were cele-

brated by public festivities. This couple was looked upon as the only one in the country whom a strong and mutual attachment had united. At the end of the first year the husband was suddenly attacked by a pulmonary complaint, and induced by the physicians' advice to separate himself for some time from his wife, and go to Vienna in order to consult the best medical men. After eighteen months' absence, finding himself perfectly recovered, he hastened back to Bukorest impatient to see his wife, to whom he had not ceased to write, but whose letters had latterly become much less frequent. On his arrival he found the most unexpected changes in his family affairs. His wife had gone to her parents, refused to see him, and had already consented to marry another! Her father, who was the chief instigator of her sudden resolution, had negotiated the second marriage, because it suited his own interests.

'The legitimate husband claimed his spouse through every possible channel; but he was not listened to, and government declined interfering.

'The sentence of divorce was pronounced by the metropolitan; and although the husband's refusal to sign the act rendered it perfectly illegal, the second marriage took place; the ceremony was performed by the archbishop in person, and public rejoicings were made on the occasion.

'The circumstances of this adventure were the more remarkable, as the second husband had been married before, and divorced his wife after six weeks' cohabitation, when he saw the possibility of obtaining this lady's hand.

'Another lady of the first rank separated her daughter from her husband, with whom she had lived six years, and caused a sentence of divorce to be pronounced. She gave for reason, that her daughters's constitution suffered considerably by frequent pregnancy. The husband, who was by no means inclined to the separation, and who knew his wife to enjoy the best health, made remonstrances to no effect: and he was condemned by government to give back the dowry, and to pay damages to a considerable amount, for having spent a part of it, although he proved to have employed the deficient sum for the use of his wife and family.

'These three instances of the degraded state of morals in these countries are selected from numerous others that occur daily. They are such as to excite astonishment, and appear almost incredible; yet they created no other sensation at the time than other common news of the day, deserving but little notice.' pp. 147—150.

The clergy of Wallachia, are said to exercise a less powerful influence than is possessed by their order in other Greek countries. 'All the ecclesiastical dignitaries being of obscure origin, 'and mostly of the lowest extraction, they are personally de-'spised by the boyars.'

The peasantry are represented as being physically a fine race of people, apparently quiet and harmless, and certainly patient under the yoke of oppression to an unexampled degree; but as being, in fact, quiet from apathy, and patient from the hopeless-

ness of their servitude: they are exceedingly superstitious, and addicted to drinking.

The population of the two principalities, is estimated by Mr. Wilkinson, at one million of souls in Wallachia, and half that number in Moldavia. Bukorest, the present capital, is stated to contain no fewer than eighty thousand inhabitants, three hundred and sixty-five churches, twenty monasteries, and thirty large caravanserays. The population of the two provinces includes one hundred and fifty thousand gipsies. These unhappy outcasts are kept in a state of regular slavery, being divided into two distinct classes; those who are the property of the Government, and those who belong to private individuals. The former are suffered to stroll about the country, on the conditions of never leaving it, and of paying an annual tribute of the value of forty piastres each man above the age of fifteen. They occupy themselves in making iron tools, baskets, and other wood-work for sale: some are masons, and many of them musicians. The household gipsy slaves perform the service of cooks, and of *wet nurses*; ladies in the higher ranks not being in the habit of nursing their own children: they are, notwithstanding, held in the greatest contempt, and treated with disgusting inhumanity. They speak the language of the country, but have a jargon of their own; whether resembling that spoken by other gipsy tribes in more Western countries, Mr. Wilkinson does not seem to have ascertained.

With respect to the Carpathian mines, Mr. Wilkinson states, that there is strong reason to believe that gold, silver, and quicksilver, as well as iron, copper, sulphur and coals, exist in the mountains in abundance; but the inhabitants are well aware that the discovery of a new source of treasure, would only entail fresh burthens upon the country, and create a fresh attraction to the leaders of the general system of rapacity. The spirit of enterprise can have no existence under such a government. The Author confesses, however, his deficiency of information on this point, and expresses his intention, in the event of his return, to devote as much attention as possible to the subject, and to present the result of his investigation in a separate treatise. The neighbourhood of the Carpathian mountains, is stated to abound with the most magnificent scenery.

Considerable light is thrown by our Author, upon the unfathomable politics of the Sublime Porte; and he gives us the secret history of the vacillating conduct of the Turkish government in 1806. The present Sultan is said to take a much more active part in state affairs than many of his predecessors did. His talents and liberal sentiments would, it is added, 'claim 'equality with those of any other sovereign, were they not so 'much restrained by the religious prejudices and stubborn igno-

With blooms and herbs of every various scent
Dallies her tongue—her wings expanded show
Like ornamented clouds hung round by Iris' bow.

'That pageant past, comes the quick Squirrel forth
From his high cedar with a burst and bound,
To sport upon the warm grass of the earth
Feeding, and wave his graceful brush around,
And pause—and prick his ears, and at each sound
List in a breathless attitude, and start
If far away intruding steps resound:
With feet already raised to spring, to dart
On to the nearest pine, but claims a moment's part.

'Anon he cowers upon a branch, and thence
Looks deeply down on his pursuer's shape,
And yet alarmed, on his glad eminence
Stamps wrathfully, then looks a laughing ape,
Playing his thousand pranks o'er an escape
Almost too lofty for our eye to reach
Through the thick gloom, then flies he to the rape
Of the pine's cones, or to his nest, the pleach
Of many a wilding bough in the next giant beech.

'Hush! for the most shy Pheasant leaves the brakes
To bask her beauteous plumage in the sun,
Which, as in love with its bright colours, makes
A hundred brilliant Irises of one.
Autumn is past: the desolating gun
Haunts not her dreaming sleep; she now may tread,
A Princess, through the halls she wont to shun,
Silence around, and verdurous domes o'erhead,
More high exalt her crest, her whirring pinions spread.'

pp. 41—46.

We do not wish to lessen the favourable impression of these extracts by any verbal criticisms. We shall therefore merely add, that the purely descriptive parts of the poem are the best, and that Mr. W. will do well not to venture upon allegorical ground. That 'prying girl, young Curioseita,' is given to mischief, and is not to be intrigued with by a young poet with impunity. As a specimen of the smaller poems, we make room for part of the 'Lines on HOWARD.'

Why, when the souls we loved are fled,
Plant we their turf with flowers,
Their blossomed fragrance there to shed
In sunshine and in showers?
Why bid, when these have passed away,
The laurel flourish o'er their clay,
In winter's blighting hours,
To spread a leaf, for ever green,—
Ray of the life that once hath been.

'It is that we would thence create
Bright memory of the past;
And give their imaged form a date
Eternally to last.
It is, to hallow—whilst regret
Is busy with their actions yet—
The sweetnesses they cast:
To sanctify upon the earth
The glory of departed worth.

'Such and so fair, in Day's decline
The hues which Nature gives;
Yet—yet—though suns have ceased to shine,
Her fair creation lives:
With loved remembrances to fill
The mind, and tender grief instil,
Dim radiance still survives;
And lovelier seems that lingering light,
When blended with the shades of night.

'Else, why when rifled stands the Tower,
The column overthrown,
And, record of Man's pride or power,
Crumbles the storying stone;
Why does she give her Ivy-Vine
Their ruins lovingly to twine,
If not to grant alone,
In the soliloquies of man,
To glory's shade an ampler span!

'Still o'er thy temples and thy shrines,
Loved Greece! her spirit throws
Visions where'er the ivy twines,
Of beauty in repose:
Though all thy Oracles be dumb,
Not voiceless shall those piles become,
Whilst there one wild-flower blows
To claim a fond—regretful sigh
For triumphs passed, and times gone by.

'Still, Egypt, tower thy sepulchres
Which hearse the thousand bones
Of those who grasped, in vanished years,
Thy diadems and thrones!
Still frowns, by shattering years unrent,
The Mosque, Mohammed's monument!
And still Pelides owns,
By monarchs crowned, by shepherds trod,
His Cenotaph—a grassy sod!

'They were the Mighty of the world,—
The demigods of earth;
Their breath the flag of blood unfurled,
And gave the battle birth;

They lived to trample on mankind,
And in their ravage leave behind
The impress of their worth:
And wizard rhyme, and hoary song,
Hallowed their deeds and hymned their wrong.

'But Thou, mild Benefactor—thou,
To whom on earth were given
The sympathy for others' woe,
The charities of heaven;—
Pity for grief, a fever-balm
Life's ills and agonies to calm;—
To tell that thou hast striven,
Thou hast thy records which surpass
Or storying stone, or sculptured brass!

'*They* live not in the sepulchre
In which thy dust is hid,
Though there were kindlier hands to rear
Thy simple Pyramid,
Than Egypt's mightiest could command—
A duteous tribe, a peasant band
Who mourned the rites they did—
Mourned that the cold turf should confine
A spirit kind and pure as thine.

'*They* are existent in the clime
Thy pilgrim-steps have trod,
Where Justice tracks the feet of Crime,
And seals his doom with blood;
The tower where criminals complain,
And fettered captives mourn in vain,
The pestilent Abode
Are thy memorials in the skies,
The portals of thy Paradise.

'Thine was an empire o'er distress,
The triumphs of the mind!
To burst the bonds of wretchedness,
The friend of human kind!
Thy name, through every future age,
By bard, philanthropist, and sage,
In glory shall be shrined;
Whilst other NIELDS and CLARKSONS show
That still thy mantle rests below.'

'The nodding hearse, the sable plume,
Those attributes of pride,
The artificial grief or gloom
Are pageants which but hide
Hearts, from the weight of anguish free:
But there were many wept for thee
Who wept for none beside;
And felt, thus left alone below,
The full desertedness of woe.

'And many mourned that thou should'st lie
Where Dnieper rolls and raves,
Glad from barbaric realms to fly
And blend with Pontic waves;
A desart bleak—a barren shore,
Where Mercy never trod before—
A land whose sons were slaves;
Crouching, and fettered to the soil
By feudal chains and thankless toil.

'But oft methinks in future years
To raise exalted thought,
And soften sternest eyes to tears,
Shall be thy glorious lot;
And oft the rugged Muscovite—
As spring prepares the pious rite,
Shall tread the holy spot,
And see her offered roses showered
Upon the grave of gentle HOWARD!

'Those roses on their languid stalk
Will fade ere fades the day,
Winter may wither in his walk
The myrtle and the bay,
Which, mingled with the laurel's stem,
Her hands may plant, but not with them
Shall memory pass away,
Or pity cease the heart to swell—
To THEE there can be NO FAREWELL.' pp. 150—158.

These stanzas are the pledge of better things.

Art. IX. *The History of the ancient Town and Borough of Uxbridge*, containing Copies of interesting public Documents, and a particular Account of all charitable Donations, left for the Benefit of the Poor; with Plates, and an Appendix By George Redford, A.M. and Thomas Hurry Riches. 8vo. London, 1818.

WE have been a good deal interested by this piece of local history. It is the result of much reading, and of diligent collection; and it is, moreover, written without the slightest tinge of that most intolerable of annoyances, antiquarian affectation. The Authors of this work have evidently possessed the command of a considerable mass of valuable, and not commonly accessible materials, of which they have made ample use, without neglecting the more obvious sources of instruction; and they have communicated their various information, in a clear, compressed, and sensible manner. After a preliminary inquiry into different matters of antiquity connected with the town of Uxbridge, they enter upon its history, to which they have contrived to give no little interest, especially in that portion of it which relates to the unsuccessful negotiation between Charles and the Parliament in 1645. The house in which the Commissioners

'A world is at my feet of flowers and fern,
Cornfield and murmuring pine, vale, villa, heath,
Aisles through whose sylvan vistas we discern
All Heaven on high, and fruitfulness beneath.
Shades of my love and infancy! bequeath
A portion of your glory to my lay—
A Pilgrim of the Woods; I twine a wreath
Of wildflowers for thy revel, dancing May!
My theatre the woods—my theme one vernal day.

'Still floats in the grey sky the moving moon,
A crescent—o'er yon valley of black pines
Where Night yet stands, a centinel; but soon
In the far streaky east the morning shines,
The Iris of whose bursting glory lines
With fire the firmament; distinct and clear,
'Gainst the white dawn proud Ridgemount high reclines
His mural diadem:—lo! from his rear
The breaking mists unfurl, and Day has reached me here.

'Here on a solitary hill I take
My station—days on years thus hurry by,
And of the varying present mar or make
A gloom or bliss in Man's eternity:
Suns rise—ascend—set—darken—and we die,
The dewdrops of a morning, in whose glass
All things look sparklingly;—alas! where I
Now stand, in how brief time shall others pass,
Nor heed, nor see the blade whereon my moisture was.

* * * * * *

'The far-extended prospect—the dim spire
Which bounds the blue horizon—white walls seen
In glittering distance—wreathing from the fire
Of pastoral huts ascending smoke—the sheen
Of hamlets humming in the morn—the green
And beautiful hue of youth on every flower,
And herb where Spring's betraying steps have been—
The bright leaves sparkling in a sunny shower,—
Music on every bough, and life in every bower.

'The plover's shrilly whistle—the quick call
Of pheasants in their devious wanderings,
The heifer lowing from the distant stall,
Anc sudden flutter of the wild bird's wings,
Invisible in passing—sunrise—springs
Whose chrystal gushings momently engage
The babble of an echo—these are things
Too mean, or far too lovely for a Sage
With whom delight is crime, and solitude a cage.' pp. 12—21.

The following passage has great spirit and beauty.

'Hark to the merry Gossip of the spring,
The sweet mysterious voice which peoples place

With an Italian beauty, and does bring
As 'twere Elysium from the wilds of space
Where'er her wing inhabits! give it chace,
In other bowers the fairy shouts again;
Where'er we run it mocks our rapid race—
Still the same loose note in a golden chain
Rings through the vocal woods, and fills with joy the plain.

'Hail to thee, shouting Cuckoo! in my youth
Thou wert long time the Ariel of my hope,
The marvel of a summer! it did soothe
To listen to thee on some sunny slope,
Where the high oaks forbade an ampler scope
Than of the blue skies upward—and to sit,
Canopied, in the gladdening horoscope
Which thou, my planet flung—a pleasant fit,
Long time my hours endeared, my kindling fancy smit.

'And thus I love thee still—thy monotone
The self-same transport flashes through my frame,
And when thy voice, sweet Sybil, all is flown
My eager ear, I cannot chuse but blame.
O may the world these feelings never tame!
If age o'er me her silver tresses spread,
I still would call thee by a lover's name,
And deem the spirit of delight unfled,
Nor bear, though grey without, a heart to Nature dead.

'Thus too the Grasshopper is still my friend,
The minute-sound of many a sunny hour
Passed on a thymy hill, when I could send
My soul in search thereof by bank and bower,
Till lured far from it by a foxglove flower
Nodding too dangerously above the crag,
Not to excite the passion and the power
To climb the steep, and down the blossoms drag,
Them the marsh-crocus joined, and yellow water flag.

'Shrill sings the noisy Wassailler in his dome,
Yon grassy wilderness where curls the fern,
And creeps the ivy; with the wish to rove
He spreads his sails, and bright is his sojourn
'Mid chalices with dews in every urn;
All flying things a like delight have found—
Where'er I gaze, and to what new region turn,
Ten thousand insects in the air abound,
Flitting on glancing wings that yield a summer-sound.

'And chief the Fly, upon whose fans are spread
Hues with which summer warms the occident
At the rich sunset, epicure in taste,
Beholds the odorous light, and deems it lent
For amorous pastime, and in truth seems bent
To find or form a paradise below;—

'rance of his Mahometan subjects.' His attention has been for some years directed to a new organization of his empire. In the Appendix, besides other illustrative documents, there is introduced a very curious treatise, written by order of Selim III. for the purpose of explaining the advantages of the new military system called Nizam y Gedid, which the Sultan in vain attempted to establish in the Ottoman armies. It displays considerable acuteness, and is highly interesting, both on account of the information it conveys with regard to the state of the Turkish troops, and as a favourable specimen of Turkish literature. Mr. Wilkinson has furnished altogether a very entertaining volume, which contains much acceptable information. We have noticed a few unimportant inaccuracies; the most glaring occurs in the title-page, where the Author is styled 'late consul to the above mentioned Principality,' and two Principalities are specifically mentioned in the line above. This, however, is a mere oversight: the work is sufficiently well written.

Art. VIII. *Aonian Hours*; and other Poems. By J. H. Wiffen. 8vo. pp. 167. London, 1819.

THE poem which occupies the greater part of this volume, consists of a desultory series of descriptive stanzas, entitled Aspley Wood. In the stanza employed, and in the general plan of the poem, the reader will immediately perceive a palpable imitation of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage; and far from shrinking from the comparison, the Writer informs us, that it was his

'intention to consider the present Poem as the first of a series, "the colouring of the scenes through which I pass," as a noble Lord has expanded his first conception into a Poem written in successive parts, but pervaded by the same complexion of features;—the execution or abandonment of this design will be determined by the success or failure of the present attempt.'

It is probable, that Mr. Wiffen is himself aware by this time, that his model has been ill-chosen. The plan, or rather the no plan, of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, and the incongruities which disfigure the first two Cantos, arising from the obvious want of any determinate design in the mind of the Author, constitute the irremediable defect of that poem. The principal part of the interest will be found to arise from a circumstance which gives a sort of unity to the whole, but which in any inferior writer, would excite only disgust: we refer to the half avowed *auto*biographical character of the 'Romaunt;'—in other words, the sullen egotism which pervades it, and in which a man of Lord Byron's distinction and genius only may safely indulge. Another thing is, that the reader follows the Pilgrim through the

scenes he so vividly describes, with the confidence that it is the poetical journal of travels actually performed. Part of the interest attaching to the poet, is conceded to him in the character of a traveller; and desultory as the poem is, there is a sort of regular progress in it, the reader being constantly carried forward from one scene of beauty or of ancient grandeur to another, and the sentiment is thus continually relieved by action. A person, therefore, who should form the design of writing a sentimental and descriptive poem in imitation of Childe Harold, without having provided himself with similar materials for throwing life into the landscape, and for giving the air of a narrative to the desultory series of stanzas through which he aspires to lead the not reluctant reader, would require to possess genius even superior to that of the noble poet, and stores of thought more rich with philosophic wisdom and classic lore. He has undertaken a far harder task: he has set himself to make bricks without straw, and to build a tower up to the heavens without cement.

Mr. Wiffen will have no reason to complain of us for not holding him to possess superior talents to those of the noble Lord referred to. But far from blaming his present attempt, we are disposed to augur well of his abilities, though not of his judgement, which does not appear to be as yet matured. To aim high, to imitate what there is no chance of equalling, to attempt a task far above the skill and strength which are brought to it, is the only way to be qualified eventually to achieve what is excellent. We must begin, in every art, by imitating the models which have inspired the passion or the taste for it. Originality of talent, though it cannot be acquired, yet, where it really exists, must be developed by study and imitation. A young writer will do well, however, to avoid attaching himself too closely to any one school, lest he should, through the immaturity of his taste, be led to adopt its characteristic faults of manner, together with its better peculiarities. The manner of no poet, how distinguished soever be his genius, is pleasing at second hand; and it is always dangerous to invite, by too palpable a resemblance of the copy, a disadvantageous comparison.

Mr. Wiffen is evidently a young writer, but he is a promising one. He appears to possess an enthusiastic love of nature, and a cultivated fancy. As he learns to dismiss his memory, his imagination will probably become more vigorous; and his taste will ripen as his mind expands. The instinct of imitation is designed to give way, as the faculties acquire strength; but the whole mind must grow together. We shall not attempt an analysis of the present poem, but shall lay before our readers some of the pleasing passages with which it abounds, so as to enable them to appreciate the merits of the volume.

'A world is at my feet of flowers and fern,
Cornfield and murmuring pine, vale, villa, heath,
Aisles through whose sylvan vistas we discern
All Heaven on high, and fruitfulness beneath.
Shades of my love and infancy! bequeath
A portion of your glory to my lay—
A Pilgrim of the Woods; I twine a wreath
Of wildflowers for thy revel, dancing May!
My theatre the woods—my theme one vernal day.

'Still floats in the grey sky the moving moon,
A crescent—o'er yon valley of black pines
Where Night yet stands, a centinel; but soon
In the far streaky east the morning shines,
The Iris of whose bursting glory lines
With fire the firmament; distinct and clear,
'Gainst the white dawn proud Ridgemount high reclines
His mural diadem:—lo! from his rear
The breaking mists unfurl, and Day has reached me here.

'Here on a solitary hill I take
My station—days on years thus hurry by,
And of the varying present mar or make
A gloom or bliss in Man's eternity:
Suns rise—ascend—set—darken—and we die,
The dewdrops of a morning, in whose glass
All things look sparklingly:—alas! where I
Now stand, in how brief time shall others pass,
Nor heed, nor see the blade whereon my moisture was.

* * * * * *

'The far-extended prospect—the dim spire
Which bounds the blue horizon—white walls seen
In glittering distance—wreathing from the fire
Of pastoral huts ascending smoke—the sheen
Of hamlets humming in the morn—the green
And beautiful hue of youth on every flower,
And herb where Spring's betraying steps have been—
The bright leaves sparkling in a sunny shower,—
Music on every bough, and life in every bower.

'The plover's shrilly whistle—the quick call
Of pheasants in their devious wanderings,
The heifer lowing from the distant stall,
And sudden flutter of the wild bird's wings,
Invisible in passing—sunrise—springs
Whose chrystal gushings momently engage
The babble of an echo—these are things
Too mean, or far too lovely for a Sage
With whom delight is crime, and solitude a cage.' pp. 12—21.

The following passage has great spirit and beauty.

'Hark to the merry Gossip of the spring,
The sweet mysterious voice which peoples place

With an Italian beauty, and does bring
As 'twere Elysium from the wilds of space
Where'er her wing inhabits! give it chace,
In other bowers the fairy shouts again;
Where'er we run it mocks our rapid race—
Still the same loose note in a golden chain
Rings through the vocal woods, and fills with joy the plain.

'Hail to thee, shouting Cuckoo! in my youth
Thou wert long time the Ariel of my hope,
The marvel of a summer! it did soothe
To listen to thee on some sunny slope,
Where the high oaks forbade an ampler scope
Than of the blue skies upward—and to sit,
Canopied, in the gladdening horoscope
Which thou, my planet flung—a pleasant fit,
Long time my hours endeared, my kindling fancy smit.

'And thus I love thee still—thy monotone
The self-same transport flashes through my frame,
And when thy voice, sweet Sybil, all is flown
My eager ear, I cannot chuse but blame.
O may the world these feelings never tame!
If age o'er me her silver tresses spread,
I still would call thee by a lover's name,
And deem the spirit of delight unfled,
Nor bear, though grey without, a heart to Nature dead.

'Thus too the Grasshopper is still my friend,
The minute-sound of many a sunny hour
Passed on a thymy hill, when I could send
My soul in search thereof by bank and bower,
Till lured far from it by a foxglove flower
Nodding too dangerously above the crag,
Not to excite the passion and the power
To climb the steep, and down the blossoms drag,
Them the marsh-crocus joined, and yellow water-flag.

'Shrill sings the noisy Wassailler in his dome,
Yon grassy wilderness where curls the fern,
And creeps the ivy; with the wish to rove
He spreads his sails, and bright is his sojourn
'Mid chalices with dews in every urn;
All flying things a like delight have found—
Where'er I gaze, and to what new region turn,
Ten thousand insects in the air abound,
Flitting on glancing wings that yield a summer-sound.

'And chief the Fly, upon whose fans are spread
Hues with which summer warms the occident
At the rich sunset, epicure in taste,
Beholds the odorous light, and deems it lent
For amorous pastime, and in truth seems bent
To find or form a paradise below;—

With blooms and herbs of every various scent
Dallies her tongue—her wings expanded show
Like ornamented clouds hung round by Iris' bow.

'That pageant past, comes the quick Squirrel forth
From his high cedar with a burst and bound,
To sport upon the warm grass of the earth
Feeding, and wave his graceful brush around,
And pause—and prick his ears, and at each sound
List in a breathless attitude, and start
If far away intruding steps resound:
With feet already raised to spring, to dart
On to the nearest pine, but claims a moment's part.

'Anon he cowers upon a branch, and thence
Looks deeply down on his pursuer's shape,
And yet alarmed, on his glad eminence
Stamps wrathfully, then looks a laughing ape,
Playing his thousand pranks o'er an escape
Almost too lofty for our eye to reach
Through the thick gloom, then flies he to the rape
Of the pine's cones, or to his nest, the pleach
Of many a wilding bough in the next giant beech.

'Hush! for the most shy Pheasant leaves the brakes
To bask her beauteous plumage in the sun,
Which, as in love with its bright colours, makes
A hundred brilliant Irises of one.
Autumn is past: the desolating gun
Haunts not her dreaming sleep; she now may tread,
A Princess, through the halls she wont to shun,
Silence around, and verdurous domes o'erhead,
More high exalt her crest, her whirring pinions spread.'

pp. 41—46.

We do not wish to lessen the favourable impression of these extracts by any verbal criticisms. We shall therefore merely add, that the purely descriptive parts of the poem are the best, and that Mr. W. will do well not to venture upon allegorical ground. That 'prying girl, young Curioseita,' is given to mischief, and is not to be intrigued with by a young poet with impunity. As a specimen of the smaller poems, we make room for part of the 'Lines on HOWARD.'

Why, when the souls we loved are fled,
Plant we their turf with flowers,
Their blossomed fragrance there to shed
In sunshine and in showers?
Why bid, when these have passed away,
The laurel flourish o'er their clay,
In winter's blighting hours,
To spread a leaf, for ever green,—
Ray of the life that once hath been.

'It is that we would thereby create
Bright memory of the past;
And give their imaged form a date
Eternally to last.
It is, to hallow—whilst regret
Is busy with their actions yet—
The sweetnesses they cast:
To sanctify upon the earth
The glory of departed worth.

'Such and so fair, in Day's decline
The hues which Nature gives;
Yet—yet—though suns have ceased to shine,
Her fair creation lives:
With loved remembrances to fill
The mind, and tender grief instil,
Dim radiance still survives;
And lovelier seems that lingering light,
When blended with the shades of night.

'Else, why when rifled stands the Tower,
The column overthrown,
And, record of Man's pride or power,
Crumbles the storying stone;
Why does she give her Ivy-Vine
Their ruins livingly to twine,
If not to grant alone,
In the soliloquies of man,
To glory's shade an ampler span!

'Still o'er thy temples and thy shrines,
Loved Greece! her spirit throws
Visions where'er the ivy twines,
Of beauty in repose:
Though all thy Oracles be dumb,
Not voiceless shall those piles become,
Whilst there one wild-flower blows
To claim a fond—regretful sigh
For triumphs passed, and times gone by.

'Still, Egypt, tower thy sepulchres
Which hearse the thousand bones
Of those who grasped, in vanished years,
Thy diadems and thrones!
Still frowns, by shattering years unrent,
The Mosque, Mohammed's monument!
And still Pelides owns,
By monarchs crowned, by shepherds trod,
His Cenotaph—a grassy sod!

'They were the Mighty of the world,—
The demigods of earth;
Their breath the flag of blood unfurled,
And gave the battle birth;

They lived to trample on mankind,
And in their ravage leave behind
The impress of their worth:
And wizard rhyme, and hoary song,
Hallowed their deeds and hymned their wrong.

'But Thou, mild Benefactor—thou,
To whom on earth were given
The sympathy for others' woe,
The charities of heaven;—
Pity for grief, a fever-balm
Life's ills and agonies to calm;—
To tell that thou hast striven,
Thou hast thy records which surpass
Or storying stone, or sculptured brass!

'*They* live not in the sepulchre
In which thy dust is hid,
Though there were kindlier hands to rear
Thy simple Pyramid,
Than Egypt's mightiest could command—
A duteous tribe, a peasant band
Who mourned the rites they did—
Mourned that the cold turf should confine
A spirit kind and pure as thine.

'*They* are existent in the clime
Thy pilgrim-steps have trod,
Where Justice tracks the feet of Crime,
And seals his doom with blood;
The tower where criminals complain,
And fettered captives mourn in vain,
The pestilent Abode
Are thy memorials in the skies,
The portals of thy Paradise.

'Thine was an empire o'er distress,
The triumphs of the mind!
To burst the bonds of wretchedness,
The friend of human kind!
Thy name, through every future age,
By bard, philanthropist, and sage,
In glory shall be shrined;
Whilst other NIELDS and CLARKSONS show
That still thy mantle rests below.'

'The nodding hearse, the sable plume,
Those attributes of pride,
The artificial grief or gloom
Are pageants which but hide
Hearts, from the weight of anguish free:
But there were many wept for thee
Who wept for none beside;
And felt, thus left alone below,
The full desertedness of woe.

'And many mourned that thou should'st lie
Where Dnieper rolls and raves,
Glad from barbaric realms to fly
And blend with Pontic waves;
A desart bleak—a barren shore,
Where Mercy never trod before—
A land whose sons were slaves;
Crouching, and fettered to the soil
By feudal chains and thankless toil.

'But oft methinks in future years
To raise exalted thought,
And soften sternest eyes to tears,
Shall be thy glorious lot;
And oft the rugged Muscovite—
As spring prepares the pious rite,
Shall tread the holy spot,
And see her offered roses showered
Upon the grave of gentle HOWARD!

'Those roses on their languid stalk
Will fade ere fades the day,
Winter may wither in his walk
The myrtle and the bay,
Which, mingled with the laurel's stem,
Her hands may plant, but not with them
Shall memory pass away,
Or pity cease the heart to swell—
To THEE there can be NO FAREWELL.' pp. 150—158.

These stanzas are the pledge of better things.

Art. IX. *The History of the ancient Town and Borough of Uxbridge*, containing Copies of interesting public Documents, and a particular Account of all charitable Donations, left for the Benefit of the Poor; with Plates, and an Appendix. By George Redford, A.M. and Thomas Hurry Riches. 8vo. London, 1818.

WE have been a good deal interested by this piece of local history. It is the result of much reading, and of diligent collection; and it is, moreover, written without the slightest tinge of that most intolerable of annoyances, antiquarian affectation. The Authors of this work have evidently possessed the command of a considerable mass of valuable, and not commonly accessible materials, of which they have made ample use, without neglecting the more obvious sources of instruction; and they have communicated their various information, in a clear, compressed, and sensible manner. After a preliminary inquiry into different matters of antiquity connected with the town of Uxbridge, they enter upon its history, to which they have contrived to give no little interest, especially in that portion of it which relates to the unsuccessful negotiation between Charles and the Parliament in 1645. The house in which the Commissioners

met, is still standing, and three clear and well-selected views are devoted to the illustration of its interior and exterior. The description of the present state of Uxbridge is full and distinct, and the chapter on 'ecclesiastical affairs,' contains some curious matter. Great and commendable pains have been taken with the chapter on charitable institutions and donations. Addressing their 'fellow-townsmen' on this subject in the preface, the Authors state,

'That they have been sedulous to put them in possession of all those public documents that appeared of importance to the interests of the town of Uxbridge; and more especially to circulate complete information upon all the public charities and donations. Though, upon this subject, they have been at no inconsiderable pains, they have not, in all instances, succeeded to the extent of their wishes. They have reason to believe that several charities, anciently in the gift of this town, have been entirely lost, through negligence and inattention in preserving documents, and transmitting information. Those copies of original deeds and grants which are furnished in the course of the work, as of public interest, may, however, be fully relied on. Great inaccuracies have been detected even in parliamentary returns; and, in correcting these, the authors have observed the most scrupulous care, and have always referred to the original deeds or wills.' Preface, p. x.

This is a most important subject, and one to which the attention of every man who has the opportunities of inquiry, ought to be directed. We believe that there are in this country few towns of any consideration, without some institution or bequest of this kind; and we suspect that the cases are very rare in which abuses have not taken place. The parliamentary commission now in progress, will, no doubt, effect much in the way of remedy; but much will still remain to be done, and if every qualified individual will contribute, in imitation of Messrs. Redford and Riches, his share of investigation to the general inquiry, we shall entertain a good hope of its satisfactory termination.

A work of this description does not admit of analysis, and any really illustrative extracts must be on a scale too large for our arrangements: we shall content ourselves, therefore, with a general recommendation of this compact and well-arranged volume. The embellishments are judiciously chosen, fairly executed, and sufficient in number: the font in the chapel of St. Margaret is a rich specimen of wood-engraving, and the plate containing Basset's grant, is a skilful *fac-simile* of an ancient deed, with its old-fashioned court-hand, its creased parchment, and its appended seal. The book is well printed, and altogether does credit to the Uxbridge press.

Art. X. *Traité Théorique et Pratique.* A Theoretical and Practical Treatise on the Knowledge necessary to every Amateur of Pictures, and to all who are desirous of learning to judge, appreciate, and preserve the Productions of the Art of Painting. To which are added, Observations on public and private Collections, and a descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures now in Possession of the Author, François-Xavier de Burtin. 2 vols. 8vo. Bruxelles, 1808.

THESE volumes, recently put into our hands, are somewhat out of date, but we have taken them as the subject of an article, partly on account of some whimsical peculiarities which mark their composition, but chiefly with reference to some general circumstances connected with the purchase and management of pictures. The Author, M. Burtin—with a string of unimportant official additions tacked to his name in the title-page—is, or was, the proprietor of a gallery of paintings, which, if we may trust his own panegyrics, was altogether unrivalled in its selection. He seems, indeed, to have considered each individual picture as a test or standard, by which the merits of all others of the same school and class might be determined; for we find him with the most amusing self-complacency, frequently referring to works of the highest rank and reputation, and completing his eulogy on each by the crowning compliment, that it is second only to some admirable *chef-d'œuvre qui fait partie de ma collection.* He makes, moreover, very high pretensions to admiration as an original discoverer, and a judge of scarcely fallible skill and acumen in matters of art, and he presents a very formidable aspect of defiance to all who may presume to question his decisions. Our estimate of his qualifications unhappily differs considerable from his own; but after deducting from the bulk of these volumes the large alloy of egotism, presumption, common-place declamation, and imperfect science, something will still remain to remain to repay the reader. In fact, the very defects of the work help to make it amusing; and though after we have been laboriously working up some steep climax, we have been frequently provoked on finding nothing at the summit to indemnify us for our pains, yet we have been kept in tolerably good-humour by the simple vanity of M. Burtin, who never fails to congratulate himself upon the skill with which his researches have been conducted, and the success with which they have been invariably crowned. The absurdity of his arrogance and dogmatism, is in no degree lessened by the admission, that 'he had never taken into his hand a brush nor a 'crayon,' which confession he really seems to think an enhancement, rather than an abatement of his pretensions to superiority. It would be an indulgence to our own partialities, to enter at length into the discussion of the question, whether the practice of the art of painting be indispensable, or not, to the entire qua-

lification of a sound theorist. We doubt, however, whether the details and illustrations which such an enquiry must involve, would sufficiently interest the greater portion of our readers to justify us in entering on it. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with indicating two main reasons, which appear to us to determine the point in the affirmative. The first of these lies in the unquestionable fact, that the mere amateur can never trace, nor comprehend, the various processes and reasonings by which the artist is carried forward in his approaches to excellence. The mechanical operations of the painter are multiplied and laborious, and it is by these that he acquires dexterity of hand, and skill in the management of his different materials. But his intellectual exertions are yet more intense and complicated. The formation of his manner, the choice and treatment of his subjects, the acquirement and application of anatomical knowledge, the study of character and passion, the observation of nature in its connexion with the various branches of his profession, are a part, and a part only, of the objects which demand the indefatigable attention and efforts of the artist. But if this knowledge be necessary to him, we are at a loss to know the grounds on which it can be altogether dispensed with in his critic. In common cases, the use of a thing is the criterion of its worth, and of this, all can judge without recurrence to the modes or materials of its production; but the value of a work of art, is to be estimated on different grounds, and is frequently dependent on qualities quite out of the range of general observation, and too closely connected with practical details to be obvious to any perceptions, except those of the man who has made himself experimentally acquainted with the processes of art.

The second circumstance which furnishes an argument against the sufficiency of criticism without previous practice, is to be found in the impossibility, that any but an artist should be fairly acquainted with the difficulties which he has to encounter. The discernment of these, is indispensable to the formation of a sound judgement: not even the slightest painting can be adequately estimated, without a due regard to this point. To us, at least, it seems impossible, that the most extensive acquaintance with pictures should communicate this knowledge. The triumph of art is, to give the appearance of ease to the most intricate and laborious subjects, and nothing short of actual experience can be supposed to furnish the means of forming an accurate judgement respecting that which is one thing in superficial aspect, and another in scientific reality. We admit, that painters are somewhat too liable to be warped by system, and that their preferences are not always impartial and judicious. But this is so far from invalidating the correctness of our view of the question, that it supplies an *à fortiori* argument in its favour; since,

if full and practical knowledge fail to guard a man from prejudice and error, what shall preserve from yet wider wanderings, the amateur, who can judge only by mere and imperfect theory, whose estimate can be little more than comparative, and who can never arrive at a decisive conclusion, because his reasonings fail in a most important part of their chain?

M. Burtin started early in his career of connoisseurship, and began by a voracious and indiscriminate collection of every thing within his means of purchase. He very soon found out, however, by the contempt with which they were viewed by more enlightened persons, that his supposed masterpieces were paltry trash, and he started on a new scent. After various and unsuccessful attempts to disengage himself from his uncomfortable consciousness of ignorance, and after struggling a long time with the difficulties and darkness of his path, *lux demum adfulsit!*—he obtained a leisurely inspection of the 'fine collection' of the Chevalier Verhulst, and emerged from his obscurity, a virtuoso, 'all-compact.' Whatever might have been, at that or at any subsequent period, the amount of his acquisitions, he seems to have kept his object steadily in view, to have neglected no opportunity of visiting celebrated collections, and to have been assiduous in picking up a considerable quantity of useful information respecting the means of preserving and cleaning pictures, of restoring their decayed or tarnished colouring, of transferring them to fresh canvas, removing injurious varnish, and substituting more salutary materials. With all this, there is intermixed abundant evidence of his shallow acquisitions and imperfect qualifications in the higher branches of the knowledge, feeling, and criticism of art. He has made it clear that he had no eye for the lofty and grand, by taking a strangely contorted figure which he calls the Paladin Astolfo, for the work of Michael Angelo. This picture, of which he has given an etching, he obtained from the collection of some German nobleman, one of whose ancestors had, at some period or another, been in Italy; and on this circumstance he builds his absurd hypothesis, in the very teeth of internal evidence, and of the fact, that no oil-paintings from that great artist's hand are now in existence. His conceited, smirking, and yet evidently irritable positiveness on this point, is supremely ridiculous. The attitude of the principal figure betrays the sheer extravagance of Spranger and Goltzius, but does not in the least resemble the always scientific, though frequently overwrought daring of the mighty Florentine; and the description given of the rich colouring, and laborious finish of the execution, is equally at variance with the rapid boldness of his hand. But M. Burtin is a small genius altogether: he 'babbles of green fields;' his talk is of *empatement*, *transparence*, *harmonie*, and 'such small gear,' and he rails handsomely at

the *beau idéal*,—just as a rustic would turn from the Iliads and the reliefs of the Museum, to stare delightedly on the cheaper brilliancies of Somerset House.

His definitions are prodigiously amusing: they are generally simple and obvious truisms, very incomplete, but delivered with a vast deal of bustle and importance. The art of painting, for instance, in its general import, is nothing more, *selon moi*, than 'the art of applying colours, without relief, on a smooth surface, so that they may imitate any object whatsoever, such as it may be seen, or conceived to be visible in nature.' But this clumsy definition is only preparatory to his grand principle, 'as simple as it is luminous,' and which, notwithstanding its more than Spartan brevity, he gravely assures us, is the adequate result of forty years study and observation.' This mighty discovery is contained in four words, *Bon choix, bien rendu*; which, if we rightly understand their import, mean nothing more than that a subject should be well-chosen and well-treated! We afterwards learn from this most admirable of *dilettanti*, that the superiority of an artist is to be determined, not by the excellence of his selection, or the correctness of his design, but by the 'magic truth of his colouring and his *clair obscur*.'

His remarks on the different schools of painting, are, like all the rest of his book, full of egotism and parade, with the usual portion of reference to his own inestimable collection: they contain, however, some valuable points, and may be advantageously perused by all who take an interest in these matters. The concluding chapters of the work are the most important, and are evidently the result of much research. They comprise a dissertation on the signatures employed by artists in marking their works, and on the substances upon which their pictures were usually painted; a very unsatisfactory investigation of the celebrated but absurd *balance*, or rather scale, on which *de Piles* adjusted the different degrees of merit assignable to the great painters of history; a useful statement of the different prices at which the works of the principal masters have at various times been sold; and, as we imagine, a valuable enumeration and investigation of the different methods used in cleaning pictures, with the precautions to be observed in restoring them, or in transferring them to fresh canvas. The volume closes with an examination of the qualities and effects of the several varnishes employed by artists.

Among his various objects of inquiry, M. Burtin has given, after his own fashion, the result of a long investigation into the causes of the decline of art; and as usual, he is short and peremptory in his decision. He refers it wholly to the neglect of the study of colour, the consequence of a too exclusive regard to 'Rome and her antiques.' We believe there may be some jus-

tice in the reproof, though the solution itself is in the last degree absurd. It is admitted that, on the Continent at least, colouring is in a miserable state of degradation; but it seems to us that, what we should deem the higher qualities of art, are on almost as low a level. The French school, both of painting and of engraving, is nearly as destitute of truth and nature in drawing as in colour. The Belisarius of David, the Belisarius and his dead guide, and the Marcus Sextus, all celebrated works, are sculptures rather than paintings: they have all the hardness and rigidity of marble, and possess as little of the motion and pliability of flesh, as of the richness of colour. Let any one compare the French print (the original we have not seen) of the Duke of Wellington, evidently from a favourite painting, and carefully elaborated by the engraver, with the same subject as treated by our own Lawrence and Bromley. In the first, the attitude meant for the perfection of simplicity and ease, is awkward, insipid, and constrained; the air of the head is singularly heavy and vulgar; the features are harsh and dull; the limbs clumsy and inelastic; the execution is black, hard, tasteless, and unfeeling. The English print is the reverse of all this: the attitude is spirited and graceful, perhaps a little too obtrusively so; the air and expression of the head and countenance singularly fine; the step of the figure firm, light, and springy; and the engraving full of energy, grace, and science. We believe that this may be taken as a fair specimen of the comparative state of the arts in England and in France; nor have we seen any instance whatever that in the smallest degree tends to shake our opinion. In colour, in simplicity, in truth and nature, the English school decidedly excels; and it is rapidly on its way to other excellences in which it is somewhat deficient. A host of distinguished names crowd upon us at this moment, which we should not hesitate to put into the balance against far higher names than any which the present age of continental art can produce. The fine colouring, the high execution, taste and feeling of Lawrence; the rich, yet chaste and natural humour, and brilliant pencil of Wilkie, who stands alone against the whole of his class, past, present, and to come; the inimitable grace, ease, and fertility of Stothard; the transcendent power and versatility of Turner, on whom, as well as on other artists, we hope shortly to bestow a more detailed criticism,—have nothing to approach them in the whole range of modern effort. We would not exchange Chantry for Canova. Respecting Haydon, it has unfortunately happened that we have had but slender opportunities of estimating his powers; the little however, that we have seen, has given us a keen appetite for more. Some chalk sketches which he exhibited at Spring Gardens, a year or two back were of a high order: the fine head of Sharpe, and the harrowing ex-

pression of the dying countenance roused into sudden horror by the audible call of the angel of death, have left an impression on our minds which will not readily pass away. We confess that we have no great veneration for the present race of continental artists; and the specimens of their skill which have been on exhibition in England, cannot we think, have excited any permanent feeling of admiration among those qualified to judge. Monsieur Thierre's Judgement of Brutus, was not, it is true, without merits, but they were of an inferior kind, while the defects were incurable and inexcusable. There was no motion, no life in the characters; the draperies had evidently been adjusted on the lay-figure; the grouping and disposition were precisely those of a dramatic scene from Racine, certainly not from Shakspeare; the attitudes were those of the stage; and, to crown all, in a picture of which force and feeling should have been the marking features, tameness and cold correctness were the depressing characteristics. On the painting by the German Chevalier, exhibited at the same time and place, we shall not waste our criticism. But we must return to M. Burtin.

The second volume contains more absurdities, and less instruction than the first. It is chiefly occupied with the catalogue of M. B.'s pictures; in his description of which he has exhausted the vocabulary of hyperbole, without, as far as we recollect, permitting himself to detect a single fault. Now, though we have not the present means of ascertaining the general correctness of his estimates, yet we strongly suspect their accuracy; and although it may possibly be the case that every one of the pictures here enumerated is an original, yet, such is the effect produced by his weak and undiscriminating admiration, that it would not excite the smallest sensation of surprise in our minds, to learn that they were all copies. He sets out, however, in high spirits at the reception of his first volume, which had been published some time previously; tells us of the amazing admiration which it had excited, quotes the determination expressed by certain 'distinguished' artists, to adopt his 'principles in their profes-'sional labours,' and actually attributes to the beneficial effect of his prelections the high price which one of their productions had recently obtained. He then quarrels with his critics, and introduces some salutary cautions against the impositions of picture-dealers,—a class of men against which such of our readers as may be smitten with the unprofitable rage of collecting, will, we hope, be most suspiciously on their guard. Their modes of deception, their intrepid falsehoods, their impudent pretensions to science, it might take a well-sized volume to expose. But these are harmless in comparison with their desperate dealings in cleaning and repairing the paintings submitted to their regenerating processes by the simple and unskilled. We have known

one of these gentry pass a brush filled with some vile blue of his own mixture, over a fine, and but slightly injured ultramarine sky in a valuable picture; and we have heard another coolly boast, that he had completely restored many a fine painting by carefully 'stippling in' the defective parts, and this villainous process was perhaps intended to complete some plan in the rich surfaces, the brilliant lights, the firm and flowing line, or the vigorous sweep of shade, of some giant in Art!

Mr. Burtin is most indignant at the rapacity of certain German sovereigns, who permit their servants to exact money from the strangers whose curiosity may lead them to inspect their collections. He did the thing much more stylishly himself; he took no money, it is true, but we have been given to understand, that his two volumes were very significantly introduced to the notice of his visitors, and that their purchase was the expected return for his civilities.

Art. XI. *Memoirs of the Life and Character of Mrs. Anne Hulton,* youngest Daughter of the Rev. Philip Henry, A.M. By her Brother, Matthew Henry, V.D.M. Now first published. 12mo. pp. 68. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1820.

THE purchasers of the Memoirs of Mrs. Savage, published some time since by the same Editor, will, we think, be pleased to possess this Appendix to the biographical memorials of the Henry family. This account of Mrs. Hulton was drawn up by her brother, the Rev. Matthew Henry, for private circulation only. His repugnance to obtrude upon public attention, any further details respecting his own family, than are contained in the Life of Philip Henry, is said to have been the reason of his refusing to comply with the request that he would publish it. The general cast of the composition, and the style of character which distinguished the subject of the memoir, both belong to former days. But although there may be little in the phraseology employed, adapted to recommend these Memoirs to the taste of modern readers, and nothing extraordinary in the example of this excellent woman, yet, such specimens of obsolete piety, of piety in the best sense Puritanical, but tinctured with the peculiarities of the age,—serve a highly useful purpose, by presenting, at many points, to the private Christian, an occasion for humiliating comparison, and by bringing more prominently forward some neglected truths. The present narrative affords the greatest encouragement to parents, in the discharge of the duty of family instruction. Upon this subject, the Editor uses, in the Preface, language very strong and, that some may think, too unqualified; but it cannot be denied there is ample ground for his pointed remarks on the worldly conduct of some Christian parents in respect to their children.

We extract a few sentences from the account of her last sickness:

'All that week she continued worse (notwithstanding all means used) but kept in a very patient, submissive, heavenly frame. When asked how she did; she answered, "Better than I deserve." Often said, "I know whom I have trusted." She desired to have the beginning of Isaiah xliii. read and opened to her,—that Scripture which Mr. Bilney the martyr supported himself with,—*When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee.* She desired pardon for her omissions in the duty of her relations. The following sentences she uttered:—

'"I am not weary of living, but I am weary of sinning; I would live *as* Christ lives, and *where* Christ lives, and that I am sure will be *heaven.*"

'"There are many passages in the Psalms not so proper for us but at such a time as this; as that, *My flesh and my heart fail, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.*"

'"Let none think the worse of Religion nor of our family-worship, for the afflictions that are in our families, nor have a hard thought of God, for however it be, yet *God is good.*"

'When her pain and extremity were great, she said, "I know the great God can do me no wrong: who would desire to go so many steps back which must some time or other be gone over again, when now I have but one stile more and I shall be at home."

'"I have hope in my death, for Christ hath said, *Because I live, ye shall live also.*"

'"I have distrusted God and am ashamed of it, for God is truth."

'"Now for a promise."

'"I hope this is no surprise."

'"You are miserable comforters, but Jesus Christ is my abiding portion."

'"I shall now be gathered to my people, and I have loved those that are godly, both poor and rich."

'"Blessed be God for the Scriptures now."

'Towards Saturday night she grew delirious; yet even then it was evident her heart was upon nothing so much as God, and the things of her soul; speaking often with a smiling, cheerful countenance of psalms of praise, and hymns of joy.

'While she was under this disturbance she often recollected herself with this word,—"Here is nothing but Tahu and Bohu, (referring to Genesis i. 2.) confusion and emptiness, but it will not be so long."' pp. 60—62.

Art. XII. *Prudence and Piety recommended to Young Persons, at their Entrance upon the Active Duties of Life.* By John Pye Smith, D.D. 12mo. pp. 40. Price 1s. London, 1820.

THIS 'plain discourse' is founded on 1 Sam. xviii. 14. The Preacher in a very pleasing style, delineates the youthful character of David 'in his best and happiest days, while his 'heart retained its simplicity, while he was yet uncorrupted by 'prosperity and greatness, while self-indulgence was far from 'him, and worldly policy had not impaired his first integrity.' And as he proceeds, he shews how the amiable example he has drawn, affords instruction, and incitement, and encouragement to those young persons in the present day, who are beginning to bear a part in the public duties of society. He directs their attention, in the first place, to the *diligent, contented, and cheerful manner* in which the son of Jesse devoted himself to *his proper* business; then adverts to his filial piety; to his 'wise 'behaviour' with respect to the duties of friendship; and, in the following paragraph, to his exemplary patriotism and loyalty.

'In these his early days, David was a dutiful subject and a true patriot. As the instrument of God, he wrought out great deliverance for his country, and most essentially contributed to the establishment of its liberty and independence. He clearly perceived, however, that his services and his popularity placed him on the point of extreme danger. He saw the jealous eyes of his sovereign maddening with hatred, ill concealed under the necessary professions of esteem and gratitude. He knew that the infatuated king was becoming every day more oppressive and tyrannical; violating the code of national law which divine authority had given, and which it was the highest honour of the kings of Israel faithfully to administer; and rapidly alienating the affections of his subjects, who saw, by plain indications, that he was ripening for destruction. And, more than all this, David was aware of his own high destiny. He knew that he was ordained by heaven to wear the crown of his unworthy rival, his secret enemy, and intentional assassin.—Was ever temptation more strong? Was ever opportunity more inviting?—David might have thought that the policy of self-defence coincided with the dictates of justice and patriotism: and, surely, according to all appearances, he had only to erect his standard and blow his trumpet, and the desirable revolution would have been at once effected. But mark the integrity of his noble mind. He would not take advantage of his adversary. He would not break through PRESENT DUTY, to take up the crown which seemed to beg his acceptance. In despite of these unparalleled temptations, he persevered, unshaken in his respect, deference, and obedience to his king; and that with a sincerity and consistency which the most trying circumstances did not impair. He caught not at the opportunities of paving his way. He took no measures to make a party for himself, or to render his unjust sovereign still more odious to others. He preferred danger, proscription, and exile, to the use of any unwarrantable means for accelerating his own advance-

ment. His ... ce was submissive without being mean, and dignified without being haughty. His loyalty was spotless, but it was never servile. His patriotism was pure, but it was never factious.'

pp. 19, 20.

Dr. Smith has laid the public under many important obligations to him, in the character of an acute and accomplished Biblical critic and theologian. On the present occasion, he appears before us to the greatest advantage as the affectionate and indefatigable Christian pastor. We cordially recommend this interesting little tract as adapted to more than ordinary usefulness.

Art. XIII. *The Annual Biography and Obituary*, for the year 1820. Vol. IV. 8vo. pp. 468. London. 1820.

THIS work appears to be kept up with considerable spirit. The present volume contains Memoirs of the following distinguished persons: Admiral Calder; Alderman Combe; Sir Richard Musgrave; John Palmer, Esq.; P. Brydone, Esq.; George Wilson Meadley, Esq.; Mrs. Billington; Colonel Tatham; Sir Philip Francis; Major Scott Waring; D. Wolcot; Antiquary Jennings; Professor Playfair; James Watt, Esq.; Sir Henry Tempest, Bart.; Aaron Graham, Esq. For all that is curious, interesting, or original in the present volume, the Editor professes himself to be indebted to the assistance and communications of others.

The most interesting memoir is that of Sir Philip Francis, the materials for which have been derived, in a great measure, from personal communication. No person, we think, while tracing the life of this extraordinary man, can resist the impression, that he alone above all his contemporaries could be the Junius. His political life may be said to have commenced when he was only sixteen years of age, at which early period, he was nominated by Lord Holland to a place in the secretary of state's office. When scarcely eighteen, he was appointed private secretary to General Bligh in the expedition against Cherbourg in 1758. Two years after, he accompanied the Earl of Kinnoul to Lisbon, as secretary to the embassy. 'It is not improbable,' remarks the Writer of the biographical sketch, 'that his hatred 'of tyranny in every shape and form, was heightened, if not 'created, during the period he spent in this mission.' On his return to England, he obtained from Lord Mendip, then secretary at war, an appointment of considerable importance in his own office.

'This place, which required constant attendance, enabled him, at the same time, to have free and constant intercourse both with public men and public measures, during the space of eight or nine years.'

It was towards the close of this period, when he was about thirty years of age, that he commenced his mysterious communications in the Public Advertiser. In March, 1772, in consequence of the treatment of Lord Barrington, who had succeeded to the post of secretary at war, Mr. Francis resigned his employment, an event thus notified in the Morning Advertiser: 'The worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having 'driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the War-Office, has, at last, con-'trived to expel Mr. Francis.' He spent the remainder of this year abroad, during which term, all intercourse with the public on the part of Junius, was of course suspended. In June 1773, he was nominated one of the members of the council of Calcutta. He returned from India in 1781. In 1784, he was brought into Parliament, as representative of the borough of Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and soon distinguished himself by taking an active part in the debates. Soon after his appearing in the house, he is supposed to have given offence to Mr. Pitt by emphatically exclaiming, after he had pronounced an animated eulogy on the late Lord Chatham, "But he is dead, "and has left nothing in this world that resembles him!" An exclamation more characteristic of the Author of Junius, it is as impossible to conceive of, as it would be to find another man to whom, had we not known from whose lips it proceeded, it could have been appropriately referred. The celebrated society called, 'the Friends of the People,' is said to have had Mr. Francis for its founder; and when the proceedings of the friends of Parliamentary Reform were attacked by Mr. Burke, Mr. Francis indignantly rebutted the calumnious representations of that illustrious but inconsistent individual in the following admirable letter, which, at the present moment, particularly deserves republication.

'*Copy of a Letter from Philip Francis, Esq.*
St. James's Square, Feb. 20, 1797.

'In the 71st page of a printed letter from Mr. Burke to the Duke of Portland, without a date, I find the following assertions:

'"Some of these gentlemen, who have attacked the House of Commons, lean to a representation of the people by the head; that is, to *individual* representation. *None* of them, that I recollect, except Mr. Fox, directly rejected it. It is remarkable, however, that he only rejected it by simply declaring an opinion, he let all the arguments go against his opinion. *All* the proceedings and arguments of his reforming friends lead to individual representation, and to nothing else. It deserves to be attentively observed, that this individual representation is the *only* plan of their reform which has been explicitly proposed."

'And in page 81, I am named as one of a phalanx, to whom not only these views, proceedings, arguments, and plans of parliamentary reform are imputed, but who had thought proper to treat *him* as a

deserter, as if he had sworn to live and die in *our* French principles. I believe I shall sufficiently clear myself from these imputations by declaring as I do:—

'1st, That having been a member of the society of the Friends of the People, and having had a share in the conduct of their proceedings, I know not of any act, order, resolution, proposition, motion, or proceeding of any kind, in that society, in favour of individual or universal representation.

'2d, That I am morally certain, that, if any motion to that effect had been proposed, it would have been rejected by a very great majority of the whole society.

'3d, That, if it had been possible for such a motion to prevail, I would have quitted the society, and opposed their proceedings.

'4th, That in fact a very different principle of reform, and incompatible with that imputed to us, viz. by extending the right of voting to all householders paying parochial taxes, and stopping there, was unanimously adopted by the society on the 9th of April, 1794.

'5th, That on the 30th May, 1795, the society unanimously approved of a plan formed by me on this principle, and recommended it to the consideration of the public; and that this plan was published in all the newspapers.

'6th, That I have, on all occasions, resisted and reprobated to the utmost of my power the idea of individual or universal representation, particularly at a meeting of the society on the 8th of March, 1794. at which I expressly treated it as *a dangerous chimera, set up on purpose to delude the lower classes of the people.*

'In the House of Commons, on the 23d of January, 1795, the following words make part of my answer to the Attorney-General:—

'"With respect to universal representation, and all the dangers and all the reproaches attached to it, I must say, that I think the learned gentleman ought to be careful to distinguish those who profess to have such a scheme in contemplation, and others who reject it with a disapprobation as full and entire, though not perhaps with such extravagant horror as he does. He ought to have known that the idea of universal representation was never encouraged or countenanced by any act or declaration whatever of our association. If he knows any thing to the contrary, I call upon him now—I challenge him to point it out. Of *me* in particular, he must have known, and, in candour, he ought to have acknowledged, that it is not possible for any man to go further than I have done, to reject, to resist, and to explode every project of that nature, and every principle and argument set up to support it; a project, however, so chimerical, and so utterly impracticable, that it is superfluous to load it with charges of danger and malignity. But, let the doctrine I allude to be ever so mischievous, is it in fact, is it in truth, the real object of all the apprehensions and terrors which are said to be excited by it?—'I do not believe it; I do not believe that the enemies of reform are so much terrified by it as they pretend to be. They know, as well as I do, that it is nothing but a vision which can never be realised. No, Sir; whatever they may pretend, this is not the true ground of their uneasiness. It is the reasonable, the moderate, the

practicable plan, which really fills them with terror and anxiety. That, perhaps, might be accomplished; the other never can, nor, if it were even to obtain for a moment, could it possibly subsist; and I am convinced, that, if it were possible to drive those persons to an option, they would prefer the worst to the best; because they would foresee that the mischiefs inevitable in the execution of such a scheme, or even in the attempt, would determine every reasonable man in the country to revert and submit to the present system; that is, to suffer the constitution to languish and dissolve in its corruption, or gradually to perish by decay, rather than to encounter the direct and positive dangers of a change so violent and extreme, to which their minds would naturally unite the certainty of instant destruction.'

" 'In my speech on the slave trade, on the 11th of April, 1796, there is the following passage:—

" 'In the lowest situations of life the people know as well as we do that wherever personal industry is encouraged, and property protected, there must be inequality of possession and consequently distinction of ranks. Then come the form and the order, by which the substance is at once defined and preserved. Distribution and limitation present confusion, and government by orders is the natural result of property protected by freedom. Take care that you adhere to it. Where the few possess all, and the multitude have nothing, there is no government by orders. Every thing is in extremity, and nothing in gradation.

'Whether these are French principles or not, I neither know nor care. I assert that they are mine.

" PHILIP FRANCIS.'"

On the accession of Mr. Fox to power, 'some thoughts,' we are told, 'were entertained of sending Mr. Francis to India as 'Governor General;' but the appointment being opposed, he was, 'at the recommendation of Lord Grenville,' rewarded with the empty honour of the *insignia* of the Bath. His latter days were embittered by the effects of a very painful disease, which produced an almost constant state of involuntary irritation, and aggravated all the native impetuosity of his character. He expired on the 22d of December 1818, at the advanced age of seventy-eight.

In the last visit with which the Writer of the article was 'honoured' from Sir Philip Francis, Junius was adverted to. Sir Philip

'ridiculed the idea of his being the author;—he had already written on that subject until he was tired,—would write no more letters, answer no more questions relative to it. "If mankind are so obstinate as not to believe what I have already said, I am not fool enough to humble myself any more with denials—I have done."'

Why Sir Philip Francis did not choose to be pointed at as the author of Junius, it is easy to conceive. Having taken

the determination that his scent should die with him, he was not the man to submit to have it wrested from him. Yet he could not but be conscious that he was adopting an evasive and indirect language, ill adapted to remove the suspicion which he affected to ridicule. Nor could he possibly have imagined that such a mass of affirmative evidence was to be set aside by even a direct negative, unsupported by the least shadow of proof.

Art. XIV. *Gay's Chair.* Poems, never before printed, written by John Gay, Author of the Beggar's Opera, Fables, &c. with a Sketch of his Life, from the MSS. of the Rev. Joseph Baller, his Nephew. Edited by Henry Lee, Author of Poetic Impressions, Caleb Quotem, &c. To which are added, Two New Tales, The World, and Gossip. By the Editor. 12mo. pp. 148. Price 5s. 6d. London, 1820.

THERE is already too much trash under the head of Tales, among the poems of John Gay, to render it at all desirable that his reputation should be burthened with any fresh discoveries of the kind announced in Mr. Lee's alluring title-page. It was not likely, that any unpublished poems of the Author of the Beggar's Opera, should prove to possess the least moral value; and if they had been distinguished by their literary merit, we should doubtless have heard of them. The fact bears out the supposition. The only poem which has the slightest pretensions to wit or humour in the present volume, is, a 'Petition from 'the Maids of Exon City,' which, as it is not quite coarse enough, nor quite terse and pointed enough for Swift, may very possibly have been written by Gay. We are given to understand, however, that this poem has received from Mr. Henry Lee, some '*alterations*' in order 'to render it more conciliatory to the '*refined taste* of the present day.' If the poem was of any value, this circumstance would, of course, at once destroy its claims to be received as the genuine production of the Author: the liberty taken with the Manuscript, receives its justification only in the gross vulgarity which, we presume, was found to disfigure the original. Such as it is, it occupies sixteen pages only of the volume, while above seventy are occupied with Mr. Lee's original poems. We know of no better purpose these will serve, than to shew that the poem attributed to Gay, was *not* written by his Editor. We have no reason, indeed, to doubt that Mr. Lee did meet with the old chair, and the concealed drawer, and the manuscripts, in the manner he states that he did. And that the Chair was Gay's, we would not be so cruel as to raise a suspicion. We are of opinion, however, that if Mr. Lee had adopted the resolution to make a shew of the chair, and the money box, and the other relics, with a more particular notice of which at some future time he threatens us, instead of

making a five and sixpenny volume out of such scanty and worthless materials, he might have raised an equal sum by means of honest sixpences, and it would at all events have been a more direct and legitimate expedient than the present egregious catchpenny.

Art. XV. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

In the press, and in the month of next May will be published, Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania; very handsomely printed in two volumes 4to. illustrated with numerous fine engravings, price 5l. 5s. in boards. By the Rev. T. S. Hughes, Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

The first of these volumes will contain a classical tour in some of the most interesting parts of Greece, with a more particular and detailed account than has yet appeared, of the great cities of Agrigentum, Syracuse, Delphi, and Nicopolis; the isle of Zante, and the plain of Argos. The second will be confined chiefly to Albania, a country which the author visited under circumstances peculiarly favourable to investigation:—this part of the work will contain a very detailed history of the private and public life of the great Albanian chieftain, Ali Pasha, with his wars, character, and policy, interspersed with a variety of characteristic anecdotes; the whole drawn from the most authentic documents that can be procured upon these subjects. Each volume will be adorned with engravings of maps, scenery, plans, &c. for the most beautiful of which the author is indebted to his friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. R. C. Cockerell. To interrupt the narrative as little as possible, the great mass of classical, topographical, and critical remarks, will be subjoined in notes to the pages of each volume.—An appendix will be given, containing two dissertations upon the sites of Dodona and Delphi, from the pen of that eminent scholar, Dr. Butler, head master of Shrewsbury School.

A very interesting work will appear next month, entitled 'The History of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746,' containing the causes of the Pretender's defeat at Culloden, and a variety of interesting anecdotes hitherto unknown, by Chevalier Johnstone, aide-de-camp to Prince Edward Charles Stewart, and Lord George Murray, with an account of his subsequent adventures in Scotland, England, Holland, France, Russia, and America. The manuscript of Chevalier Johnstone, was originally deposited in the Scot's college, at Paris.

In the course of next month will be published, Winter Nights, by Nathan Drake, M. D. author of Literary Hours, &c. &c. 2 vols.

In the press, to be published in Parts, 'Royal Virtue:' a Tour to Kensington, Windsor, and Claremont; or, a Contemplation of the Character and Virtues of George III, the Duke of Kent, and the Princess Charlotte, in the scenes where they were principally displayed.

Dr. Charles Hastings, physician to the Worcester Infirmary, has in the press, in one volume, 8vo. a Treatise on Inflammation of the mucous membrane of the Lungs; to which is prefixed, an Experimental Inquiry into the general nature of Inflammation, and the contractile power of the Blood Vessels.

The Rev. R. Meek, of South Molton, Devon, is preparing for publication, a volume of Anecdotes, illustrative of the importance of Tract Societies. Mr. M. will feel obliged by the early communication of any striking and well authenticated anecdotes on this subject.—All such communications to be post paid.

Early in April will be published, an Italian and English Grammar, from Vergani's Italian and French Grammar, in 20 lessons, with exercises, dialogues, and entertaining historical anecdotes. A new edition, corrected and improved, by M. Piranesi, member of the academy at Rome, arranged in English and Italian, with notes, remarks, and additions, calculated to facilitate the study of the Italian language. By Guicheney. And at the same time will be published, A Key adapted to the

French and Italian, as well as the English and Italian.

In the course of the month of April will be published, Le Gueste d'Enrico IV. in Italian verse, by Mr. Guazzaroni, author of the Italian Grammar, &c. price 7s.

Rev. W. Moorhouse, West Melton, near Rotherham, is transcribing for the press, 'Thoughts on the essential requisites for Church Communion;' in which will be considered the sentiments of the Rev. S. Greatheed, F.R.S. with an appendix of Miscellaneous Essays, chiefly theological.

In the press, Discourses delivered at the Ordination of the Rev. John A. Coombs, over the congregational Church of Christ, assembling in Chapel-street, Salford, January 26, 1820, viz. Introductory Discourse, by the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, A.M. Charge, by the Rev. Robert Winter, D.D.; and Sermon to the People, by the Rev. Thomas Raffles, A.M.

Mr. Bradley, of High Wycomb, has in the press, a second volume of Sermons, and a fourth edition of his first volume.

T. Williams is preparing for the press, a Memoir of his late Majesty and the Duke of Kent, as a companion to those he published of the late Queen and Princess Charlotte. This work will not be a mere collection of Anecdotes, but comprises a Review of the late Reign, political and moral, with a particular reference to the progress of knowledge, religion, and civil and religious liberty.

In a few days will be published, a Refutation of the Objections to the new Translation of the Bible. By J. Bellamy, author of the Anti-deist, &c.

In the press, Lacon, or Many Things in few Words. By the Rev. C. Cotton, late fellow of King's college, Cambridge.

Mr. James Grey Jackson, late British consul at Santa Cruz, South Barbary, and resident merchant upwards of 16 years in various parts of the empire of Marocco, professor of Arabic, and author of an Account of the Empire of Marocco, and the Districts of Suse, Tafilett, Timbuctoo, &c. has in the press, an Account of Timbuctoo and Housa, territories in the interior of Africa, by El Hage Abd Salam Shabeenie, a native of Marocco, who personally visited and resided as a merchant in those interesting countries, with notes, critical and explanatory. To which will be added, Letters descriptive of several journies through West and South Barbary, and across the mountains of Atlas; personally performed by Mr. Jackson, between the years 1790 and 1805. Also, his translations of several interesting Letters in the original Arabic, from Muhamedan Potentates to Christian Kings, exemplifying the peculiar phraseology of that Oriental language; African anecdotes, fragments, &c.

Mr. C. P. Whitaker, formerly of the University of Gottingen, and author of the Modern French Grammar, is preparing an improved edition of Hamonjere's French and English Dictionary, which will be comprised in a portable volume, and printed on a bold and beautiful type.

On the 1st of May will be published, the first number of a new Quarterly Journal and Review, to be entitled 'The Investigator.' The object of this work is to connect sound learning and the various branches of polite literature, with an undeviating attention to the principles of pure and undefiled religion, and to the best interests of society, without distinction of sect or party.

Early in April will be published, The Poetical Decameron; or Conversations on English Poets and Poetry, particularly of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. By J. Payne Collier, of the Middle Temple, 2 vols. post 8vo.

Mr. James Strachan, of Aberdeen, has in the press, a Visit to the Province of Upper Canada, in 1819, which will contain every kind of information that an emigrant can desire to obtain.

Mr. Grant is preparing a third volume of his History of the English Church, which will bring down the narrative to the year 1800.

Dr. Porson's Euripides, complete, with an index, is printing in an 8vo. volume.

Mr. James Wilson has in the press, a Journal of two successive Tours in 1816, 17, 18, containing an account of the South of France, the great road over the Alps, and the most interesting parts of Italy.

In the press, a new edition of Bishop Lavington's Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered, with notes, and introduction, by the Rev. R. Polwhele, in one vol. 8vo.

The following works are announced as nearly ready for publication:

The Personal History of King George the Third, undertaken with the assist-

ance of persons officially connected with the late King; and dedicated, by permission, to his present Majesty. By Edward Hawke Locker, Esq. F.R.S.—Handsomely printed, with portraits, fac-similes, &c. in 4to.

The Fall of Jerusalem, a dramatic poem. By H. H. Milman, M.A. author of Fazio, 8vo.

The Comedies of Aristophanes, translated from the Greek, with numerous illustrative notes. By Thomas Mitchell, A.M. late fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge. Vol. 1, 8vo.

The Principles of Political Economy considered, with a view to their practical application. By T. R. Malthus, A.M. 8vo.

Travels through Holland, Germany, and part of France, in 1819, with references to their statistics, agriculture, and manufactures. By W. Jacob, Esq. F.R.S. 4to.

Journals of Two Expeditions behind the Blue Mountains, and into the interior of New South Wales, undertaken by order of the British Government in the years 1817-18. By John Oxley, Esq. surveyor-general of the territory, and lieutenant of the royal navy. With maps and views of the interior, or newly discovered country. 4to.

Anastasius, or Memoirs of a Greek, written at the close of the 18th century. The second edition, 3 vols. crown 8vo.

On the Administration of Criminal Justice in England, and on the Spirit of the British Constitution. By M. Cottu, one of the judges of the royal courts of Paris. 8vo.

The Plays and Poems of James Shirley, now first collected and chronologically arranged, and the text carefully collated and restored. With occasional notes, and a biographical and critical essay. By William Gifford, Esq. Uniformly with Massinger and Ben Jonson, in 6 vols. 8vo. One hundred copies are printing in royal 8vo.

The Topography of Athens, with some remarks on its antiquities. By Lieut. Col. Leake. 8vo.

A new Series of Plates, to illustrate Lord Byron's works. Engraved by Charles Heath, from drawings by R. Westall, R.A.—in 4to, 8vo, and fcap. 8vo.

Travels in 1816 and 1817, through Nubia, Palestine, and Syria, in a series of familiar letters to his relations, written on the spot, by Capt. Mangles, R.N. 2 vols. 8vo.

A Journal of a Tour in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land; with excursions to the River Jordan, and along the banks of the Red Sea to Mount Sinai. By William Turner, Esq. foreign office, 3 vols. 8vo.

The Century of Inventions of the Marquis of Worcester, from the original MSS. with historical and explanatory notes, a biographical memoir, and original portrait. 8vo.

A History of the Modes of Relief, usually termed the Superstitious of the Middle Ages. With curious plates. 4to.

The Royal Military Calendar, Army Service Book, and Military History of the last Century. Containing the services of all the general and field officers of the army; narratives of all the battles and sieges of the last century; biographies of deceased and retired officers, &c. &c. By Sir John Philippart, librarian to H. R. H. the Duke of Kent. Third edition, 5 vols. 8vo. price 2l. 8s.

A System of Mechanical Philosophy, by the late John Robison, LL.D., professor of natural philosophy in the University, and secretary to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. With notes and illustrations, comprising the most recent discoveries in the physical sciences. By David Brewster, LL.D, F.R.S.E. In 4 vols. 8vo. with numerous plates.

Trivial Poems and Triolets. Written in obedience to Mrs. Tomkin's commands. By Patrick Carey, 20th Aug. 1691. Edited, with a preface, by Walter Scott, Esq. 4to. A very few copies are printed.

A History of the several Italian Schools of Painting, with observations on the present state of the art. By J. T. James, M.A. author of Travels in Germany. 8vo.

The History of Parga, containing an account of the vicissitudes of that part of Greece during the French Revolution; supported by authentic documents.—Translated from the Italian MS. of Hugo Foscolo. 8vo.

The Life of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan. By Thomas Moore, Esq. With a portrait. 4to.

The Works of the Right Honourable R. B. Sheridan, now first collected and edited by Thomas Moore, Esq. 3 vol. 8vo.

A Narrative of the late Political and Military Events in British India, under the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. By Henry T. Princep, Esq. of the Hon. East India Company's Civil Service, Bengal. With maps, plans, and views, 4to.

The History of the late War in Spain. By Robert Southey, Esq. 3 vols. 4to.

A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan, and the adjacent Country, composed from the most authentic printed documents, and from the manuscript records deposited at the Board of Control; consisting of the official reports, and public correspondence of nearly all the most eminent civil servants at the three presidencies, and also of many of the most distinguished military and medical officers. By Walter Hamilton, Esq. With maps. 2 vols. 4to.

An Account of the Abipones, an equestrian people in the interior of South America. Translated from the original latin of Martin Dobrizhoffer, one of the Ex-Jesuits, twenty-two years a missionary in Paraguay. 2 vols. 8vo.

ART. XVI. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

AGRICULTURE.

An Essay on the Uses of Salt for Agricultural purposes: with instructions for its employment as a manure, and on the feeding of Cattle. By Cuthbert William Johnson.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Fenelon. With other Biographical and Historical Tracts. By Charles Butler, Esq. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Sacred Biography. By J. W. Morris. (18 etchings) 2 vols. 8vo. 20s.

A Narrative of the Life of Miss Sophia Leece. By the Rev. Hugh Stowell, Rector of Ballough, Isle of Man. 1s. 3d.

Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough; with his original correspondence, collected from the family records at Blenheim, and other authentic sources. By William Coxe, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. Archdeacon of Wilts, and Rector of Bemerton. In 6 vols. 8vo. with a 4to. atlas of plates, 5l. 5s.

Lives of British Statesmen. By John Macdiarmid, Esq. author of an "Inquiry into the Principles of Subordination." The second edition, with portraits. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.—A continuation of this work is in preparation.

The Bruce and Wallace: published from two manuscripts preserved in the library of the Faculty of Advocates; with notes, biographical sketches, and a glossary. 2 vols. 4to. 6l. 6s.

Anecdotes of H. M. Geo. III. 3d.

Memorials of Royal Worth: containing a complete collection of Anecdotes of Geo. III. from authentic sources. To which is added, a variety of poetical effusions produced by the lamented event. By Ingram Cobbin. With a portrait of his late Majesty, and vignettes. 18mo.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MAY, 1820.

Art. I. 1. *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the United States of America.* Part first, containing an historical Outline of their Merits and Wrongs as Colonies; and Strictures upon the Calumnies of British Writers. By Robert Walsh, Esq. 8vo. pp. liii. 505. London, 1819.

2. *America and her Resources;* or a View of the Agricultural, Commercial, Manufacturing, Financial, Political, Literary, Moral, and the Religious Capacity and Character of the American People. By John Bristed, Counsellor at Law, Author of the Resources of the British Empire. 8vo. 1818.

'THE Americans,' said Dr. Johnson, 'are a race of con-
'victs, and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow
'them short of hanging.' Whatever might be thought of the liberality or the propriety of this anathema at the time when it was uttered, it will be granted that, under present circumstances, it sounds rather obsolete: this 'race of convicts' no longer either live upon our bounty, or wait for our respite from the gallows. But yet, if the express terms of the sentence we have quoted are now inadmissible, the spirit it breathes, seems not at all to have forsaken us; and our writers, of almost all parties, might very well adopt it as a standing text or motto to their effusions relative to the people of the United States. There has been a greater unanimity in our jealousy towards America, than is usual in England towards her other rivals. The diverse aims and the strong distinctions of party, have been nearly merged in the common feeling of hostility. The same temper shews itself on all sides; whether it be in the sedate ill-will of noble lords, or in the less measured ill-will of honourable gentlemen, or in the daily, monthly, and quarterly effusions of political spleen. No one, indeed, would ask or expect, that the Tories should forget their old grudge against America, and either moderate or conceal their aversion towards these "Republicans;" but, on many grounds, less prejudice, less intemperance, might have been anticipated on the part of their opponents: yet, even the in-

stinctive antipathy of the Tory, has hardly displayed a more deep-seated animosity, than has been discovered in the sarcasm and affected candour of the Whig.

It is said, and it seems generally, if not universally, true, that, in a free country, nothing but fear ever avails to produce uniformity of opinion. Hence it is argued, that some forcible impression of impending danger must be operating, when the leaders of opposing parties are seen, on a particular subject, to concur in the scope of their arguments, and the point to which they seem to be leading public opinion. Mere national jealousy, under ordinary circumstances, has not been found to produce this concurrence of parties. In illustration of this remark, it may be recollected how rarely the English people have flattered our near neighbour and old rival by exhibiting this sort of unanimous hostility. The general voice has never been heard in one full harmonious peal of invective against France. Throughout the late contest, (some few moments of immediate alarm excepted,) there has existed enough of that feeling of ulterior security, founded upon the consciousness of strength, which affords room for party discussion and division relative to the character, condition, and power of an enemy. In looking round with confidence upon our watery munition, we have not only found leisure to quarrel among ourselves, but even to bestow upon our enemy some careless speculation and unanxious candour.

But must, then, an humiliating inference of an opposite kind be deduced from the present concurrent hostility of all parties towards the Americans? There is a specific style of fierce sarcasm, which characterises hatred when touched by despondency: but is it true that the English press is assuming this style towards America? We suppose, at least, that the immediate authors of the snarling and unmanly railing and jesting of which the American people have lately been the objects, would not wish the common adage to be applied to them,—that no man is a bully till he is frightened. But whether or not this adage would be appropriate to the occasion, it must be granted, that the disappearance of candour is always an ominous circumstance. At present, the ill temper of our writers is producing only a correspondent irritation and ill temper among the Americans; but they cannot fail, ere long, to deduce from it an inference altogether flattering to the national vanity: they will not be slow to reason to their own advantage from the fact, that themselves are the only people in the world whom English Writers dare not treat with moderation.

It will, we know, be said, that the leaders of public opinion, of all parties, have been influenced by the supposed necessity of seeking to check or divert the stream of emigration that has been

flowing towards the American wastes; and that they have believed that, if truth would not suffice for the exigency of the occasion, misrepresentation, and even shameless calumny, might be justified by the patriotic intention with which they were employed. A motive of this kind seems, in fact, to have been in operation. Little practical regard is paid to the principle, that, in a country where the press is free, the attempt to pervert opinion, is sure to produce a large excess of mischievous reaction; and that delusion, used as an engine of policy, commonly explodes in the hands of those who employ it, even before it has produced its immediate and intended effect. But there is something in the use of indirect means, which flatters the self-importance of those who are pleased to fancy themselves charged with the fates of their country. This is especially the case with that band of masked volunteers in the public service—the writers of our daily, monthly, and quarterly journals. We are apt to believe ourselves both more sagacious and more courageous than plain morality would make us, when we incur the personal damage and risk of practising some *virtuous vice* for the public good. Thus, for instance, if it seems expedient to persuade our English capitalists, farmers, and mechanics that America is a terrestrial pandemonium, where is the patriot writer who will not brave the ninth commandment?

Besides this supposed necessity of aiming to check the emigration of our people to the American states, it seems to have been thought, that our present amicable relations with the republican government are too precarious for us prudently to suffer the precious *materiel* of war—national hatred, to fall into decay. Our presses, therefore, as well as our powder-mills, must continue to furnish the full war *quantum* of combustibles, so that, at any moment, when the auspicious conjuncture presents itself, it may be easy to wake up in full energy the fratricidal impulse. Thus the worst evils of war must be artificially perpetuated, lest they should ever come upon us by surprise! And those who make it their high business to watch over, to cherish, and to direct the passions of mankind, have been fain to shed every malign drug, to inject every venom into the wound that threatened to heal.

The community of language between the two people,—a circumstance which seems to proffer the means of reuniting the hearts which have been so unnaturally divided,—has, in fact, only facilitated and stimulated this 'labour of hatred.' Unhappily, the style of invective and of sarcasm, which, in the highest quarters, was probably directed by cool calculation and a well instructed intention, has been imitated and repeated through all the gradations of our periodical literature. It might, however, be suggested to some of those who labour to serve their country, in this way, by their pens, that a writer should be very en-

tensively learned in the complicated politics of the world, before he thinks himself qualified to meddle in the profound business of making men hate each other precisely in that geographical direction, and exactly at the conjuncture which may be needed; otherwise he may blunder, and incur the heaviest conceivable guilt to no purpose whatever. For ourselves, we are content to leave it to abler hands to exercise the state-craft of urging and guiding the hatred of man to man; and must even abandon the great machine of human affairs to chance—to the kinder impulses of nature—or rather, to the government of Him who interposes to 'restrain the remainder of wrath,' and who will 'scatter the people that delight in war.'

To whatever causes may be attributed the hostility of English writers towards the people of the United States, it would not be just to reckon among them any provocation received from the alledged intemperance of the American press. In the warfare of the pen, we have been, from the very nature of the case, the aggressors. The entire current of literature flows westward: there is no regular, no observable reflux of this tide. It is true, we may now and then hear of the rancour of some New York or Charleston journalist; and perhaps a straggling paragraph of Virginian invective may occasionally find its way into our reviews or papers. But the slightest attention to the case, will make apparent the wide and important dissimilarity of the circumstances of the two people in this respect. The people of England have not been exposed to the unremitted irritation of having diffused among them a regular importation of all the obloquy, bitterness, and ridicule, which the able ill-will of a rival continually furnishes. Our writers have not been unavoidably trained to the business of invective, by having the galling labour imposed upon them, of rebutting, every day, fresh attacks, of refuting fresh slanders, and of retorting fresh sarcasms. Nor have English readers been subjected to the cruel necessity of imbibing a maddening poison mingled in all their intellectual food. We say then, that, whatever may have been the *will* of American writers, it has not been in their power to inflict a wound which might exonerate us from the charge of aggression. Further than this, it must be remarked, that even the disposition to attack or defame England, can be imputed only to *one faction* in the United States. Animosity towards England has been in America a party matter, and not, like the enmity in England against America, the very point on which all parties have met. A large portion, and it may be confidently said the most respectable portion, of the American people—the Federalists, have, at least till very lately, been distinguished by their favourable dispositions towards England. It is true, we may at length have succeeded in alienating these partialities, (and we may, too,

affect to contemn the loss,) but we *have had* friends, apologists, even partizans, in almost every state of the Union. If calumnies have been uttered in America against England, in America also they have met with a generous refutation. But can it be affirmed that unfavourable reports relative to America, even when of the most suspicious character, have been treated here with any common measure of discrimination, or have been listened to with any symptoms of candid reluctance? American writers have perceived, therefore, that the national reputation must rest solely on their own advocacy, and that in meeting their opponents and accusers, no neutral ground was left to them for parley or concession. Despairing of being heard or replied to with candour, they have learned that moderation on their part has lost its price and reward; for it is alone the hope of a reciprocation that gives a price to moderation. Of course, now, no bounds are set to the indulgence or to the expression of those exasperated passions which we have never aimed to soothe. And perhaps there are writers among us, who, far from feeling surprise or regret, will rather hail the deadly tokens of their own successful agency, since they seem to have thought it essential to the security of our Islands, to convert the waters of the Atlantic into a Dead Sea, which no bird of peace shall traverse.

The volumes before us are too dissimilar in all respects, except in their relation to the United States, to be fairly brought into comparison. We may just remark, however, that Mr. Bristed's book will best suit the general reader, though that of Mr. Walsh we consider as the more able and important work of the two. Mr. Bristed is a transplanted Englishman; and almost every page of the present volume exhibits some indication of his inbred predilections. It is sufficiently apparent, that though he has chosen America, he is still proud of England. Hence there is, throughout the volume, a certain inconsistency and seeming vacillation of feeling. Mr. Walsh, on the contrary, is always perfectly consistent with himself and with his design; and this design is—in few words—to retort upon England a full measure of railing for railing; nor does he fall into any remission or relenting in the execution of his purpose. No persons, indeed, are more consistent than those who are impelled by the angry or malignant passions. This Writer's avowed hatred of England, does not, however, evaporate in common-place vehemence and invective; it rather inspires him with an indefatigable industry under the labour requisite to follow and report all the multifarious details, historical, commercial, and diplomatic, which may seem to attach odium or contempt to the government or people of this country.

No one can imagine that Mr. Walsh has written with the hope or intention to *allay* the animosity of which he complains; nor

can he have indulged the chimerical expectation that he should succeed in intimidating into silence the expression of it. To instance the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, whose hostility towards America he seems to honour with his principal regard,—does he really believe that he shall *frighten* them into good temper, moderation, or justice, or that he shall extort from them, by the menace of a "Part II." a promise of good behaviour for the time to come? He must know, that the writers of those Journals, if they should deem the occasion worth the labour, will find it easy to follow him throughou this details; and, if they do not detect mis-statements, may readily furnish counter statements, which, to the mass of readers at least, shall seem more than sufficient to redress the balance of criminations. A fresh research after English misdoings must then be made, and this, too, without hope of exhausting the odious subject, or of expending the feelings which prompt to its prosecution. Indeed, the miserable toil of seeking to heap a preponderance of infamy upon an antagonist, is, in the nature of the case, as endless, as the unhappy temper which gives a man vigour and patience for the work, seems to be, for the most part, incurable. The contests of the sword are commonly most speedily terminated, when most vigorously prosecuted; but the *reverse* is the case with the contest of the tongue and the pen. The reason of the difference is obvious; the supply of the physical means of hostility—blood and money, is limited, and humanity gains when the disposable stock of these means is expended in the shortest possible time. But the treasures and the resources of malignity, are strictly infinite; because the more they are lavished, the more abundantly are they reproduced. Peace and good will among men might, therefore, be utterly driven from the earth, were it not for the sanative provision of nature, which gives to the bad passions progressive stages, tending to extinction. Controversies in their commencement, are often animated by the glow of indignation against falsehood, injustice, or oppression, and by a large admixture of the more generous emotions of the mind; but as they proceed, the primary object, along with all the enthusiasm it inspired, is forgotten, every generous feeling is worn out or destroyed, and the conflict, now purely rancorous, soon wanders into absurdity, and finishes by becoming simply ridiculous. To which of these stages the national controversy between English and American writers has arrived, we shall not presume to determine; though, in truth, some parts of Mr. Walsh's Appeal might fairly inspire the hope that it is not far distant from the last. The quarrel, we say, must surely be almost drawn off to its dregs, when details such as some of those which Mr. Walsh has brought together in his Notes, are deemed of any value in the dispute. Certainly, the Author's passions have

sometimes entirely deprived him of the power to discriminate between the important and the ridiculous. Here, for instance, is the recognised champion of the 'great Republic,' appealing to Europe and the world, and filling his indictment against England with such *items* as the following:

'That the price of pulverized bones used in adulterating flour (in England) has advanced within a few years, from ten pence, to eighteen pence per bushel, to the first purchasers.—'

'That ten tea-dealers, in London, have been convicted of manufacturing or vending spurious tea.—'

'That Lord Ranelagh was indicted, convicted, and fined fifty pounds, for extorting money (for the use of his servants) from three young men, who took shelter on his grounds on the banks of the Thames in a thunder storm.—'

'That a British naval officer was lately condemned at St. Omer's to five years labour in chains, for uttering forged Bank of England notes in that neighbourhood.—'

'That *it is a fact*, that Chief Justice Abbot (the Lord Chief Justice of England) lately threatened to adjourn the court of King's Bench, because *tallow candles* had been produced instead of wax lights.—'

'That the late Justice Gould, when on the circuit, once threatened to remove the Essex Assizes from Chelmsford to Colchester, because no good small beer could be found in the former town.—'

And finally, 'That there had been a serious revolt among the young gentlemen of Winchester College.—'

Mr. Walsh is also absurd enough to attempt to set off against the slave-floggings practised in the American Republic, the flagellations inflicted in our English grammar-schools. This is really something worse than a burlesque of all manly argumentation. Must we then seriously listen to such a retort as the following?—The Americans flog their fellow men to make them dress their fields; but the English whip their boys to make them learn Latin!

Mr. Walsh, in his first section, traces, from the commencement of the North American plantations, the history of that mercantile jealousy with which, as he affirms, the Mother Country has ever regarded the Colonies. So far, however, has England been from carrying this mercantile jealousy to the furthest extreme of oppression, that Mr. W. himself allows it to be true, 'that the other European powers established and 'maintained in their settlements on this continent, a stricter com-'mercial monopoly, and more arbitrary systems of internal ad-'ministration.' England, it seems then, has felt towards her colonies, as all other countries have felt towards their colonies, and towards each other; she has feared, and sought to curb,

that growth and prosperity in her settlements, which better notions of the sources of national strength would have taught her to rejoice in, and to cherish. It is true, she has not broken through the injurious prejudices which, in all ages, have dwarfed civilization; but, by the admission of her accuser, she has acted upon these prejudices with more moderation than her sister states. This seems to us to be the general inference fairly deducible from Mr. W.'s first section. There is no doubt, however, that in the annals of three centuries of colonial administration, he will have been able to collect instances enough of every species of bigotry, illiberality, and oppression.

'In the reign of Charles I. commissioners were deputed to ascertain the growth and dispositions of New England: and we find her agent in London, in the time of Cromwell, informing one of his constituents, that, even then, there were not wanting many in England, to whom her privileges were matter of envy, and who eagerly watched every opportunity of abridging her political liberties and faculties of trade. Besides emissaries of the description just mentioned, the ministry of Charles II. dispatched spies to watch over the conduct and views of the royal governors in America. From the same motive, printing presses were denied to the plantations. We are told by Chalmers, that "no printing press was allowed in Virginia;" that "in New England and New York there were assuredly none *permitted*;" and that "the other provinces probably were not more fortunate." When Andros was appointed by James II. captain-general of all the northern colonies, he was instructed "to allow of no printing press." In an official report of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, dated June 20th, 1671, there is the following characteristic passage:—"I thank God we have no free schools, nor any printing; and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government; God keep us from both." Accordingly, every effort was made to shut out the pestilent tree of knowledge. On the appointment of Lord Effingham to the government of Virginia, in 1683, he was ordered, agreeably to the prayer of Sir William Berkeley, "to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatever."' p. 5.

In the second section, 'on the general character and merits of 'the Colonists,' Mr. Walsh writes with much more advantage to his cause, as well as with more credit to himself, than in other parts of the volume. This plan is, to quote the praise of the Colonists from *English* writers; and here, he has a very fair, as well as a pleasing task. It may be safely affirmed, that the history of no people whatever, presents, within the same compass of time, a picture of manly endurance, and of strenuous effort, and of success in the conquest of difficulties, comparable to that which

is exhibited in the humble narratives of the early times of the North American Colonies.

"'The Puritans established themselves at a place which they called New Plymouth. They were but few in number; they landed in a bad season; and they were not at all supported but from their private funds. The winter was premature and terribly cold. The country was covered with wood, and afforded very little for the refreshment of persons, sickly with such a voyage, or for the sustenance of an infant people. Near half of them perished by the scurvy, by want, and the severity of the climate; but they who survived were not dispirited with their losses, nor with the hardships they were still to endure: supported by the vigour which was *then* the character of the Englishman, and by the satisfaction of finding themselves out of the reach of the spiritual arm, they reduced this savage country to yield them a tolerable livelihood, and by degrees a comfortable subsistence. This little establishment was made in the year 1620. Their exact and sober manners proved a substitute for a proper subordination, and regular form of government, which they had for some time wanted, and the want of which, in such a country, had otherwise been felt very severely. The people, by their being generally freeholders, and by their form of government, acquired a very free, bold, and republican spirit.

'The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the space of about seventy years, from a beginning of a few hundreds of refugees and indigent men, has grown to be a numerous and flourishing people, a people who, from a perfect wilderness, have brought their territory to a state of great cultivation, and filled it with wealthy and populous towns; and who, in the midst of a fierce and lawless race of men, have preserved themselves with unarmed hands and passive principles, by the rules of moderation and justice, better than any other people has done by policy and arms.'" ["Account of the European Settlements in America." *Attributed to Edmund Burke.*]

'Nothing is better established,' says Mr. Walsh, 'than that the Puritans, by whom New England was originally inhabited, and successively replenished, were, not only such in their moral character and domestic habits, as they are described in the quotations above made, but, for the most part, men of substance, and of a respectable rank in life. In the year 1630, ten ships were sent to Massachusetts from England, with several hundred passengers, many of whom, says Macpherson, were "persons of considerable fashion." The leader of the congregation of dissidents, who founded the new commonwealth at Plymouth, in 1620, is described, even by the enemies of his sect, "as a person of excellent parts, and a most learned, polished, and modest spirit."—And it is impossible to read the terse and touching language used by these virtuous exiles, in applying to their intolerant countrymen for a patent, without acknowledging, that they must have been of a superior cast of mind in all respects—"They were well weaned "from the delicate milk of their country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: they were knit together in a strict and "sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take

"care of the good of each other, and of the whole: it was not with "them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, "or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." pp. 27, 9.

It has been tauntingly said, and a hundred times repeated, that, 'the Americans are a race whose Adam and Eve emigrated 'from Newgate.' If this reproach be just, we know not how the people of the United States can reply to the contumely, unless, indeed, they were to retort upon us the inference which it seems inevitably to include, namely, that England is a country whose Newgate, after having peopled one continent, is now fast peopling another. We say, that if the crimes of this petty Island do thus colonize all the waste places of the earth with thieves, it is not quite the topic from which our writers do well to draw their raillieries. But, in truth, the one reproach is as little solid, as calumnious in its apparent meaning, and as contemptible, as the other. In sporting such sallies, writers may gratify their own flippant spite; but men of sound understandings and corrected tempers, whether they be Englishmen or Americans, are neither pleased, vexed, nor blinded by these pithy misrepresentations. Whatever the present race of Americans may be, it is certain, that they are, in a larger proportion than any other people, and in a better sense of the term, nobly born. We mean, that their fathers were, in very many instances, the heroes of civil liberty, the martyrs of Christian truth, and the ornaments of learning. The people of the British Islands, since the era of the revival of Christianity, of liberty, and of learning, have assuredly, outshone the other nations of Europe in all the more substantial, serious, and important excellences of human nature, whether intellectual or moral. Stability of purpose, sobriety of judgement, vigour, enterprise, comprehension, and *efficiency* of character,—in a word, all those attributes of the heart and of the head which qualify men to think, to suffer, and to act, have become distinctive features of the national pre-eminence. Moreover, the period during which the North American Colonies were settled, was that in which the heroic beauty of the English character approached, and passed, the season of its ripeness. It remains then only to be added, that it was much of the choicest products of this very season, culled by the unknowing hand of bigotry, that was sent to stock the new world. It is then, enough to say, that the leaders of the early emigration to America, were, *Englishmen* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,—Englishmen not inferior to their countrymen in the qualities distinctive of the nation, and perhaps superior to them, by all that firmness and greatness of soul, which long affliction for conscience-sake usually confers upon the character. Is it enquired, who these woodmen were, that first broke a way through the frozen forests

of New England,—it might be replied, that often they were worthies in whose characters were conjoined the strenuous, enduring, lofty virtues of early Rome, with the meekness, the purity, the elevation inspired by Christianity. Such, certainly, were many of the patriarchs of these new communities, beneath the shadow of whose virtues, it is recorded, that men long *lived securely without laws*. Such must have been the men, whose firm and wise provisions, and whose personal influence, could avail to fence round public tranquillity, even against the yearly overflowings of our Newgate.

Of the whole number of persons judicially transported to the colonies, under the general designation of '*dangerous rogues*,' a large proportion were not *malefactors*, but men obnoxious to the Government on purely political grounds. With respect to the malefactors, Mr. Walsh remarks that

'the real convicts were received by the colonists, not as companions, but as servants; and if the circumstance of their comparative paucity did not render absurd a general reproach upon our descent, it is difficult to conceive why any generation in Great Britain should not be stigmatised in its origin, on account of the much more considerable proportion of dangerous rogues who remained at home.'

The persecuted English Catholics flocked, chiefly, to the middle and southern colonies; especially to Maryland. Here, their new circumstances, or their late afflictions, seem to have taught them the first lesson of political science,—that the consciences of men are not the fit objects of legislation.

'"The Assembly of Maryland endeavoured with a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace of the church; and though composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, it adopted that measure which could alone prove absolutely successful. The act which it passed "concerning Religion," recited, "that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practised." And it enacted, that no persons, believing in Jesus Christ, shall be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire not against the civil government: that persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets, shall pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary: that those reproaching any with opprobrious names of religious distinctions, shall forfeit ten shillings to the persons injured."' Chalmers's "Political Annals of the United Colonies."

In consequence of these wise enactments, *Catholic* Maryland became the general refuge of the persecuted from all quarters: hither fled the Puritans, persecuted by the established church in Virginia, the Quakers persecuted by the presbyterian synod of Massachusetts, and the Dutch, expelled from Delaware.

Every one is aware of the admirable nature of the political frame upon which the colony of Pennsylvania was constructed. Even Chalmers, loyal as he is, thus speaks of it.

'The numerous laws which were enacted at the first settlement of Pennsylvania, which do so much honour to its good sense, display the principles of the people: these legislative regulations kept them alive, long after the original spirit began to droop and expire. Had Pennsylvania been less blessed by nature, she must have become flourishing and great, because it was a principle of her great charter, "that children should be taught some useful trade, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want." That country must be commercial, which compels factors wronging their employers to make satisfaction, and one-third over; which subjects, not only the goods, but *th lands of the debtor to the payment of debts;* because it is the credit given by all to all, that forms the essence of traffic. We ought naturally to expect great internal order when a fundamental law declares, "that every thing which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion shall be discouraged, and severely punished." And religious controversy could not disturb her repose, when none, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, could be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatsoever. To the regulations which were thus established as fundamentals, must chiefly be attributed the rapid improvement of this colony, this spirit of diligence, order, and economy, for which the Pennsylvanians have been at all times so celebrated.'

We could not, within moderate limits, give any summary of the various matter brought together in the middle sections of the present volume, under the heads of 'The difficulties surmounted by the Colonists.—'The military efforts and sufferings of the 'Colonists in the wars of the Mother Country.'—'The benefits 'reaped by Great Britain from the American trade.'—'The re-'lative dispositions of Great Britain and America, from the 'Peace of 1763.' Should any of our readers feel disposed to refer to the volume itself, they will hardly require to be reminded that the Author is to be heard, not as a calm or philosophical inquirer after historical truth, but as an avowed and as an angry pleader, bringing forward the strongest *ex parte* statement he is able to furnish.

The seventh section relates to the hostilities of the British Reviews: but we may be well excused from meddling in the Author's quarrel with the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews. The indifferent reader, we think, will be of opinion that Mr. Walsh, as he renounces the immense advantage accruing to the controvertist from calm reason and good temper, has but little advantage of any other kind against his adversaries, except in the exposure of some mis-statements and inconsistencies. At the same time, he gratifies both of them, by discovering the degree

in which the violence of the one, and the sarcasms of the other, have succeeded in producing an unbounded vexation and rage in the minds of Americans.

Mr. Walsh reserves to the close of his volume, the subject of which it is probable he felt the most reluctant to treat. It will readily be guessed, that it is the existence of Negro Slavery in the United States, and the British Slave Trade, to which this last section relates. It is evident, that the writers of whom our Author complains, have perceived that if the Americans are to be reviled, the continuance of slavery among them is a topic which affords all the materials of specious declamation. Here is a vein of arsenic that will repay the working; and this treasure of poison lies upon the very surface. It is only needful that we should forget our own ample share in the crimes of the slave-trade, and forget also the real circumstances of slavery in the Southern States, and the prevalent feeling in America relative to slavery; and then, nothing will sound more plausible than the sanctimonious horror with which we inveigh against these slave-holding Republicans. On this ground, the crafty wrath of the political manœuvrer may, with the happiest effect, assume the guise of pure humanity; and national jealousy may here spend itself in all the fiery phrases of indignant beneficence. This is, in fact, the course that has suggested itself on the one side: on the other, we see the champion of the planters, not content with offering for them the just apology which may be grounded upon the actual difficulties of their situation, nor even with attempting to balance the load of guilt between England and America, but labouring to maintain the incredible position, that slave-holding has *not* left deep or important traces upon the American character. This, however, is clearly the only point worthy of much discussion; and it is perfectly distinct from the inquiry, What is the actual measure of *blame* resting upon the States? or, Which people have been the most culpable—the English, or the Americans? The actual influence of the black population upon the American character, is a subject confessedly of the highest interest and importance; though Mr. Walsh, of course, keeps it much out of sight. But to this subject we may, perhaps, have occasion to revert in a future Number, when giving (as we propose to do) a further account of Mr. Bristed's work.

Mr. Walsh adduces a variety of facts tending to lessen the load of guilt in this behalf alledged to rest upon his countrymen; and to a certain extent he furnishes a solid and reasonable apology for existing evils. The plan and nature of the Author's argument, may be sufficienly gathered from the following sentence: after citing some passages from the Edinburgh Review, he says,

'There is no keenness or latitude of retaliation which will appear

excessive after such provocation; and indulgence will be readily granted, for the same reason, should details of fact be re-produced, either familiar to most readers, or harrowing for the feelings of humanity.'

The multifarious and not very well digested matter of this section, might be reduced under the following propositions; namely, I. That England has been the inventor, and always the principal agent in the Slave Trade; and that she has tempted, and even compelled the colonists to afford a market for the Trade. II. That a full proportion of all the atrocities belonging to the Trade, has been chargeable to the English. III. That it was only the almost infinite labours and the unconquerable perseverance of *a few benevolent individuals*, which at length carried the abolition in England. IV. That the provisions of the Abolition Bills have been, to a great extent, inefficient. V. That England has possessed, but neglected, the means of exacting from the European states, an entire abolition of the Trade. VI. That England has not heartily sought to make reparation to Africa, for the injuries inflicted by the Trade. VII. That the earliest remonstrances against the Trade, arose in the North American Colonies;—that the colonists laboured to prevent, or to check the importation of Blacks. VIII. That America preceded England in the measure of abolition. IX. That the Americans deplore the existence of slavery among them, and wait only for the means and opportunity to free themselves completely from the evil,—eleven States having actually abolished slavery. X. That the condition of the Slaves is comfortable; and that they are treated with the greatest practicable indulgence. And finally, That the people of the Slave-holding States are neither deficient in humanity, nor in their attachment to the principles of civil liberty.

Some of these propositions need no proof; others are very questionable. We shall make a few quotations (without observing method) from the mass of evidence adduced in support of some of them.

'Let it be conceded, that the colonists received the auxiliaries (the negroes) thus brought to their hands, and whom they durst not reject, without repugnance, perhaps with avidity. But, considering the nature of their respective motives and situations, does the guilt of the receiver in this case bear any proportion to that of the trader? Can the seduced be brought down, by any principle of reasoning, to the level of the seducer? If the colonist, the southern particularly, in a new climate noxious to the white labourer, but favourable to the African constitution; exposed to much physical suffering from other causes, and to so many additional influences depressing for the mind; liable to be called off from the culture of the soil by the irruptions of the savage native;—yielded to the temptation so immediate, of being

relieved from the wasting labours of the field, and enabled to provide more effectually for their defence against the Indian;—if we suppose them even to have gone in quest of the negro slave, in a few instances, after the mother country had set them the example, and given them a taste of the relief which he could afford,—are they not to be considered quite as excusable as we can conceive men to be by any possibility, in any instance of the adoption of domestic servitude, or, indeed, of the commission of any wrong? It is a contested point whether the constitution even of the *native* white is equal to the task of cultivating the earth successfully in our southern states, in the actual condition of its surface; but in the first century of settlement, when the forest was still to be felled, and the climate, more noxious in itself, exercised a more fatal influence, the service of the negro was more important, and would naturally be thought indispensable by the colonists.'

The following observations, which the Author quotes from Judge Tucker, invite the attention of every candid mind.

'"It is unjust to censure the present generation for the existence of slavery in this country; for I think it unquestionably true, that a very large proportion of our fellow citizens lament that as a misfortune, which is imputed to them as a reproach: it being evident, that, antecedent to the revolution, no exertion to abolish, or even to check the progress of slavery, could have received the smallest countenance from the crown; without whose assent the united wishes and exertions of every individual here, would have been wholly fruitless and ineffectual: it is, perhaps, also demonstrable, that at no period since the revolution could the abolition of slavery in the southern states have been safely undertaken, until the foundations of our newly established governments had been found capable of supporting the fabric itself, under any shock which so arduous an attempt might have produced.

'"The acrimony of the censures cast upon us, must abate, at least in the breasts of the candid, when they consider the difficulties attendant on any plan for the abolition of slavery in a country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants are slaves, and where a still larger proportion of the cultivators of the earth are of that description. The extirpation of slavery from the United States is a task equally momentous and arduous. Human prudence forbids that we should precipitately engage in a work of such hazard as a general and simultaneous emancipation. The mind of man is in some measure to be formed for his future condition: the early impressions of obedience and submission which slaves have received among us, and the no less habitual arrogance and assumption of superiority among the whites, contribute equally to unfit the former for freedom, and the latter for equality. To expel them all at once from the United States, would, in fact, be to devote them only to a lingering death by famine, by disease, and other accumulated miseries. To retain them among us, would be nothing more than to throw so many of the human race upon the earth, without the means of subsistence: they would soon become idle, profligate, and miserable. They would be unfit for

their new condition, and unwilling to return to their former laborious course."

Another American writer thus represents the evils and difficulties attendant upon manumission.

'"You may manumit a slave, but you cannot make him a white man. He still remains a negro, or a mulatto. The mark and the recollection of his origin and former state still adhere to him: the feelings produced by that condition in his own mind, and in the minds of the whites, still exist; he is associated by his colour, and by these recollections and feelings with the class of slaves; and a barrier is thus raised between him and the whites,—that is, between him and the free class, which he can never hope to transcend. The authority of the master being removed, and its place not being supplied by moral restraints or incitements, he lives in idleness, and probably in vice; and obtains a precarious support by begging or theft. If he should avoid those extremes, and follow some regular course of industry, still the habits of thoughtless improvidence which he contracted while a slave himself, or has caught from the slaves among whom he is forced to live, who of necessity are his companions and associates, prevent him from making any permanent provision for his support by prudent foresight and economy, and in case of sickness, or of bodily disability from any other cause, send him to live as a pauper at the expense of the community.

'"But it is not in themselves merely that the free people of colour are a nuisance and a burthen. They contribute greatly to the corruption of the slaves, and to aggravate the evils of their condition, by rendering them idle, discontented, and disobedient. This arises also from the necessity under which the free blacks are of remaining incorporated with the slaves, of associating habitually with them, and forming part of the same class in society. The slave, seeing his free companion live in idleness, or subsist, however scantily or precariously, by occasional and desultory employment, is apt to grow discontented with his own condition, and to regard as tyranny and injustice the authority which compels him to labour. Hence he is strongly incited to elude his authority by neglecting his work as much as possible, to withdraw himself from it altogether by flight, and sometimes to attempt direct resistance. This provokes or impels the master to a severity which would not otherwise be thought necessary: and that severity, by rendering the slave still more discontented with his condition, and more hostile towards his master, by adding the sentiments of resentment and revenge to his original dissatisfaction, often renders him more idle and worthless, and thus induces the real or supposed necessity of still greater harshness on the part of the master. Such is the tendency of that comparison which the slave cannot easily avoid making between his own situation and that of the free people of his own colour, who are his companions, and in every thing, except exemption from the authority of a master, his equals; whose condition, though often much worse than his own, naturally appears better to him, and being continually under his observation, and in close contact with his feelings, is apt to chafe, goad, and irritate him incessantly.

'Free blacks of the better class, who gain a comfortable subsistence by regular industry, keep as much as possible aloof from the slaves: but the idle and disorderly free blacks naturally seek the society of such slaves as are disposed to be idle and disorderly too, whom they encourage to be more and more so, by their example, their conversation, and the shelter and means which they furnish. They encourage the slaves to theft, because they partake in its fruits. They receive, secrete, and dispose of the stolen goods; a part, and probably much the largest part, of which they often receive as a reward for their services. They furnish places of meeting, and hiding places in their houses, for the idle and the vicious slaves, whose idleness and vice are thus increased, and rendered more contagious. These hiding places and places of meeting are so many traps and snares for the young and thoughtless slaves, who have not yet become vicious; so many schools in which they are taught, by precept and example, idleness, lying, debauchery, drunkenness, and theft. The consequence of all this is very easily seen, and I am sure is severely felt in all places where free people of colour exist in considerable numbers.'

p. 393.

Much has lately been said relative to the treatment both of the slaves and of the free blacks in America. On this subject, we must bring together the rather discordant accounts of the two Writers before us. Mr. Walsh says:

'Nothing can be more false than the representations of the English travellers concerning the treatment of the free blacks by the whites in the middle and eastern states: it is not true that they are "excluded from the places of worship frequented by the whites;' that "the most degraded white will not walk or eat with a negro;" or, that "they are practically slaves." Their situation as hired domestics, mechanics, or general labourers, is the same in all respects as that of the whites of the same description: they are fed and paid as well, equally exempt from personal violence, and free to change their occupation or their employer. They approach us as familiarly as persons of the correspondent class in England approach their superiors in rank and wealth, and, in general, betray much less servility in their tone and carriage. They do not make part of our society, indeed; they are not invited to our tables; they do not marry into our families; nor would they, were they of our own colour, with no higher claims than they possess on the score of calling, education, intelligence, and wealth. I confess that, whatever claims they might possess in these or other respects, those are advantages from which they would be excluded: there must remain, in any case, a broad line of demarcation, not viewed as an inconvenience by them, but indispensable for our feelings and interests. Nature and accident combine to make it impassable. Their colour is a perpetual memento of their servile origin; and a double disgust is thus created. We will not, and ought not, expose ourselves to lose our identity, as it were; to be stained in our blood, and disparaged in our relation of being towards the stock of our forefathers in Europe. This may be called prejudice, but it is

one which no reasoning can overcome, and which we cannot wish to see extinguished.' p. 397.

Mr. Walsh affirms again and again, that the treatment of the slaves is mild and humane, and their condition much better than that of the slaves in the West India Islands. He admits in general terms, in several places, that, 'great abuses and evils 'accompany our negro slavery;' but he takes great pains to prove that the people are not *in fact* deteriorated by the existence of slavery among them. The plain meaning of which is, that Mr. Walsh being endowed with much *argumentative courage*, and having undertaken to apologize for his countrymen at any rate, it does not please him to admit the existence of any such deterioration. At the same time, the injurious influence of every existing abuse in England, is duly and philosophically appreciated. He is, indeed, led to diverge so far from the road of common sense, as actually to institute a comparison between American slaves and English apprentices. Does such an advocate serve or injure most the cause he would defend? But let us turn to Mr. Bristed: after descanting at some length on the evils of slavery, this gentleman says:

'Slavery generally gives the master an arbitrary power of administering every sort of bodily correction, however severe and inhuman, not immediately affecting the life or limb of the slave. Nay, sometimes, even these are left exposed to the unrestrained will of a capricious master; or they are protected by paltry fines, and other slight punishments, too inconsiderable to prevent excessive cruelty: as was exemplified in that South Carolina master, who, in the year 1811, after lashing his negro slave most unmercifully, compelled another of his negroes (the intimate companion and friend of the person punished) to sever his head from his body with an axe, while he was held down on a block by his fellow slaves. For this atrocious and deliberate murder, the master was punished by the imposition of a small fine, prescribed by statute. If he had stolen a horse in South Carolina, and had been found guilty of the offence, the laws of that state would have hanged him; but the deliberate murder of his fellow-creature was commuted for a few dollars. God made of one blood all the nations of the earth; but the Bible is not often the manual of a slave-holder.' p. 152.

Mr. Bristed affirms, however, that many circumstances mitigate the evils of slavery in the United States, which do not exist in the West Indies.

'Nevertheless,' he adds, 'on the score of humanity to negroes, our slave-holding states have nothing to boast; at least so far as relates to the provisions of the municipal law. Our southern planters exercise the lash at their own discretion; they pay a small money-fine for the murder of their slaves, and they occasionally subject them to very severe bodily torture. The United States

afford no instance of a master being capitally punished for killing his slave. Yet, in the British West Indies, some few years since, Mr. Hodge, a planter of large fortune, a magistrate, and a member of the executive council, was publicly hanged, at noon-day, after a jury of his country had found him guilty of excessive cruelty to the negroes on his plantation. In South Carolina, the negro slaves are, by law, burned alive for the crimes of arson, burglary, and murder. So lately as the year 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive, over a slow fire, in the midst of the market place in the city of Charleston. What must be the code of municipal law, what must be the state of public feeling in respect to the wretched African race, that could suffer two human beings to be gradually consumed by fire, as a public spectacle, in the nineteenth century, in the midst of a city containing nearly twenty thousand nominal Christians, and the best of all possible republicans, who profess to look with scorn upon the tyrants, and with compassion upon the slaves of Europe!' p. 154.

'The modern system of negro slavery, as it prevails in the European colonies, and in this free republic, is one entire circle of evil. It not only creates an enormous mass of physical suffering and moral guilt, during the continuance of the negroes in the fetters of personal bondage; but also, by brutalizing their bodies, by darkening their understandings, by corrupting their hearts, it incapacitates them for receiving and using the privileges and blessings of civil and religious liberty; whence this system, as it now flourishes among nations calling themselves Christian, provides, by the very atrocity and vast aggregate amount of its own guilt, for its own frightful perpetuity. In our southern states, the slaves are not often allowed to profit by religious instruction: their masters having an absolute property in their bodies, are apt to consider their souls as thrown into the bargain, and seldom suffer the mild light of revelation to irradiate the gloom of their desolate condition.' p. 391.

Art. II. *Travels through some Parts of Germany, Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey.* By Adam Neale, M.D. Late Physician to the British Embassy at Constantinople, Physician to the Forces, &c. 4to. [Plates] pp. 295. London, 1818.

DR. NEALE'S travels were performed in the years 1805 and 6. The 'sandy heaths of Germany, the swampy regions 'of Sarmatia, and the savage shores of the Euxine', no tourist who made either health or entertainment his object, would select in preference for his route. For this very reason, the present volume possesses some features of novelty; and really there are but few parts of the world which now remain to the traveller who is ambitious of breaking up fresh ground. The journey from Hamburg to Berlin has been performed by more recent travellers. Mr. James, in particular, has given us a detailed description of the Prussian capital. We shall therefore pass over the first five chapters of the present volume, and join company

with our Author, as he is entering the Geyersberg range of mountains, which guard the entrance to Bohemia.

On visiting Prague, whose university is said to have been attended at one time by 40,000 students, but which now can scarcely boast the attendance of 400 ragged boys, our Author was struck with the desolation that now reigns through that once magnificent metropolis. 'It is not a little mortifying,' he says, 'to reflect, that in Bohemia, where so much blood has flowed 'in defence of liberty of conscience, the superstitions of the Ca-'tholic Church have extinguished even the semblance of reli-'gious freedom; and that the advancement of the human mind 'has been cramped and retarded by the benumbing influence of 'bigotry and error.' With Vienna, Dr. Neale appears to have been enchanted: he descants with unusual animation on the literary and social advantages of this 'delightful capital.' The royal library, founded by the Emperor Maximilian the First, in 1498, now amounts to above 300,000 volumes. One hall is filled with early books, printed between the years 1457 and 1500; but the most valuable part of this immense establishment, is the rich, and we presume unparalleled, collection of Oriental literature.

Our Author is fond of digressions. We have in the early chapters some pleasant historical and mythological discussions. The mention of Godfrey of Bouillon's red velvet cap, and of the buff leather waistcoat which Gustavus Adolphus wore at the fatal battle of Lutzen, both of which are exhibited in the arsenal at Vienna, serves to introduce the following case in proof of the efficacy of silk in repelling a musket shot.

'A very promising young officer of engineers, with whom I lived in habits of the greatest intimacy and friendship, while he was employed in repairing the breaches at Ciudad Rodrigo, consulted me respecting an obstinate headach and giddiness, which I found was principally occasioned by his wearing a stiff black leather stock. I earnestly recommended him to lay it aside, which he rather tenaciously declined, when, as a further inducement, I told him, that in the event of his substituting a black silk handkerchief, it might one day preserve his life, as silk would certainly turn a ball which might penetrate leather. At length he complied, and, as I had predicted, his headaches left him. We soon after separated, he going to the light division, and my station being with that of Lord Hill. The campaign commenced, and in a few weeks I learnt with the greatest grief, that my gallant friend had fallen at the head of the first storming party at St. Sebastian's. I was then stationed at Reynosa, many leagues distant. As I believed him dead, my surprise and joy were great on receiving a letter from him some weeks afterwards, acquainting me, that when on the very glacis, he had been wounded by a musket ball from a man on the walls. He instantly fell, covered with blood, which streamed in profusion from his mouth and nostrils; one

of his own corps dragged him immediately into the trenches. He was carried to his quarters, and his wound, on examination, was pronounced mortal; the ball, not being found, was supposed to have lodged in the vertebræ of the neck. He lived, however, for three days, and no bad symptoms coming on, the surgeons began to doubt the accuracy of their opinions. The sapper, who saw him fall, was examined to ascertain whether he had seen the bullet, which he instantly produced from his waistcoat pocket, saying, that on untying Mr. Reid's silk handkerchief, he found part of it carried into the wound, and using a little force in withdrawir · it, the ball came out with it; not a single thread of the silk han kerchief having given way, as appeared on examination. I have since had the pleasure of embracing my friend in good health in Bourdeaux, have subsequently seen his name honourably recorded by Lord Exmouth, for his services at Algiers, and have had the still greater satisfaction of hearing some short time since, that my friend the Lieutenant is now Major of the Royal Engineers, a rank to which his military talents and conspicuous bravery justly entitled him.' pp. 105, 106.

When Dr. Neale was at Vienna, the fatal battle of Austerlitz had not been fought; but the storm was brewing, and no government, he says, 'could have been worse prepared for the encounter than the Austrian.'

'The die was cast, and the traitor Mack was already named to the command by the recommendation of Mr. Pitt, to the great disgust of the Archduke Charles, and the astonishment of every man at Vienna, qualified to form a judgment of their respective characters.'

In the mean time, every thing in the gay world of that capital, went on as usual. It was in the month of August, the weather most lovely; and 'what a pity,' said an old Abbé, 'that men 'should think of killing each other in this fine weather!'— 'Mere animal life is, generally speaking,' says Dr. N., 'the en'joyment of a pampered Austrian.' A complete dearth of intellect and mental energy among the higher classes, is the natural consequence.

Next to the splendour and extravagance of the rich, the sobriety and subordination of the poorer classes of the Austrian capital, attracts the notice of the stranger. Such, indeed, is the general good conduct of the people at large, that 'more crimes 'are committed within a single English county in twelve months, 'than through the whole extent of Austria in two years.' One reason of the small number of offences, Dr. Neale considers to be the mildness of the criminal code. Joseph the Second introduced, among other humane innovations, the abolition of the punishment of death; but under his successor, murder and some other offences were again made capital. Still, the Austrian code is less sanguinary than that of most other countries; although in the treatment of the convicts, no regard whatever is paid to the dictates of humanity.

'Below the deep moats of the fortress of Spielberg, we were shewn several dungeons appropriated to the use of some hundreds of felons, who here drag out their loathsome existence. They had finished the labours of the day, and, under the inspection of the officers of the fort, the jailors were chaining them down to strong iron bolts running along the foot boards of large wooden bedsteads, on the planks of which they were extended in rows of about forty persons each. *They are not allowed straw*, and, *of course*, *sleep in their clothes*. They were chained in pairs by handcuffs at their wrists, their feet being secured by a running chain, to the bolts before mentioned. The squalid misery and ruffian-like physiognomy of many of these wretched men, was dreadful. Such, too, is the ferocious disposition which they often evince, that, as we were told by the officers, even upon very slight provocations, when at work they have been known to dash out their companion's brain with a blow of their handcuffs. Two or three of such desperadoes were pointed out to us, chained down in corners of the dungeons, apart from their companions in guilt. The lowest of the dungeons we visited, was *eighty feet beneath the bottom of the ditch*, and the necessary ventilation is admitted by narrow grated shafts opening into the moat. In the rooms above, are confined state criminals of rank. It was here that General Mack and Prince Aversperg were afterwards confined, the latter for two years, the former only for a few months. The labours of the common convicts consist in cleaning the streets and repairing the ramparts of Brunn; they work in pairs, and when at any time one of the two expires during the day, his companion is forced to drag his body about till sun-set, when he is liberated from the corpse, but never before.'

Dr. Neale does not inform us what crimes they are, which, though not atrocious enough to be made capital, are visited with this fearful punishment—a punishment which would seem to have for its object, to extinguish in the culprit every remaining sentiment of humanity, and to destroy piece-meal, first the man, and then the bestial refuse of his physical nature. One shudders to reflect what dreadful power men have over one another, extending far beyond the destruction of life, the power to enslave, and degrade, and brutalize the soul. Crime must be visited with punishment; but punishment ought not to tend to the perpetuation and aggravation of crime.

Near Olmutz, the ancient capital of Moravia, is a small tract of country, extending about five square German miles, inhabited by the Haunacks, so named from the river Hauna. This people are the supposed descendants of the Moravian aborigines, and are undoubtedly, according to our Author, a Sclavonic tribe. They are described as short in stature, but muscular, as extremely simple and temperate in their mode of living, and as looking down with contempt on the other natives, as an inferior race of beings. The Moravian Brethren, or Hernhutters, obtain Dr. Neale's most respectful notice. All their villages, he says, are distinguished by the greatest cleanliness, as well as by the order

and strict union which seem to reign amongst all the inhabitants.

'Such, indeed, is the impression made by the austerity of manners, and the purity of conduct of these Hernhutters, that strangers on first visiting them, would conceive themselves carried back to the primitive days of the Christian church, or would imagine that the fraternity they contemplated, was composed of the pious anchorites of the desert. An incomparable suavity, and an unalterable beneficence, are their distinguishing characteristics, and what is perhaps not a little extraordinary, all the members seem equally charitable and benevolent.'

Travellers seem to have vied with each other in passing deserved encomiums upon this interesting sect, of all religious sects, perhaps, the most blameless in their history, and distinguished by one peculiarity from almost every other, namely, by their freedom from the spirit of proselytism, combined with an exemplary zeal, activity, and perseverance in evangelizing the heathen. To the former circumstance it may in part be owing, that their numbers have, in some places, greatly declined. In our own country, a considerable diminution has, we apprehend, taken place. In highly civilized countries they are never likely to be numerous, especially where a spirit of free inquiry prevails, or where the commercial character has diffused itself through the community, giving birth to competition, and enterprise, and calculation. The peculiar economy and severe discipline of the Moravian fellowship, to which must be ascribed the purity and union by which as a body they have been so long honourably distinguished, forbid the rapid multiplication of their members; and any material relaxation of their strictly ecclesiastical system, would be fatal, not merely to the purity, but to the very existence of their societies. They are institutions which belong to another period of society than the present, and to other climes than ours; they are altogether exotic. Protestantism has nothing else of a similar kind to exhibit, nothing analogous to the Moravian episcopacy. It is impossible to visit one of their establishments, without feeling a strong wish, that some portions of this singular community should be preserved among us, in order that, retaining undegenerate, their peaceful and primitive habits in broad contrast to the sophisticated state of society all around, they might continue to hold up a lesson to other religious communities, by exhibiting a union founded on the principle of voluntary separation from the world, and by presenting the nearest approximation of which modern society is susceptible, to the external form of the first Christian communities.

In entering upon Galitzia, or, as the native historians affirm it was originally termed, Halitzia, *(the territory of salt mines,*

from *Halle*, Sclav. salt.) a change for the worse is soon visible in the villages and dwellings of the peasants. 'Nothing under 'heaven,' says Dr. N. 'can be more miserable, dirty, or wretched, 'than the whole assemblage, externally as well as internally,' of a Polish village. The only thing connected with travelling that a stranger can commend, is, the state of the high roads, which are excellent—broad, well levelled, and in admirable repair: 'but these,' he exclaims, 'and every thing else that is not 'absolutely abominable, are the creation of the Austrian Go-'vernment.'

'How much absurdity has been said and written on the subject of the partition of Poland! Let us grant that it was attended with enormous atrocities, that much innocent blood was spilt, and that all the ties of honour and hospitality were violated by the partitioning powers; let us bewail the gallant Kosciusko, let us deplore his glorious fall; let us execrate the ambition of Frederick and Catherine, and lament the weakness of Joseph the Second; let us allow the bad example shown to cabinets, and exclaim with Gentz on its mischievous consequences to the rest of Europe; but at the same time let us listen to the voices of the Poles, and we shall learn, that "the fatal "partition," though a curse to all the world besides, has to them been the greatest of blessings. Every person has gained, excepting a few vain, selfish, pampered magnates, who abused their overgrown power, and were a perpetual source of misery to the unfortunate serfs whom Providence had committed to their care. If ever there was a country where "might constituted right," that country was Poland; the most dreadful oppression, the most execrable tyranny, the most wanton cruelties, were daily exercised by the nobles upon their unfortunate peasants. Let us quote a few facts; they will speak volumes. A Polish peasant's life was held of the same value with one of his horned cattle; if his lord slew him, he was fined only one hundred Polish florins, or two pounds sixteen shillings sterling. If, on the other hand, a man of ignoble birth dared to raise his hand against a nobleman, death was the inevitable punishment. If any one presumed to question the nobility of a magnate, he was forced to prove his assertion or suffer death; nay, if a powerful man chose to take a fancy to the field of his humbler neighbour, and to erect a landmark upon it, and if that land-mark remained for three days, the poor man lost his possession. The atrocious cruelties which were habitually exercised, are hardly credible. A Masalki caused his hounds to devour a peasant who happened to frighten his horse; a Radzivil had the belly of one of his subjects ripped open to thrust his feet into it, hoping thereby to be cured of a malady which tormented him.'

One of the most infallible signs of a low state of civilization and morals, is, the corrupt administration of justice. As specimens of Polish justice, our Author mentions the case of a merchant of Warsaw, whom it cost fourteen hundred ducats, to procure the conviction and execution of two robbers who had plundered him; and another case still more flagrant, that of a

peasant who had apprehended an assassin, and who, on taking him before the *staroste*, was coolly dismissed with his prisoner and the corpse of the murdered person which he had brought in his waggon, because he had not ten ducats, the fee demanded by the magistrate for his interference. The morals of the people were, and continue to be, Dr. N. says, nearly at the lowest point of debasement: female chastity is in Poland a phenomenon, while the male sex are proportionally profligate. 'Drunkenness, 'gluttony, and sensuality prevail to a degree unknown in other 'countries of Europe.'

'Yet such is the race that writers have joined in bewailing as the victims of ambition and the martyrs of patriotism. These terms may exist, but patriotism or ambition were in fact unknown in Poland; inordinate selfishness was the prevailing passion and motive of action, and the whole fabric of human society was rotten and undermined to its very foundations. It is a truth which cannot be too often repeated, that *liberty can exist only amongst a virtuous and moral people.* Whenever human depravity has reached a certain point, a nation must become enslaved, first by its own rulers, and then by surrounding nations. History presents to us this truth in a thousand aspects, and yet mankind are obstinately deaf to the unwelcome truth. When the Saxon family had obtained by bribery and intrigue the crown of Poland, the Polish character was sunk almost past recovery; the wars which ensued, tended still more to corrupt and demoralise the people; and when Stanislaus Poniatowsky ascended the throne, it is but reasonable to infer that that weak and profligate Pole possessed neither the talents nor the inclination to reform the condition of his subjects. On the contrary, it would appear that he participated in their crimes, and only laughed at the scenes of cruelty and injustice which were daily passing around him. Thus, during his reign, a petty noble having refused to resign to Count Thisenhaus his small estate, the Count invited him to dinner, as if desirous of amicably adjusting the affair; and whilst the knight, in the pride of his heart at such an unexpected honour, assiduously plied the bottle, the Count dispatched some hundreds of peasants with axes, ploughs, and waggons, ordering the village, which consisted only of a few wooden buildings, to be pulled down, the materials carried away, and the plough to be passed over the ground which the village had occupied. This was accordingly done. The nobleman, on his return home in the evening, could find neither road, house, nor village. The master and his servant were alike bewildered, and knew not whether they were dreaming or had lost the power of discrimination; but their surprise and agony were deemed so truly humorous, that the whole court was delighted with the joke! As a contrast to this story, (related on the authority of Baron Uklanski, himself a Pole,) the reader may peruse the following, which happened in Galitzia, after the *cruel partition.* A peasant with his wife and children, belonging to the estate of the Staroste Bleski, having fled into Austrian Galitzia, the Staroste assembled a party of horsemen, and carried off his serf, upon whom he inflicted a hundred blows of the *kanczuk*, and threw him

into a dungeon. The Emperor Joseph the Second, having been informed of this fact, caused his Ministers to demand a reparation from the King of Poland, who answered, that it did not depend upon him, but upon his permanent council. The Emperor not being satisfied with this evasive answer, sent a body of two hundred dragoons, to bring back both the Staroste and the serf to Zamoic, where they were brought before an Austrian Court of Justice. The Staroste was condemned to pay a thousand crowns as an indemnity to the peasant, and a fine of five thousand to the Austrian Exchequer.—The hundred blows which he had bestowed upon the peasant, were repaid to him on his own person, and he was sent home again to his estate with all due respect.' p. 133, 4.

Without impeaching either our Author's veracity or his correctness, it occurs to us to inquire from what sources he derived his knowledge of many of these facts. His rapid journey through country could scarcely allow of his collecting sufficient *data* for such very general conclusions; and if, as we suspect, he obtained the chief part of his information in the circles of Vienna, it is possible that he might receive the truth somewhat modified, or, at all events, learn only a part of the truth. The wretched travelling accommodations which awaited him, were not likely to advance the Poles in his good opinion; and certainly the anecdote related at p. 101, of the infamous conduct of a woman of noble birth, which came under our Author's own observation at Lemberg, might seem to warrant his taking a great deal for granted with regard to the unbridled and bestial licentiousness which is affirmed to be prevalent. The Jews are charged with being the grand instruments of corrupting the morals of the Poles. All the distilleries are in their hands, being farmed out to them by the nobles, who thus connive at the poisoning of their own serfs. The favourite liquor is a spirit obtained from corn, rendered more palatable, as well as more destructive, by the addition of the essential oils of fennel and carraway seeds, 'which 'are mixed with the wash previously to distillation.' The spirit is drank raw and neat, or is copiously mixed with the 'bad bread' which, together with all sorts of 'putrescent ani-'mal food,' forms the diet of the lower classes. The habit of body thus induced, together with their abominable uncleanliness, renders the consequences of a contagious fever, dreadful. The poison once received, is propagated 'with all the rapidity 'of combustion;' and there being no medical assistance at hand, the wretched population are abandoned to their fate. In 1770, the plague which broke out in Constantinople, having, by means of the Turkish and Russian armies, been introduced into Poland, all the peasants of an entire village belonging to Prince Adam Czartorinsky, were swept off in one day, and nine monasteries were left without a single human being. The Polish nobles, instead of attempting to meliorate the condition of their

serfs, exhaust all their ingenuity in expedients to increase their own overgrown incomes, by throwing in their way temptations to drunkenness.

'Bishops and nobles are joint proprietors of all the inns, and the greater the drunkenness of the peasantry, the larger are the returns to the lords of the soil. This picture is far from being overcharged. I may appeal with confidence to every traveller in Poland to bear truth to its lamentable veracity.'

Dr. Neale corroborates Mr. James's statement * relative to the striking physiognomy of the Polish Jews. Many of the Jewish families, who had amassed great wealth, having professedly embraced Catholicism, have been ennobled and permitted to purchase extensive estates. The noble families of Ossolenski, Majerski, and Riviczinski, are all of Hebrew origin. Dr. Neale adds:

'The enjoyment of liberty and civil rights seems to have produced a strong effect on the physical constitution and physiognomy of this singular race; bestowing a dignity and energy of character upon them which we may in vain look for in those of other countries. The men, cloathed in long black robes reaching to their ankles, and sometimes adorned in front with silver agraffes, their heads covered with fur caps, their chesnut or auburn locks parted in front, and falling gracefully on the shoulders in spiral curls, display much manly beauty.—Nay, I have frequently contemplated with astonishment many amongst them, whose placid, yet melancholy countenances recalled strongly to my recollection the heads depicted by Raphael, Leonardo de Vinci, Carlo Dolce, and the earlier Italian painters; and which, until I visited Poland, I had conceived to exist only amongst the fine ideal forms of art. More than once an involuntary awe has seized me on contemplating on the shoulders of a Hebrew villager, a head presenting those traits of physiognomy, which, by long association, I had always conjoined with the abstract ideal countenance of the Saviour of the world. In this feeling I am not singular; it has been remarked by other travellers,† whose minds had been also early habituated to make such comparisons. In feminine beauty the women are likewise distinguished, but beauty is not uncommon amongst the Jewesses of other countries. When looking at them seated, according to their usual custom, on a wooden sofa, by the doors of their houses, on the evenings of their sabbaths, dressed in their richest stuffs and pearl head-dresses, I have imagined I could trace a strong resemblance between their present head ornaments and those sculptured upon the heads of Egyptian sphynxes. Nor do I think it at all improbable that the dresses of the Hebrews in Poland, both men and women, are at this day nearly the same as those of their ancestors when they left the "house of bondage." Herodotus mentions the *Melanchlæni*, a

* See E. R. N. S. Vol. viii. p. 406.

† 'Denon, in his Voyage de l'Egypte; Mr. James, in his Travels in Poland, &c.'

race of people dressed in black, dwelling amongst the Scythians on the banks of the Tyras; and the present inhabitants of Halicz and Marienpont have probably dressed in the same fashion ever since the days of the venerable historian.' pp. 148—149.

Moldavia is described as presenting an aspect very singular, and perhaps at this era unique, being intersected with marshes and small lakes in a degree curious beyond all description. Mecklenburg Strelitz, and la Vendée, are districts of country originally of the same description; but the latter is now nearly drained dry, and the lakes of the former are being filled up. Most of the rivers in Moldavia are intersected with weirs, which dam the waters, and form ponds: on these weirs mills are built, and the villages are placed round them. Dr. Neale conjectures, that the original settlers found that the effluvia from the marshes, was best obviated by covering them with water.

'The face of the country consists of immense undulating downs, called steppes, of great beauty and vast extent, covered with the most luxuriant crops of grass, affording nourishment to herds of sheep, horses, and horned cattle. Their monotonous aspect is only interrupted from time to time by the small round lakes before-mentioned, and sometimes villages of the most primeval character, surrounded by wattle fences, straggling at wide intervals along the grassy brows of the hills—no trees—a few thickets—no hedges, land-marks, or divisions of the territory, here and there some fields of maize—hares, coveys of partridges, and other game hopping tamely along the sides of the roads—these roads almost without a pebble, and so smooth that the wheels of the carriage glide silently along, as if on the sandy beach by the shores of the sea. The Moldavian peasants, who are occasionally met driving bullock wains of the simplest form and construction, are a rough, hardy, and simple race, clad in white woollen, or linen garments, sheep skin caps and sandals—according with every surrounding object, to inspire the idea of pastoral life in the very infancy of society, when every image and emotion was simple, peaceful, and innocent. There are some few of the grand historical landscapes of Rubens, I mean those engraved by Bolswert, which might depict the general aspect of Moldavia, and these are the only representations of nature illustrative of its character, which I have yet seen.' pp. 154—155.

This description must, however, be understood as applying only to the plains of Moldavia, for to the south of Jassy, the present seat of the vice royalty, rises the 'superb range of 'mountains, almost of Alpine height, clothed to the very summit 'with woods of magnificent growth.' This serves to explain the otherwise irreconcileable accounts, cited from preceding travellers, of the grand and romantic scenery in which Moldavia is said to abound. Its fertility is described as rendering it a most desirable country to the emigrant, were it not that the inhabitants are suffering under the oppression of hordes of petty

tyrants. Delicious wines, the produce of the mountain vines, excellent wheat, maize in abundance, and honey, form part of its annual exports, and we are told that 'there is only a fortieth 'part of the arable soil in tillage.' Baron de Tott compares the country to Burgundy. No computation of the total population is given, but Jassy is thought to contain about ten thousand souls.

Dr. Neale speaks of the Greek Hospodars in much the same terms as Mr. Wilkinson, characterizing them as faithless and intriguing persons, who, 'after passing several years in 'dangling at the levees of the Turkish viziers, flattering, lying, 'bribing, and undermining their rivals by malignant slanders, 'become Court Dragomans, and afterwards succeed, on vacan-'cies, to the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia.'

'They set out for their seat of government loaded with debts, contracted in bribing the members of the Turkish divan, and surrounded by a host of needy relatives and hungry parasites, who are to be maintained and provided for by draining the peasantry of these devoted provinces. The most oppressive exactions are enforced, to wrest from these wretched peasants the wealth required to pay the Grand Seignor's revenue, and keep the divan in good humour, and often, on returning to the shores of the Bosphorus to enjoy their ill acquired fortunes, the bow-string or scimitar puts a period to their career.'

The annual salary of the Hospodar of Moldavia, which is inferior to that of the Wallachian viceroy, is not less than 100,000*l*. sterling. The total amount of taxes paid by Moldavia, was estimated, in 1785, at two millions eight hundred and forty thousand piastres. It is no wonder, then, that emigrations should be continually taking place. Yenibazar (the new market) is the name of a small town in Bulgaria, which owes its rise to this circumstance. Poor families from both Wallachia and Moldavia, are driven to take refuge on the Bulgarian side of the Danube, in order to avoid the tyranny and extortion practised by Greek tax-gatherers and their native Boyars.

There is nothing new in our Author's account of Constantinople: he confesses that he was not placed in circumstances which allowed of his attaining any information with respect to the interior of its society, that would be at all interesting to the public, and he endeavours to make up for this deficiency by some remarkable anecdotes. We have the history of two renegadoes; one an Englishman, a native of Reading, of the name of Baillie, who, at the time of our Author's visit to Constantinople, having assumed, with the name of Selim, the profession of Muhammedanism, had been created an Effendi, and was employed as a civil engineer in the construction of paper mills and barracks. This man appears to have fallen a victim to chagrin,

perhaps remorse, and the fasts of the Ramazan. The real name of the other adventurer was Montjoye, but he had the address to pass himself off upon the British government as the German Count Froberg, and to procure for himself the appointment of Colonel to a regiment which he was to raise in the Albanian and Christian provinces of Turkey. On finding himself detected in very nefarious conduct, being moreover indebted 30,000l. to our Government, he thought proper to desert to the French, and was eventually cut to pieces by the Cossacks. He seems to have been a most accomplished, well-bred, and insinuating scoundrel: he spoke eight European languages with fluency, had visited every country in Europe, having accompanied the Duke of Orleans to the Frozen Ocean, had traversed, besides, all North America, and on account of his 'amiable manners' and conversational talents, was 'a welcome guest at all the diploma-'tic tables of Pera.' Among the foreign envoys then at Pera, were the Russian Ambassador, Italinski, and the French minister, Ruffin, whose characters are thus portrayed.

'The former had been educated as a physician at the University of Edinburgh, and had returned to his native country with the intention of exercising his profession at Petersburgh, but having been attacked with a spitting of blood, he found himself incapacitated from (for) following the laborious and ungrateful trade of physic. He was then appointed Secretary to the Russian Legation at Naples, and after many years of faithful service, ascended to the highest rank which it had to confer. From Naples he was transferred to Constantinople, where his knowledge of oriental literature, his cool, crafty, and dispassionate mind, and his perpetual command of temper, gave him great advantage over his rival diplomatists, whose foibles and irritability of temper constantly offered him advantages of which he seldom failed to avail himself. In him it was difficult to say, which was most to be admired, the powers of a bodily frame that had withstood a constant hœmorrhage from the lungs for forty years, or the vigour of those mental powers that, in such a dilapidated tenement, had mastered the difficulties of twelve languages. The peculiar circumstances to which I apprehend he owed his life, were, great temperance, and a pulse which never exceeded forty pulsations in a minute.'

'As to Ruffin, he was a character of another stamp, bold, imperious, overbearing; with a spirit unbroken by the miseries of three long periods of confinement within the Seven Towers, disdaining the cold formalities of Turkish diplomacy, or the softening intervention of a dragoman's courtly speeches, he was in the habit of daily bearding the ministers of the Turkish Divan, and of making them tremble at the redoubted name of the Emperor and King.'

Yet was this subtle Frenchman carrying on, at the same time, his intrigues throughout the Turkish empire.

In remarking upon the weakness of the Ottoman empire, Dr

Neale says, 'One cannot but be astonished how such an un-
'wieldy mass has held together after the frequent attacks which
'the Russians have lately made upon it.' The explanation he offers, is, that the invaders wasted their efforts on the extremities of the giant, when they might have aimed their blow at his heart.

'If, instead of exhausting their armies on the swampy banks of the Danube, or battering the old ramparts of Ruschuk and Schumla to reach the intricate defiles of the Balcan, they had only seized on the promontory of Eneada, and then formed an intrenched camp, they would have taken all these defences in reverse, and might have marched upon the capital itself, after one general engagement. It is more than probable, that by these tactics, they would have speedily succeeded in driving the Turks across the Bosphorus of Thrace.'

A few short years will, he thinks, determine the fate of the empire, and upon its ruins may then be established the greatest power which has appeared in Europe, since the downfal of the throne of Constantine.

Dr. Neale devotes a chapter to the Plague, which he is disposed to regard as nothing more than 'bilious remittent fever 'under its worst possible form, attended with petechiæ, blains, 'and swelling of the lymphatic glands, which sometimes suppu-'rate, but oftener do not.' If they suppurate, or if copious perspiration can be produced, the patient recovers. All those, however, who have the plague, have not buboes; which has been a source of much mistake. The prevalence of the pestilence at Constantinople, Dr. N. thinks mainly attributable to its unhealthy situation: the marshy grounds lying immediately around its walls, he estimates at little short of twenty square miles. At the same time, the habits and diet of the inhabitants, sufficiently predispose them to receive any contagion. Consumption also is a frequent complaint; a popular remedy for which, is, a few grains of pitch made into pills, and administered several times a day: Dr. N. adds, 'In some instances I have observed it to 'be beneficial.'

Our Author descended into the salt mine at Wieliczka, in Galitzia, the greatest depth of which was, at that time, 900 feet, but the existence of immense strata of salt below that level, had been ascertained. The extent of the excavations was about 6000 feet from north to south, and about 2000 from east to west. The order of the strata, is, first, loose vegetable mould; then, argillaceous clay, or marl; thirdly, a fine sand mixed with water; fourthly, a black and very compact clay; and immediately under this, the fossil salt, which is of such hardness as to require to be blasted with gunpowder. The beds of salt into which these excavations penetrate, extend on the southern, as well as on the northern sides of the Carpathian mountains, for a

space of six hundred miles. 'At Eperies, in Hungary, is a salt 'mine 1800 feet below the surface of the earth.'

Here we must take leave of Dr. Neale, after thanking him for the ample amusement and interesting information which his work has afforded us. Unreasonable, indeed, must be the reader whom the perusal disappoints; and in no ordinary degree well informed must he be who shall derive from it no addition to his knowledge. Dr. N. makes no pretensions which he does not justify, and he well merits the praise of an intelligent and entertaining, if not profoundly scientific traveller. The volume contains eleven tinted engravings, from drawings by the Author, which are very neatly executed.

Art. III. *Moral Sketches of prevailing Opinions and Manners, Foreign and Domestic:* with Reflections on Prayer. By Hannah More. Roy. 12mo. pp. xxii, 518. London. 1819.

IN this volume, the venerable and privileged instructress, who has lived to see the children of her earliest pupils rising into manhood, and to become a sort of hereditary counsellor to the large section of the polite world which recognises her authority, takes a final leave of her readers. How little could she have anticipated, at the commencement of her labours, that the life which has been so usefully spent, would be protracted to a period which should allow of such a multiplication of praiseworthy and efficient exertions for the promotion of practical piety, and of witnessing in some degree their result in the characters she has contributed to form! Such has been the nature of her successive publications, that their extensive sale must be regarded as no equivocal indication of the deference felt towards the Writer, and of the value of her services; and if religion has been making progress among the higher ranks, we think that few persons will deny to her instrumentality the merit of having had some share in promoting it. 'It is with the sincerest satisfaction,' says Mrs. More in the Preface to the present volume, 'and the 'most lively gratitude to God, that the Writer of these pages is 'enabled to bear her feeble but heartfelt testimony to the progress 'which religion has made, and is making, amongst us, especially 'in the higher, and even the highest ranks of society.' There is no fact of which we should rejoice more sincerely to be well assured than this. Mrs. More has, we doubt not, better sources of information than we ourselves possess; and we are willing to receive her testimony as evidence of its being the case to a considerable extent; an extent sufficient, if not to substantiate the remark in its widest application, yet to justify the feelings and the hopes in which it must be so peculiarly soothing to the venerable Writer to indulge. Instances, indeed, of the spread of

religious conviction and knowledge among the higher classes, as well as of the usefulness of her own works in subserving it, must have been continually coming to her own knowledge; and these present a bright side of the general state of things, which we cannot blame her for contemplating; more especially since in the present volume she adopts the tone not of congratulation, but of caution. We only wish that this her last appeal may be so forcible, and her farewell cautions so well received, as to bear out her testimony to its full extent, and to render still more incontestable her claim to be considered as one of the most successful as well as most valuable writers of her day.

Mrs. More has selected for her first topic, a point of no ordinary interest and importance; one which calls for all her powers of expatiation, and for the most skilful combination of address and severity. It relates to the present 'excess of continental 'intercourse,' which she justly considers as threatening us with 'a revolution,' though of a very different kind from what our politicians affect to fear, 'not the less certain, because it is not 'acknowledged.' 'The mischiefs effected by these incessant 'migrations, may be slow, but they are progressive.' 'What,' she indignantly exclaims, 'was the first use we made of the 'blessing of peace?' By very great numbers, it was seized on, 'not as a means to repair, in some measure, the ravages which 'were made on the commerce, the property, the comforts, as 'well as the population of the country,' but only 'to vary their 'nature, and enhance their malignity.'

'Instead of using it to mitigate the distresses, and to restrain the crimes of the lower orders, by living in the midst of them, each at his natural and appropriate station, and thus neutralizing a spirit of disaffection, which took advantage only of their absence to break out;—instead of improving its opportunities, or providing against the impending scarcity, which the desertion of the rich increased almost to famine, in giving employment to the industrious, relief to the sick, and bread to the famished;—instead of each centinel remaining at his providentially appointed watch,—at this critical moment, a very large proportion of our nobles and gentry, an indefinite number of our laity, and not a few of our clergy, that important part of our community, of which the situation is peculiarly local,—all these, as if simultaneously seized by that mania which, in fabulous history, is said to have sent *one* unfortunate subject of divine persecution wandering through the world,—all these important portions of our country at once abandoned it. The only use they made of peace was to fly, with most unrighteous speed, to the authors of our calamities, and of such calamities as it might be thought could not at once have been forgotten, to visit a country which had filled our own with widows and orphans, which had made the rest of Europe a scene of desolation.

'Not only hundreds of thousands of our countrymen, and women, and children, but millions of our money, so severely wanted at home,

were transported from every port, to visit this lately execrated country. To *visit*, did I say? that had been little;—a short excursion to feed the eye, and gratify the taste with pictures and statues, might have been pleaded as a natural temptation.

'Here we conceive the grave Christian moralist will censure the writer, as much as she censures the emigrants. He will say, "the desire is too natural to be right." If we plead in mitigation of damages, that it was innocent curiosity, we shall be told, that it was a curiosity which one of our first parents believed innocent, but which lost them both Paradise. If it was a desire of knowledge, it might be a knowledge better unknown; if to cure those prejudices, "for which our country is a name so dear," such prejudices may better be retained than cured.

'But be this as it may, the truth is, that to multitudes, France was not made a place of visit, but a home. For when these wonderful productions of art were restored the places from whence they had been feloniously taken, did that allay the hunger of emigration? France became the settled residence of multitudes. France was made a scene for the education of English, of Protestant children! Sons and daughters, even in the middle rank of life, were transported thither with an eagerness, as if the land of blood had been the land of promise. And as all fashions descend, not a few of our once simple, plain-hearted English yeomen were drawn in to follow the example of *their betters*, as they are not very correctly called. The infection became general, nor has time as yet stayed the plague.'

'We set a just value on the French language,' continues Mrs. More; 'but even this agreeable language may be bought too 'dear.'

'Even if this supreme excellence, the perfection of the Parisian accent, *should* obtain for an English lady the coveted distinction of being taken for a Frenchwoman; does she not run some risk, even in her own country and her own home, from the habit of domesticating in our families persons of whom all she may know is, that their accent is good; of whose morals she knows little; and of whose religion she knows nothing, except that, if they happen by great chance to have any, it is of a character hostile to her own. The only hope is, that the foreign teacher may care so little about the matter, as never to introduce religion at all, but this is not a very consoling consideration in the instructors of our children.'

But if the conduct of parents in the higher classes is reprehensible in this respect, in what terms ought the imitative folly of those in the middle ranks to be spoken of, who, in their choice of a school or of a private governess for their children, lay the same ridiculous stress upon their attaining a proficiency in a language which is never likely to be of any earthly use to them, treating with comparative disregard all religious considerations! Did it enter, indeed, into the design of such persons, to qualify their daughters to maintain themselves as private teachers or governesses, there might be good reason that they should be

carefully initiated into the all important accomplishment of the French language, as forming, together with music, the most brilliant and indispensable part of the character of a professional instructress; but where nothing of this kind is contemplated, that farcical appendage to an English household, a *Mademoiselle Panache*, a French, or what is almost as bad, a Frenchified governess, is a monstrous absurdity. How many hundreds of young women have had the purity of their minds first contaminated by their French governess, or, at boarding schools, by a French teacher!

Mrs. More adverts to Mde. de Staël's strictures on the insipidity of English conversational parties, and the deficiency of English ladies more particularly in those shining talents which give life to Parisian coteries. We are strongly disposed to wish that our estimable Author had not entered the lists with that eloquent writer on this subject, as she will be thought by some to have displayed more patriotism than fairness, more zeal on behalf of her countrywomen than strength of argument, in treating this part of the subject. Without meaning to intimate our approbation of all Mde. de Staël's sentiments, we must say that they are not properly met; and that the general acuteness as well as candour of her remarks upon the English character, should have obtained for her a less contemptuous treatment of even those opinions which are incorrect. We believe that the alleged reserve and insipidity of English ladies are *not* owing to their domestic virtues, although compatible with them, any more than to their 'dread of newspapers;' that, where they exist, they more often indicate a deficiency of intellectual cultivation, which would pass itself off under cover of a proud sort of modesty. English reserve is assuredly a much better thing than French flippancy, and nothing would be more to be deprecated than an improvement in the vivacity of our conversational circles, at the expense of the true *home* character of Englishwomen, or of genuine delicacy. But still, we are apt to think that a very considerable portion of conversational talent is consistent with the most perfect simplicity of mind, and that English society might part with some of its proverbial formality and reserve, without endangering the interests of morality. We must just add, that by *le degout de la vie*, it is sufficiently obvious that Mde. de Staël did *not* mean either 'a dislike to company,' *or*, 'a taste for suicide!' *

Mrs. More is much more at home in the chapter entitled, 'English opinion of French Society', in which we find some

* Our readers will find the passage referred to, cited in E. R. Vol. xi. p. 500.

highly valuable remarks. After stating that the French Revolution rather aggravated than introduced the moral corruptions which were exhibited in that tremendous convulsion, she adds:

'Louis (XIV.) has lately obtained in certain quarters, a kind of resuscitation of his buried fame, by the only method perhaps by which it could have been raised,—a comparison with the prisoner of St. Helena. But surely, to have committed fewer crimes than the man who has committed more than any other man, is not to have attained a very high degree in the scale of moral excellence. *Are splendour in decoration and magnificence in expense, a mantle broad enough to cover that injustice and those exactions on a plundered people by which they were purchased?* The piety of the king's latter days is frequently thrown into the scale against the disorders of his earlier life. But surely the transition from profligacy to persecution is no great improvement in the human character. Were not his false virtues even more destructive than his avowed vices? Did matters take a better turn, when the monarch, by exchanging gross immoralities for the exercise of a superstitious and intolerant religion, indulged himself and his directress in a long and bitter persecution of his own subjects?—a persecution accompanied with every act of the most unrelenting cruelty. Exile, proscription, torture, death, were the rewards of four millions of his faithful protestant subjects! To these vigorous exercises of arbitrary power, he was encouraged and impelled by a woman who had herself been educated in the faith she now endeavoured to exterminate.'

Nothing, indeed, could well be worse than the state of morals in the French capital, as depicted by their own writers,—by Marmontel in his Memoirs, and by Mde. du Deffand in her Letters, upon both of which Mrs. More passes some very just strictures;—nothing much worse in this respect, that the depravation of manners was universal, without any relief, and that the distinction between vice and virtue seemed to be wholly lost. The thorough heartlessness, the cold-blooded profligacy, which mark the characters of the individuals who then gave laws to polite society, are, in the last degree, disgusting and terrible. London has within its heterogeneous multitude, its drinking parties, than which nothing can be more beastly, and its gambling houses, than which nothing on earth can better deserve the epithet infernal; it has its noble and courtly libertines and Bacchanals, who might vie with any Corinthians of other climes or other days; its revels and its masquerades, things quite as bad as Parisian coteries: but still, these are not the prominent characteristics of London society; they still go with us under the specific name of vice. Excess, and intrigue, and profligacy, even in the highest classes, cannot be openly practised without prejudice to the character; and neither our public men, nor our literary men, have, as a body, set the example of despising the restraints of morality. Yet the contrast between the two capi-

tals, is, we fear, not quite broad enough to warrant a high measure of patriotic exultation. Mrs. More, in penning the following paragraph, must have intended, we think, an indirect application of her remarks to other fashionables, besides those of a French metropolis.

'All this might be very well, or at least would not be so very bad, if there were no future reckoning. But to see old age without consolation, dreading solitude as only less terrible than death,—to contemplate loss of sight as only augmenting spiritual blindness, yet to see the afflicted sufferer clinging to this miserable existence, and closing a life of sin with a death without penitence, and without hope, —to consider talents capable of great things, abused and misapplied, —a God not merely forsaken, but denied;—all these are images from which the sober mind turns away with horror softened by compassion. May every daughter of Britain say, with the patriarch of old, "Come not into their secret, O my soul; to their assembly let not thine honour be united!"'

The chapter entitled 'England's Best Hope,' contains a pointed address to parents in the higher classes, on the importance of religious education, as the only, the all-comprehensive means of restoring, elevating, and preserving the national character. 'Let it never be forgotten,' says the Writer, 'that it is 'the education of the rich, which must finally determine the fate 'at once of rich and poor; and by consequence which must de-'termine the destiny of our country.'

'We have at length, though with a slow and reluctant movement, begun to provide a national education for the children of the poor. Prejudice held out against it with its accustomed pertinacity,—Knowledge would only make them idle, ignorance would preserve subordination, the knowledge of their duty would impede the performance of it. This last we did not perhaps say in so many words, but was it not the principle of our conduct? We put off the instruction of the poor, till the growth of crime made the rich to tremble. We refused to make them better till they grew so much the worse as to augment the difficulty, as to lessen the probability of their reform. The alarm came home to the opulent. They were afraid for their property, for their lives; they were driven to do what it had long been their duty not to have left undone. But they did not, till "the overflowings of ungodliness made them afraid." They discovered, at length, that ignorance had not made better subjects, better servants, better men. This lesson they might have condescended to learn sooner from the Irish rebels, from the French revolutionists. We have at length done well, though we have done it reluctantly. We have begun to instruct the poor in the knowledge of religion.'

This frank and bold exposure of the selfish and sordid motives in which the novel zeal of our Nationalists for extending the blessing of education to the lower classes originated—the unnatural and reluctant movement compelled by fear,—does

high credit to the Author's integrity. Here is assuredly an unsuspicious testimony to the fact. Not that it was otherwise than notorious; but there are persons who will respect her authority, but who would not fail to treat similar representations, did they proceed from any other writer, as calumnies. Whether the exertion is likely to outlive the force of the motive, whether, when the alarm shall have passed away, selfishness will not relapse into its wonted state of inaction, remains to be seen. Well would it be if this same vacillating privy counsellor, fear, when the fit of energy is upon him, would always exert himself in a direction equally beneficent, and dictate nothing worse than new systems of education.

'But why,' continues 'Mrs. More, should the poor monopolize our benevolence? Why should the rich, in this one instance, be so disinterested? Why should not the same charity be extended to the children of the opulent and the great? Why should the son of the nobleman not share the advantage now bestowed on the children of his servant, of his workman, of the poorest of his neighbours? Why should not christian instruction be made a prominent article in the education of those who are to govern and legislate, as well as of those who are to work and to serve? Why are these most important beings, the very beings in this enlightened country whose immortal interests are the most neglected?'

Why, but because infidelity in the higher classes, is not regarded by the politician as affording ground for alarm; because religious ignorance, separate from that fruitful source of disloyalty, poverty, does not wear the aspect of political mischief; and because legislators may legislate very religiously against irreligion, while their Sunday journeyings and Sunday dinner parties sufficiently vindicate them from the weakness of an over much righteousness. But perhaps, as the fashion of impiety has descended so very low, there is some ground for the hope that the great may, in time, out of very pride, abandon it; that the vulgar modes of irreligion may become at least unfashionable. And '*if*', says our venerable Moralist,—

'if the familiar and protracted intercourse with a neighbouring nation;—if, during this intercourse, the long witnessed contempt of religion, morbid insensibility to morals, violated Sabbaths, an abandonment to amusements the most frivolous, to pleasures knit in one eternal dance;—if all this should happily have left unimpaired, or have only tinctured too slightly to make a lasting impression, the noble simplicity, the ancient rectitude, the sound sense, and the native modesty which have long been the characteristics of the British people; if the growth at home, and within our own doors, of an intolerant and superstitious church, be not too fondly fostered—be not promoted instead of tolerated; if the paramount fondness in too many of the more delicate sex, for unbounded dissipation, for profane and immoral writers, should decline; if the middle classes among us

should return to their ancient sobriety and domestic habits; should cease to vie with the great in expensive dress and the decorations of high life, should cease to give their daughters the same useless accomplishments, which are carried too far even in the highest station, and in theirs are preposterous; if the instruction we are at length giving to the poor be as conscientiously conducted as it is generally adopted, and the art of reading be made the vehicle of true religion; if a judicious correction of our criminal code, and a prudent rectification of the demands of pauperism, be successfully followed up; if the African slave trade should be effectually abolished—not in promises, and on paper, but in very deed and act; if our prisons be made places of reform, instead of increased corruption; if the young offenders be so instructed that they come not out as bad as the old, and the old come not out worse than they went in; if our venerable universities should fulfil the promise they give of becoming as distinguished for moral discipline and strict religion, as they have ever been, and they are now more than ever, unrivalled for learning and ability of every kind; if churches be as readily attended, as they will be cheerfully provided; if there be the same honourable attention paid to filling the pulpits as to raising the building: if the Bible be as generally read by the giver, as it is liberally bestowed on the receiver; if the good old practice of family prayer should be revived, and public worship more carefully attended by those who give the law to fashion; if those who are "the makers of manners" will adopt none but such as deserve to be imitated:—if all these improvements should take place, and which of them, let me ask, is impossible?—then, though we laugh to scorn the preposterous notion of human perfectibility, we shall yet have a right to expect that England, so far from being satisfied to excel other nations, will not only excel her present self, but be continually advancing in the scale of Christian perfection.'

Gentle reader, if good Mrs. More be not a Radical in disguise, never again trust our judgement in these matters. This were a radical reform with a witness!

The 'Domestic Sketches' consist of a series of miscellaneous observations, chiefly bearing upon the errors and ill effects of the recent secession from the Establishment. They are upon the following topics: On Soundness in Judgement, and Consistency in Conduct. Novel Opinions in Religion. Ill Effects of the late Secession. Exertions of Pious Ladies. High Profession and negligent Practice. Auricular Confession. Unprofitable Reading. The Borderers. The admirable strain of Christian wisdom which pervades this part of the work, and the excellent temper in which it is written, will, we trust, procure for it a deeply attentive perusal in those quarters in which the Author is most solicitous that these last accents of her monitory voice should be heard. It is to her own sex that she more particularly addresses herself, and with her female readers it is perhaps the most likely that she will gain her object. Her remarks will

by many of them he thought severe; but those whom their severity offends, are not the last persons to whom the warning may be necessary. The hint, that to those who 'have got above acting 'from the fear of man, the next step is to get above acting for 'his praise;' the caution, lest the hurry of 'religious business' should interfere with the retired exercises of the closet, and the sacred duties of home; will not appear, to the judicious, altogether unseasonable. It is not, however, a little excess of zeal, remarks the estimable Writer, which, in the present state of things, requires to be guarded against, so much as the visible growth of dissipation. Mrs. More vindicates the attendance of females at the annual meetings of religious and charitable societies, maintaining it to be 'the glory of our age,' 'that 'among the most useful and zealous servants of our Divine 'Master, are to be found, of "devout and honourable women 'not a few;"' and in the character of '*the female Howard*,' whom she denominates 'the most heroic of women,' she holds up a most eminent example of active, courageous, persevering benevolence, in combination with all the domestic virtues, and a softness and simplicity of manners truly feminine.

The chapter entitled 'The Borderers,' is in the Author's best manner. The very just and striking representation which is given of the conduct of persons of this class, is well adapted to make the most beneficial impression on the conscience; and the admonitions addressed to them are distinguished by the maturity of Christian wisdom.

'Religion and the world,' remarks the Writer, 'used formerly to be considered as two different regions, situated separate and apart from each other. They seldom maintained much unnecessary intercourse. One party shuddered at the strictness and severity of the other; which in its turn, kept aloof from a communication which it feared might contaminate its purity. Between them lay a kind of neutral ground, which, though it divided them, was however occasionally passed during any short interval of peace, for offices of necessity, of business, or of kindness; offices which, nevertheless, produced at no time entire reconciliation.

'This neutral territory has been lately seized upon and occupied by a third party, a civil, obliging, and accommodating people, who are so perfectly well bred, as to be desirous of keeping well with their neighbours on both sides the boundary. They are invited to intimacy by the gratifications held out by the one, and the reputation conferred by the other: present indulgence tempts on the left, future hope on the right. The present good, however, is generally too powerful a competitor for the future. They not only struggle to maintain their own interest in both countries, but are kindly desirous of accommodating all differences between the belligerent powers. Their situation as borderers gives them great local advantages on both sides. Though they keep on the same good terms with both,

they have the useful and engaging talent of seeming exclusively to belong to that party in which they find themselves.

'Their chief difficulty arises when they happen to meet the inhabitant of both territories together; yet, so ingenious are they in the art of trimming, that they contrive not to lose much ground with either.

'When alone with one party, they take care never to speak warmly of the absent. With the worldly they smile, and perhaps good-naturedly shake their head at some little scruples, and some excess of strictness in the absent party, though they do not go the length of actual censure.

'When with the religious colony, they tenderly lament the necessity imposed on them of being obliged to associate so much with neighbours from whom, they confess, there is not much to be learned, while they own there is something to be feared; but, as they *are quite sure* their inclination is not of the party, they trust there is no great danger. They regret that, as they *must* live on terms with the world, they cannot, without a singularity to which ridicule would attach, avoid adopting some of their manners and customs. Thus they think it prudent to indulge in the same habits of luxury and expense; to conform to many of the same practices, doubtful at the best; and to attend on some places of diversion, for which, indeed, they profess to feel no great relish, and which, for the sake of propriety, are rather submitted to than enjoyed! "One would not be particular, one does no good by singularity."

'By an invariable discretion, they thus gain the confidence and regard of both parties. The old settlers on the fashionable side are afraid of losing them, by opposition to their occasionally joining their enemies; while the religious colonies are desirous of retaining them, and rendering them service by courtesy and kindness, still charitably hoping their intentions are right, and their compliances reluctant.

'Thus, though hovering on the borders of both countries, they do not penetrate into the depths of either. The latitude they happen to be cast in varies according to circumstances. An awakening sermon will drive them, for a time, beyond the usual geographical degree; an amusing novel, or a new Canto of Childe Harold, will seduce them to retreat. Their intentions, however, they flatter themselves, are generally on the right side, while their movements are too frequently on the other.

'But though their language can accommodate itself to both parties, their personal appearance is entirely under the direction of one of them. In their external decorations, they are not behind the foremost of their fashionable friends. The consequence is not unnatural; for to those who must *do* like other people, it is also necessary to *look* like other people. It does, however, seem a little incongruous, to hear the language of one of the countries spoken, even with a strong accent, by ladies in the full costume of the other.

'These borderers are frequently disposed to be benevolent, partly from a warm temperament, partly from a conviction that charity is a duty. They profess to give whatever they can spare, but of that proportion they allow vanity, and not piety, to be the arbiter. If per-

like the admirable institution of the Savings Bank, though for different purposes, it gives them a little and a safe lift in the scale of society. For will they not be less likely to follow in the turbulent train of the seditious demagogue, less disposed by his pernicious but persuasive outcry, to give their penny for the promotion of riot and the maintenance of rioters, when that penny has been pre-engaged for the circulation of that Volume which forbids them to speak evil of dignities, which commands to avoid those who are given to change; to work, to be quiet, to mind their own business; which imperatively says, "I exhort that prayers and intercessions be made for kings and all in authority;" and above all, will not the Bible be the surest antidote against the infection of that poison contained in the profusion of books, pamphlets, and placards, which, without such a specific, threatens both our moral and political destruction.

'It is the nature of man to delight in party, he delights to belong to something, to hold to his fellow creatures, though by the least and lowest link in the chain of society; let us then take advantage of this his natural weakness. For is it not better to attach him to something that is useful to himself and others, that he may be less likely to be drawn into such schemes as are destructive of his temporal, as well of his highest interests, and dangerous to the security of the state and of the country. To be connected, though by the lowest and slightest tie, with his superiors, is to the poor man at once an encouragement and a security. To belong to societies of which princes are the patrons, is at once a gratification and a guard; for will not this connection, remote as it may seem, confirm his abhorrence of those revolutionary societies, whose aim is the overthrow of princes.

'Let us not then grudge to the poor who have so few pleasures, that pure, and to them that hitherto untasted, that almost sacred feeling, how much more blessed it is to give than to receive. Let us not deny them the gratification of being humble contributors towards conveying that word of life to others, by which their own souls have been benefited: and to which they are indebted for the knowledge, that it is the duty of Christians to teach others what themselves have been gratuitously taught.

'"Many," says the sagacious Bishop Butler, "think there is but one evil, and that evil is superstition;" and we know that the epithets of superstitious and enthusiastic have been unsparingly lavished on the most sober and well digested plans for the dispersion of the Scriptures abroad. We know that every trifling error, errors inseparable from all great undertakings, every petty indiscretion, the inevitable consequence of employing a number of inferior agents, have been carefully collected, minutely set down in the note-book of observation, and triumphantly produced as unanswerable objections to the whole plan. "But," says the profound prelate above named, in his very able defence of missions, preached before the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "many well-disposed persons want much to be admonished what a dangerous thing it is to discountenance what is good, because it is not better, by raising objections to some under parts of it."'

Mrs. More commenced her career of usefulness, as the warm friend and active promoter of Sunday Schools: she closes it in this volume, in the appropriate character of the Apologist for Bible Associations. To have aided by her writings and her influence such institutions as these, will supply matter for no unpleasing reflections when the whole of life shall lie in retrospect. Whatever literary rank be ultimately assigned to the Author of whom we are now taking leave, thousands are ready to attest her claim to the character of a Benefactor. Her talents, be they few or many, have been well employed; and by the Master she has served, she will soon be called to enter upon a reward of joy.

Art. IV. *Nouveaux Principes d'Economie Politique, ou de la Richesse dans ses Rapports avec la Population.* Par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. 2 Tomes 8vo. 1819.

[*Continued from Page* 324.]

IT is our object in the present Article, to lay before our readers M. Sismondi's doctrines on the grand questions of Political Science, rather than to enter into any original discussions. Abundant opportunities will present themselves for examining more in detail several of the points which we must now rapidly advert to in pursuing the analysis of these volumes.

Few persons will dispute the assertion which our Author makes on entering upon the subject of Agricultural Wealth, that 'the 'social system is always wrong somewhere, when the greater 'part of the community is in a state of suffering.' The wealth of a few monopolists is very far from being any indication of national prosperity. To say that the greater part of the population in this country are in a state of positive suffering, would be over-stating the fact; but that there is a portentous amount of actual distress, and a very general prevalence of comparative distress of the nature of privation, is unfortunately too notorious to be denied. Something then must be wrong in the system; but where the mischief has its source, both philosophers and politicians differ. In Taxation and the Corn Bill, say the Edinburgh Reviewers. In a redundant population and the Poor Laws, is the language of other political economists. In a transition from a state of war to a state of peace, we were gravely told by some right honourable gentlemen. In the unprotected state of our agriculture, say the gentlemen farmers. In a depreciation of the currency by excessive issues of paper money, is another reply. Were the abettors of either of these exclusive opinions to have the cure of the disease consigned to them, we should only have some violent and hazardous experiment made, which would entail tenfold misery upon the community. In the mean

time, it is highly remarkable that the abstract opinions adduced in support of these several hypotheses, should uniformly be in perfect harmony with the predominant interests of the individual maintaining them. The Opposition statesman cries out for retrenchment, and he is right; but that which renders the present load of taxation insupportable, is not its simple amount, so much as the diminished resources of the country. The Landed proprietor complains, not of the Corn Bill but of the Poor Laws, and nothing, in his view, will save the country, but the abolition of the Parochial System. He, too, appeals to abstract reasonings and to facts. But since the Poor Laws have now existed above two hundred years without ruining the country, during great part of which period husbandry wages gradually rose, and the nation enjoyed the greatest degree of prosperity, one may naturally hesitate to give in to the reasonings of these gentlemen; more particularly when we recollect, that were it possible to abolish the poor's rate so far as the farmer is concerned, the money saved would infallibly find its way, at the expiration of his lease, into the pocket of his landlord. In the present complicated state of civil society, it is more reasonable to suppose that there are latent and more deeply rooted causes of the disorders which have recently put on so aggravated a form; and these can be ascertained only by going back to the first principles of political science. Such remote investigations are less captivating than the off-hand philosophizings which come at once to the point of the existing evil, and promise an immediate succedaneum; but they are likely not to be less useful in the end.

The proprietorship of the soil is one of those few beneficial monopolies which it is for the interest of all to guarantee; a 'happy usurpation,' without which no one would run the risk of cultivating the ground, and the art of husbandry would be lost. Nevertheless, it is 'a concession on the part of society, not a 'natural right;' for there are numerous nations that recognise no such law of appropriation in respect to the soil, and where all are compelled to adopt the life of shepherds, the land ought to be the common right of all. The very end of such appropriation, is the general good: the terms of the implied concession are, that society shall upon the whole be the gainer for the protection it affords to the occupant of the soil withdrawn for the purposes of cultivation. It is for the advantage of the poor as much as of the rich, that the proprietor of the land should be thus secured in his possession; but society, which confers, or, at least, which legitimates the grant, has a right to attach those conditions to it which enter into the very spirit of the concession. The interests of society, and those of the proprietor, may possibly be at variance: the former always require that the land should be made to yield the greatest possible amount of gross

produce; the latter, that it should afford the best revenue. The subsistence of the whole community and the comfort of all classes, depend upon the land's being brought into the highest state of cultivation of which it is susceptible; but this is no longer the interest of the proprietor, than while husbandry is the most profitable mode of employing the land. A gradual increase in the amount of the gross produce of the soil, may, however, M. Sismondi contends, be in some cases the consequence of a state of suffering, where the nation is not more rich, but only more numerous.

'It matters little that the sum total of the national production should be more considerable, if the aliquot portion which falls to the share of each individual, is smaller. The wealth of a nation is indicated, not simply by the sum total of its revenue, but by the relation which this revenue bears to the number of those who are to be maintained out of it. Now, where the distribution of agricultural wealth is systematically bad, a redundant population may by this means be called into existence, who will find the price of labour inadequate for their maintenance. These poor creatures left unprotected to struggle for their wages, with the proprietors or tenants of the soil, whose limited number gives them the power of a monopoly, purchase with immoderate toil a bare subsistence, and pine away in penury.

'Mercantile wealth is distributed and augmented by means of exchanges; and even the fruits of the earth, as soon as they are gathered in, become articles of commerce. Agricultural wealth, on the contrary, is formed by means of permanent contracts. The attention of the political economist ought, therefore, in respect to this species of wealth, to be directed, first, to the progress of cultivation; next, to the division of the produce of the crops among those who contribute to their production; and finally, to the nature of the rights attaching to the proprietors of the soil, and to the consequences of an alienation of their property.'

M. Sismondi proceeds to give an account of the different systems of cultivation which have arisen out of the natural progress or varying circumstances of society, with a view to trace their respective influence upon the happiness and prosperity of the community, distinguishing them as follows: *L'exploitation patriarchale*, or the primitive system of husbandry, in which the proprietor farms his own land; *l'exploitation servile*, or cultivation by means of slaves, which prevailed among the Romans, in the decline of the empire; *l'exploitation par métayers ou à moitié fruits*, that carried on by means of free labourers or farmers, which M. Sismondi terms one of the happiest inventions of the middle ages; *l'exploitation par corvées*, or bind-days reserved as the tribute of Vassalage; *l'exploitation par capitation*, e. g. the *obroc* of the Russians; *l'exploitation par bail à ferme*, or the leasing of farms; and lastly, *l'exploitation par bail emphytéotique*, or the system of long leases.

The reader will find a great deal of highly interesting information distributed through these chapters, the result, obviously, of the Author's multifarious reading and extensive inquiries. We must content ourselves with very briefly adverting to a portion of their contents.

Our Author affirms at the outset, that no plan of social organization guarantees more happiness or more virtue to the most numerous class of the community, more wealth to all, or more stability to the State, than that which he terms the patriarchal system; that every contract, every division of the produce of agricultural labour, which separates the interests of proprietorship from those of the actual cultivator, tends to destroy the good effect which society looks for from the appropriation of the soil. The interest which the proprietor has in the permanent improvement of the soil, the gratification he derives from the idea of transmitting the land he has laboured to bring into high cultivation, to his children and descendants, the very pleasure which attaches to the creation, or increase, or embellishment of the property, and the affection which a proprietor is apt to feel for the land he occupies; all combine to form the strongest stimulus to agricultural improvements; while the local knowledge of the nature and properties of every field, as ascertained by patient experience, which is handed down from father to son, affords the proprietor a further advantage over any temporary occupant. 'In large farms under the superintendence of great 'capitalists, the art of husbandry may more easily be rescued 'from the influence of prejudice and routine; but the information which is possessed by the proprietor not descending so low 'as to the actual labourer, will be but ill applied.' With regard to the moral effects of the prevalence of this system of cultivation, M. Sismondi says:

'The patriarchal system meliorates the manners and the character of that large portion of the community who are employed in agricultural labour. Property induces habits of order and economy, while daily abundance destroys the inclination to gluttony and drunkenness. It is privation which inspires a fondness for intemperance: it is anxiety which drives a man to seek to forget his cares in the stupefaction of drunkenness. Rapid exchanges yield to commercial industry a necessary encouragement: we must be content, then, in profiting by the advantage, to submit to some of the attendant inconveniences. The chief of these is, their tendency to sophisticate the plain-dealing honesty of the common people. A person will not long have been in the habit of trying to sell to the best advantage, before he will be trying to over-charge and to cheat; and the more difficulty an individual who has to market continually for his subsistence, finds in obtaining a livelihood, the more exposed he is to the temptation of dishonesty. It is often a subject of complaint, that

that the country people no longer deserve their character for honesty; but it was this class of small agricultural proprietors, by whom this character was established, and we must not look for it in other orders of the peasantry. The latter, obliged to take their labour and their commodities to market every day, securing a bare subsistence only by stratagem, and by driving bargains with those they deal with, have of necessity lost those virtues which the former are found to retain, from the circumstance of their having to make exchanges of their labour chiefly with nature herself, so that they have less occasion than any other division of the working classes, to distrust their fellow creatures, and to retort upon them the weapon of knavery.

'In those countries which have retained this patriarchal system, the population increases, regularly and rapidly, till it has reached its natural limits: that is to say, the patrimonial estate continues to be divided and sub-divided so long as by means of an augmentation of labour, each family may derive a competent revenue from a smaller portion of the land. The father who possessed a vast extent of pasture land, divides it among his sons that they may convert it into fields and meadows: these sons make a fresh division of it, and the fallowing system is abandoned. Every step in the advance of agricultural science, admits of a fresh subdivision of property. But there is no reason to fear that the land-owner will bring up his children to make beggars of them: he knows exactly what patrimony he will be able to bequeath to them; he knows that the law will divide it equally among them; he foresees the point at which this subdivision would compel them to descend below the rank in society which he has himself occupied, and a proper family pride, which is found in the peasant not less than in the gentleman, deters him from calling into existence an offspring for whom he is unable to make any provision. If, nevertheless, he has children, they at least will not marry; or they will themselves choose which of the brothers shall perpetuate the family. In the Swiss Cantons, we never see the patrimonial property of the peasantry subdivided so as to reduce them below the level of a decent competency, although the custom of foreign service, by opening to the young a career indefinite and uncertain, sometimes gives birth to a redundant population.

'The best security which the established order of society can possess, consists in a numerous class of yeomanry. How great soever be the advantage of the security of propriety to society at large, that is an abstract idea difficult to be understood by those to whom all that seems to be secured is, privations. When the proprietorship of the land is taken out of the hands of the cultivators, and manufactures are no longer carried on by artisans, all those who elaborate the wealth of the country, and through whose hands that wealth is continually passing, are strangers to all the enjoyments which it brings. Forming by far the larger proportion of the nation, and looking upon themselves as the most useful proportion, they feel to be disinherited; they begin to regard the rich with envy and ill-will; and it becomes hardly safe to discuss political rights in their hearing, lest they should pass from

such discussions to the investigation of the rights of property, and should insist upon a division of property and lands.

'When a revolution takes place in such a country, the consequence is dreadful: the entire order of society is subverted; the power passes into the hands of the mob, in whom resides the physical strength of the country; and this mob, irritated by suffering, ignorant because poverty has kept them so, discover a hostility against laws of every kind, distinctions of every kind, and property of every kind. France has undergone such a revolution at a time when the great mass of the population were entire strangers to property, and consequently to the benefits of civilization. But this revolution, in the midst of a deluge of evils, has left behind it some benefits; and one of the greatest, perhaps, is, the security that a similar calamity cannot possibly occur a second time. The French Revolution has prodigiously multiplied the class of peasant-proprietors. There are now reckoned to be more than three millions of families in France, who are absolute masters of the soil they occupy; which supposes more than fifteen millions of individuals. Thus, then, more than half the nation have now an interest, upon their own account, in the security of all public rights: both numbers and the physical strength of the country, are on the side of social order; and should the government be overthrown, the very mob would hasten to establish another that should protect the personal rights and property of the subject. Such is the grand cause of the difference between the revolutions of 1813 and 1814, and that of 1789.

'The opportunity given to the peasantry of becoming landed proprietors, was brought about, it is true, by the most violent measures, the confiscation and sale of the national property of all descriptions. But the calamities of war, whether it be a civil or a foreign contest, are, like inundations and earthquakes, evils incident to our nature: when the scourge has passed away, we ought to bless God if any good has resulted from the evil. No beneficial result could be more precious or more solid than the one we are speaking of. The parcelling out of the large estates, is still going forward; every day large sales of land are taking place to the advantage of the farmers who cultivate it. The nation is as yet far from having reaped all the benefits which may be expected from this extensive distribution of property, because habits are slowly formed, and because a taste for order, for economy, for neatness and elegance, must be the result of longer possession.'

M. Sismondi refers to Switzerland and to the United States of America as countries in which this primitive mode of cultivation predominates. It presents itself, indeed, in the history of every nation of antiquity, only with the stain of slavery upon it. So long, however, as the master of the family was himself in the habit of labouring in the midst of his sons and his slaves, the condition of the latter was less hard.

'Their master was conscious of possessing a nature in common with them; he was subject to the same necessities, the same fatigues; his enjoyments were the same as theirs; and he knew by his own ex-

perience, that he should obtain but little labour from the slave whom he did not feed well. The servant of every labouring proprietor in France, has his meals with his master. The slave of the patriarchs was not worse treated. Such was the agriculture of Judea; such that of Italy and Greece in their best days; such is, in the present day, that of the interior of Africa, and that of several parts of the American continent, where the slave works by the side of the free labourer.

'When the progress of riches, with its attendant consequences, luxury and indolence, had introduced among the nations of antiquity, the substitution of the slave-system for the patriarchal, the population lost by the change, as much in happiness as in numbers, while the land gained nothing in point of cultivation. The proprietors, having extended their estates—in the case of Rome, by means of the confiscated lands of conquered nations, in that of Greece, by means of the wealth derived from commerce—first, abandoned manual labour, and then began to despise it. Having transferred their abodes to the cities, they left the superintendance of their estates to overseers and slave-drivers; and from that period, the condition of the majority of the country people became intolerable. Labour, which had formerly constituted a bond between the two ranks of society, was now transformed into a barrier of separation. Contempt and obstinacy succeeded to diligence. Punishments were multiplied, the more readily because they were awarded by subalterns, and because the death of one out of a number of slaves was no loss to the overseer. These slaves, ill-fed, ill used, ill requited, lost all interest in the affairs of their masters, and almost all understanding. Far from watchfully tending the fruits of the earth, they secretly rejoiced whenever they saw the wealth of their oppressors diminished, or their expectations blasted.'

It is the inevitably rapid diminution of a slave population under these circumstances, as exemplified in the depopulation and ruin of the Roman provinces, that lays the foundation of the slave trade. Indeed, such a system of cultivation cannot be carried on without it. In abolishing that accursed traffic, 'the 'continuance of a great crime,' remarks M. S. 'has been put a 'stop to;' but the measure has hitherto had little effect in bettering the condition of the West India slaves. It has been said, that a proprietor would no more wish to lose his herds of men, than his herds of cattle; but the proprietors for the most part live in Europe. 'The diameter of the globe separates the 'master from his slaves, as well as separates him from the bar-'barous agent who has the management of them, and who 'punishes them at his own discretion.' What does *he* care for the comfort or life of a slave? He has no interest in the plantation; and all his profit, as well as his credit with his principal, arises out of the net revenue which he transmits to him. 'Is there an individual,' says M. Sismondi, 'who would let his 'horses to a hackney coachman, or who, if he did so, would 'not expect them to be worked to death?' Where is the differ-

ence, except that these are *men*, who are thus abandoned to be worked, fed, and flogged at the pleasure of an overseer! So long as slavery is permitted to exist, and not only tolerated but protected, our Author contends that there ought to be this condition attached to it, that the slave should live under the eye of his master, so as at least to have access to him.

'It is quite enough to leave such unhappy beings no other safeguard than the compassion of the master on whom they depend, without his placing himself out of the reach of the feeling of compassion. In a European domain, the live stock belongs to the tenant, not to the landlord; and the farmer, in fact, takes care of his herds. If the plantations of the absentee colonists were farmed, and if the slaves formed part of the capital of the farmer, their sufferings would be doubtless less severe. In no other system of agriculture does the proprietor take upon himself to furnish the moveable stock of a farm three hundred leagues from his own dwelling. In no other, however, could a similar confidence be more fatal. The laws of Europe proclaim the slave who lands at any European port, to be free: they would be more just if they declared that slave to be free whose master should have returned to Europe.'

In examining the various modifications of the farming system introduced, after the overthrow of the Roman empire, by the new masters of Europe, who had recourse to this method of dividing the fruits of the earth with their vassals, M. Sismondi notices the manner in which the same conditions of service in different countries, led to so very opposite political results. What in England is now designated by the name of copyhold property, was originally land held under the same conditions as those which, in Russia and Poland, still oppress the half-enfranchised *serfs*, and bind them in Gothic vassalage. In France and in Italy, the operation of the same system has been strikingly dissimilar: while in the latter country, the agricultural class, who formed not more than half of the nation, by mingling with the other half—the citizens, participated in the rapid progress of civilization; in the former, the same class have remained absolutely stationary, and are at this moment, in some parts of the country, especially in La Vendée, four or five centuries, says M. Sismondi, behind the rest of the nation. In Italy, however, an inconvenience of a different kind attended the progress of the system, in the too rapid increase of the population.

'As property and individual safety are tolerably well guaranteed to this class of society, the agricultural population soon attains its natural limits; that is to say, when the farms have been divided and subdivided, up to the point at which, in a given state of the science of husbandry, a family may be maintained in respectability and comfort, by moderate labour, upon its share of the produce of

the plot of ground allotted to it. We have seen that, in the patriarchal system, the progress of population will here receive a check; and if the farmers were left to act for themselves, it would also stop at the same point in the system of *half-fruits;* but they are not the sole masters of their own fortune. Property is hereditary: a farm depends on the good pleasure of a landlord. A tenant may be dismissed with his family, either on account of his demerits, or through the caprice of the proprietor; and there will immediately present themselves to fill up the situation, the *second sons* of peasant families, ready to settle in life, and to form new families of their own. At the same time, the original tenant, reduced to distress by the loss of employment, tenders his services to every proprietor, and, to induce them to accept of them, is ready to submit to harder conditions. The second sons of families, eager to marry, offer also their services, and hence arises a rash competition which induces the proprietor to subdivide his farm into sections inadequately small. Every fresh division, by augmenting the quantity of labour bestowed upon the soil, augments the gross produce; but the labourer's share of the returns, instead of increasing with the increased produce, remains always the same. The proprietor, who claims (on the system under consideration) half of the gross produce, sees, at every partition of his property, his revenue enlarged: the peasant, exchanging a larger portion of labour against an equal quantity of produce, sees his share diminish. The same competition among the farmers for whatever the proprietor may be pleased to allow them as the price of labour, drives them, in the end, to content themselves with a bare subsistence,—a proportion of the fruits of the earth which hardly suffices to supply their wants in a good year, and which, in unfavourable seasons, leaves them a prey to famine. This species of mad outbidding has reduced the peasantry of the *Rivieres de Gênes*, of the Republic of Lucca, and of several provinces of the kingdom of Naples, to put up with a third of the produce instead of half. The consequence is, that in a magnificent country, enriched with the choicest gifts of nature, and embellished by all the luxuries of art, a country which teems every year with the most abundant crops, the numerous class whose labour gives birth to all the fruits of the earth, taste neither the corn they reap, nor the wine they press. Their share is only African millet or maize, and, for drink, the fermented washings of the grapes. They are, in fact, engaged in a perpetual struggle against want. The same calamity would in all probability have overtaken the people of Tuscany, did not public opinion protect the cultivators of the land. A proprietor there would not dare attempt to impose conditions contrary to the custom of the country; in changing his tenant, therefore, he makes no change in the original contract. Nevertheless, whenever such an opinion becomes necessary to the maintenance of public tranquillity, it were far better that it should receive the sanction of the laws.

'It is a point upon which the Economists strongly insist, that every dividual understands his own interest better than the Government can do; whence they have drawn the conclusion, that any interference on the part of the legislature for the purpose of giving direc-

tion to individual industry, is always unnecessary, and often pernicious. But they have rather too hastily affirmed, that the interest which the individual has in the avoiding of a greater evil, must be the same as the interest of all. It is the interest of him who strips his neighbour of his property, to rob him, and it is the interest of the latter to let him do it, if he is well armed, rather than be knocked on the head; but it is not the interest of society, that either the one should commit violence, or the other yield to it. Now, the general system of social organization presents to us, at every step, a similar compulsion, not indeed always characterized by the same violence, but attended by similar danger in case of resistance. The institutions of society have almost uniformly given birth to this compulsion: it ought not to receive exclusively its support. Society has generally placed the poor man under the necessity of submitting to hard conditions, and conditions liable to become still harder, with no other alternative than dying of hunger: in placing him in this perilous situation, it devolves upon that society to undertake his defence. It is doubtless the interest of the whole body of farmers in those countries, not to put up with less than half of the crops as the price of their labour; but it is the interest of the individual farmer who is out of employment, and is seeking for another situation, to be satisfied with a third, or even less, although by so doing he places the subsistence of all his class in jeopardy. It is the interest of day-labourers in general, that the wages of ten hours' labour, should be high enough to afford them a livelihood, and to enable them to bring up their children till they should be fully grown; this is the interest also of society at large; but it is the interest of the day-labourer out of work, to earn his bread at any rate: he will work fourteen hours a day, he will put out his children to a manufacturer at six years of age, and he will compromise, together with his own health and life, the existence of all his class, in order to escape from the actual pressure of want.'

M. Sismondi refers to our own Acts of Parliament fixing the age at which children should be suffered to be employed in manufactories, as well as the number of hours they should be compelled to work, in proof of the wisdom and necessity of that legislative interference on behalf of the poor for which he contends. The laws relating to the public observance of a Sabbath, may be adduced as another instance of the same beneficial interference. In this point of view, were there no other ground upon which the enforcing of its observance by the civil magistrate could be justified, the legislative interposition would appear to be alike necessary and conducive to the temporal interests of society. Were the laws on this subject abrogated, public opinion might, indeed, for a while avail to secure its observance; but how uncertain a security that would afford against the ever encroaching spirit of self-interest, is sufficiently evident from the extent to which the existing laws on this subject are set at defiance. There can be no doubt that, as the obligation of the Sabbath was not long ago dispensed with for the purpose of expediting

the erection of the London theatres, so it would soon be set aside in our manufactories in general. And what would be the consequence? The poor, who are now compelled to barter the whole of the labour they can perform in six days, for a bare subsistence, would only be reduced, in the end, to work all the seven days for the same wages they now earn in six. Putting, then, religious considerations aside, the legislative enforcement of a day of rest, would seem to be the dictate of an enlightened policy, as an act of mercy to the poor, who, exposed to the constant temptation of bettering their condition by an increase of their labour, would otherwise barter away their claim to one day in seven, for a temporary gain, of which the effect of competition would soon infallibly deprive them. It is true, that the observance of the Sabbath has been generally attempted to be enforced by the civil magistrate on other grounds, as connected with the duty of going to church; and vague ideas have been entertained on the subject, as if government could compel the *religious* observance of the day. The personal obligations of religion rest upon a very different authority, and cannot be kept too distinct from those obligations which respect the laws of society. But although the Government cannot compel men to be religious, it can and it ought to provide for that class of the community whom otherwise the effect of competition would deprive of the means and the opportunity of being religious: it can and it ought to interfere for the protection of the poor against the seductive offers of employment from the rich, in order that the interests of morality may not be wholly sacrificed to those of luxury, and the very outworks of public order levelled for the purpose of widening the sphere of the enjoyments of opulence. The general relaxation of the laws enforcing the observance of the Lord's day, let those laws have originated in what notions they may, must be deprecated by every true friend to his country, who regards that systematic violation of the day which has been for many years fast gaining upon us, as an indication at once of the necessitous condition of the poor, and of the profligacy of the wealthy.

We know not to what nation our Author alludes, as having departed from the spirit of the beneficent law of the Sabbath, by converting the day of rest and joy into a day of sadness, and by driving the people, deprived of the liberty of innocent recreations, to take refuge in drunkenness. It is impossible, since he has visited England, that he can refer to this country; although we are aware that this is a common-place subject for affected commiseration on the part of our gayer neighbours. He cannot have taken a walk on any of the great roads leading to the metropolis on a Sunday, without being satisfied that the first day of the week has long since ceased to be among us '*un jour*

'humanity, to the simultaneous operation of the cupidity of 'all.'

Art. V. *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition.* Political History of the Spanish Inquisition, from the Period of its Establishment by Ferdinand V., to the reign of Ferdinand VII. Drawn up from the original Papers preserved in the Archives of the Supreme Council, and in those of the inferior Tribunals of the Holy Office. By D. Jean Antoine Llorente, formerly Secretary to the Court Inquisition, &c. &c. Translated from the Spanish Manuscript, under the Inspection of the Author, by Alexis Pellier. Three Volumes 8vo. Paris. 1817.

WE have frequently been disposed to question the justness of the concession so cheerfully and so generally made by Protestants,—that the Church of Rome is, and always has been, with regard to essentials, a true church. Why the fautors of politico-ecclesiastical establishments should be forward to maintain this, we can easily understand; and it is with us an additional reason for questioning the claims of all such institutions, that their system must stand or fall with the legitimacy of the Romish hierarchy. But if, without suffering the question to be embarrassed by the interposition of foreign considerations, it be examined on its own merits, we shall probably be enabled to ascertain, that the two main requisites of a true church have been fatally vitiated in the Papal usurpation, and in all its dependencies. If it can be proved, that the purity of Christian doctrine has been essentially corrupted, and the maintenance of Ecclesiastical discipline systematically violated, in any institution assuming the name and privileges of a church, we shrewdly suspect that we shall not only have demolished its own claims to legitimacy, but that we shall have bastardized its brood, in all the different forms and stages of filiation and relationship. Now we are not aware of a single Scripture verity which has not been either impaired or neutralised by the inventions of Rome. The doctrine of vicarious sacrifice, has been weakened by impure and idolatrous mixtures, and the primary requisites of "repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," have been miserably debased; the first, by malignant casuistry and destructive superstitions, the second, by a complicated and disgusting series of deluding ritual substitutions. The act and deed of God himself, with the signatures of Divine mercy and wisdom, have been reproached as incomplete; and the transactions and opinions of frail and failing men, dressed up in the attributes of infallibility, have been delivered to the world as the unerring dictates of celestial inspiration. But inviting and important as is this range of investigation, it is not consistent with the limited view of it afforded by our immediate subject, to enter on it with free and dilated argument; we shall therefore content ourselves with briefly adverting to one point of vital importance,

is which the true doctrine of the Gospel is, as we conceive, not only impaired, but rendered of destructive tendency by the unhallowed glosses of the *Catholics of Rome*:—a brace of epithets, by the way, almost as happily coherent as the Universalists of a party, the Freemen of despotism, or the Liberals of bigotry.

Our justification in the sight of God, is represented in the Scriptures as the effect of Faith alone; and among orthodox Protestants, how widely soever differing in sentiment on other points, none have ventured to admit Works into the account of Justification, in any other way than as the test or evidence of Faith. We have unanimously rejected every idea bordering on the ascription of meritoriousness to human action, as abhorrent from Scripture, irrational and absurd in the nature of things, and as at direct variance with the terms of salvation. If, in thus framing our creed, we are right, the Catholic is not only in error, but in a fatal error; for, in this instance, he is not merely obscuring, exaggerating, or attenuating the simplicity of Christianity, by his well-known doctrine of the *opus operatum*, but he is absolutely invalidating an essential doctrine of the Gospel. He places what may be considered as the cardinal term of our personal salvation, in such a light as to render it impossible that any one who embraces his antiscriptural dogma can attain everlasting life. Numbers of this dark and disastrous communion have, we doubt not, been made partakers of the righteousness of Christ; but it has been by the specific exclusion of their own case from their general creed: they have believed, or endeavoured to believe, that others might have merit of their own, but they have *felt* that *for themselves*, their only refuge was in the infinite and all-availing worthiness of the Redeemer.

The relaxation of discipline in the system of Rome, would yield, if possible, a larger and more appalling mass of accusation against her. But, confining ourselves to our immediate subject, it is sufficient to refer to the establishment of the Inquisition as marking her with an indelible brand of secular ambition, of cruelty, and of hypocrisy. The whole history of that infernal institution, distinctly shews that it originated in no pure though mistaken anxiety for the glory of God, and the best interests of men, but that it was a measure of naked state-craft, dictated by apprehensions of danger to the sway of Rome, opposed by the general voice of the people, and only enforced and established by power and violence. All its forms and procedures were marked by the most cold-blooded disregard to the claims of innocence, and the calls of humanity: it outraged society in its most indefeasible rights, cut asunder the most sacred ties, and established itself the Moloch of the Christian world, amid curses, and groans, and death. Of all this, however, its agents affected the utmost horror: they professed the tenderest anxiety, not only

for the eternal felicity, but for the present deliverance of their victim; and they filled up the measure of his sufferings by the crowning hypocrisy of an urgent appeal on his behalf to the secular arm. The spirit of the Gospel, and the express terms of Holy Writ, went of course for nothing in the whole transaction; but its most remarkable feature was, the gross and palpable violation of the traditions relative to the history and character of the primitive Church, inasmuch as this undeniable departure from ancient usage and doctrine, leaves the Catholic stripped of his favorite plea, and fixes upon him the imputation of the most despicable inconsistency. But "they have their reward:" the system of intimidation, the spiritual reign of terror, has wrought its own downfal, even far more effectually than the arguments of the Reformers; since it has implanted in the minds of men an insurmountable abhorrence of that Church by which it was employed as a characteristic weapon.

That we have been hitherto without an adequate history of the Inquisition, will excite no surprise when all the circumstances of the case are considered. The secrecy of its proceedings, very imperfectly known even to its victims, and fully revealed only to the chiefs and confidential agents of the Institution, while it gave large encouragement to romance and conjecture, effectually baffled the usual processes of historical inquiry. The horror and antipathy which were excited by this dreadful and mysterious tribunal, would naturally call forth the wildest exaggerations; and that these have not been promulgated to a much greater extent, is owing simply to the fact, that it was by no means easy to go beyond the tremendous reality. The principal materials for such a work, were to be derived only from the very imperfect sources of common report, of the details given by the few sufferers who had escaped the fangs of the familiars of the Holy Office, and from the partial and limited disclosures of Eymeric, Paramo, Pegna, and Carena, who, themselves Inquisitors, were not likely to discredit their own calling by an indiscreet revelation. Of these documents, Philip Limborch made an able use; and his history of the Inquisition, with all its defects, is probably the best work on the subject up to the publication of the present volumes. Lavallée's *Histoire des Inquisitions religieuses d'Italie, d'Espagne, et de Portugal*, published at Paris in 1809, is in some points erroneous, in others imperfect; while the more recent and authentic *Inquisicion sin Mascara* of Antonio Puigblanch, Mr. Walton's translation of which was largely and favourably reviewed by us in our Ninth Volume, must be considered as a work of discussion rather than of regular history. Under these circumstances, we regard the publication now before us, as a most important and valuable addition to our collection on ecclesiastical history. It is written with much simplicity, and has been compiled

with great diligence and considerable skill, chiefly from an immense mass of hitherto inaccessible materials. The author, Juan Antonio Llorente, is not only a Spaniard and an ecclesiastic, but in the years 1789, 1790, 1791, he held the office of secretary to the Inquisition of Madrid; during which term, its archives were of course open to his inspection, and when that tribunal was suppressed, all the documents connected with the Holy office were placed within his reach.

'From 1809 to 1812,' he states, 'I extracted all that appeared to me essential in the registers of the council of the Inquisition, and of the provincial tribunals; the object of this laborious process was, the publication of a critical history of the Spanish Inquisition from its origin to its destruction, comprising the most remarkable events of the three centuries included in its duration.'

The Author has inserted a catalogue which fills several pages, containing the titles and qualifications of the different MS. collections which have thus passed through his hands, and which, in addition to the usual historical references, have formed the basis of his work. This large mass of original materials, has, however, been unfavourable to the order and unity of his plan. Nothing can be more clear and intelligible than his respective statements, but they can by no means be considered as forming a coherent narrative; and if he had prefixed to his present title-page, the common designation, *Memoires à servir*, he would have more correctly pointed out the character of his book. The extent of our review of Puigblanch, will in some degree lay us under the necessity of observing brevity in the present article. We shall now advert to the facts rather than to the reasonings connected with the subject.

Heresy made its appearance very early in the Christian Church, but we find no sanction afforded by the Scriptures to the infliction of temporal death or bodily suffering as the just penalty of this enormous offence against the law of God. "A "man that is an *heretic*," said St. Paul to Titus, "after the "first and second admonition, *reject*." The purer ages of Christianity were distinguished by a firm adherence to the disciplinarian, but gentle and unpersecuting spirit of this precept. But when ecclesiastical dignitaries began to taste the sweets of official rank, emolument, and power, popes and bishops were forward to establish, and councils were not reluctant to sanction, a coercive system, visiting with imprisonment, stripes, confiscation, and death, all who should come under the vague and convenient imputation of holding or abetting heretical doctrines. Through the successive periods of the nominal Church of Christ, there was, amid the general desertion of the soundness and purity of the faith, a "little flock," which in poverty and obscu-

rity, preserved the reality of the true Church, while its semblance was profaned by a profligate and ambitious priesthood, to the basest purposes of secular ambition. Whereever these humble and sincere followers of the Son of God were detected, they were, as might have been expected, the schismatics against whose dangerous and disorganizing heresies, the censures of the hierarchy were levelled, and on whose persons the extremest tortures were inflicted. But these are feeble counteractives to the work of God. Accordingly, we find the number of these faithful witnesses gradually increasing, until, under the name of Albigenses, they became the avowed objects of systematic persecution.

Much controversy has taken place respecting the precise date of the original establishment of the Inquisition. The fact is, that few institutions of any magnitude start suddenly into existence; and in the present instance, the system had been long in active operation, before the Holy Office assumed its distinct title and powers. The principles of that diabolical establishment had been clearly laid down by the fathers of the council of Lateran in 1179, who declared that although the Church rejected the employment of all punishments which affected the lives of heretics, yet, that it did not refuse the interference of Christian princes for their destruction. And the council of Verona in 1184, at which the Emperor Frederick I. was present, more expressly provided that the Bishops should visit their dioceses once or twice in every year, either personally or by their delegates, that they should encourage informations against suspected heretics, and in cases of contumacy deliver over the offender to the secular arm. Fleury considers the Inquisition as originating here, and it is certainly a clear recognition of its vital principle; but the erection of that tribunal as a distinct body, must be referred to a later date. Neither is it probable that when, in 1204, Innocent III. commissioned Arnaud, Abbot of Citeaux, with two of his monks, to persecute the Albigenses, he contemplated the establishment of a permanent tribunal. Quetif and Echard, who seem to have escaped the researches of Llorente, in their collection entitled *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*, refer the organization of the Inquisition to the fourth Lateran council in 1215, and to the consequent measures of Innocent. The celebrated Dominic de Gusman is distinctly denied by the same writers to have ever held the office of an Inquisitor; though some of the Dominicans have affirmed that, after the above mentioned council, he was made by the Pope, Inquisitor-general. The Bishop of Badajoz also has made it sufficiently clear, that there is no foundation for the last assertion. Let, however, the sainted Dominic be acquitted of all unCatholic humanity; and be it recorded to his

just fame, that he identified himself with the atrocious exterminations of Simon de Montfort in the war of the Albigenses. As an illustration of his more merciful awards, we shall insert a document, preserved by Paramo, in which he reconciles to the Church a converted heretic, and prescribes the acts of penance by which his abandoned errors were to be chastised.

'By virtue of the authority delegated to us by the Lord Abbot of Citeaux, legate of the holy Apostolic See, we have reconciled the bearer of this writing, *Ponce Roger*, who has, through the grace of God, quitted the sect of the heretics; and, after administering to him an oath of implicit obedience to our orders, we have commanded him to cause himself, on three successive sabbaths, to be led stripped, from the gate of the city to the church porch, by a priest who shall beat him with rods. We also impose on him as penance, that he shall neither eat meat, nor eggs, nor cheese, nor any other species of food derived from the animal kingdom, and this during his whole life, excepting on the days of Easter, Pentecost, and the Nativity, on which days we order him to eat meat, in token of abhorrence of his former heresy; to keep Lent three times each year, without eating fish during those periods; to fast by abstaining from fish, oil, and wine, three days in each week during his whole life, unless sickness or extraordinary labour otherwise require; to wear a religious habit, both in form and colour, with two small crosses stitched on each side of the breast; to hear mass daily, if opportunity present, and to be present at vespers, on sundays and holy days; to recite regularly the daily and nightly office, and the *Pater* seven times in the course of the day, ten times in the evening, and twenty times at midnight; to live chastely, and to shew the present writing once in each month to the parish-priest *(curé)* of Cereri, whom we enjoin to watch over the conduct of *Roger*, who is to follow exactly all that is prescribed to him, until we have ascertained the will of the Lord legate; and if the said *Ponce* fail in any point, we order that he shall be looked upon as perjured, heretical, and excommunicated, and that he shall be shut out from the community of the faithful.'

Such was the merciful mood of Dominic de Gusman, and such the life of abstinence and vigils which he prescribed as the visitation of involuntary error! We pass over the particulars of the establishment of the Inquisition in France and Italy, that we may come at once to the scene of its longest and most sanguinary reign. It will be recollected that in the early part of the thirteenth century, Spain was divided into two main divisions, Christian and Mahometan; and that the portion which professed Christianity, was subdivided into four kingdoms, Castille, Navarre, Arragon and Portugal. The first introduction of the Inquisition into these kingdoms, we are not able to ascertain with minute precision as to dates and localities. It appears, in general, that that tribunal was first established in the south of France, where it existed in its greatest activity and

vigour; that thence it extended itself to the northern provinces of Spain; and during the thirteenth century, it does not seem to have spread much further, since we can only find it permanently organized in the dioceses of Tarragona, Barcelona, Urgel, Lerida, and Gerona. In the earlier stages of its existence in Spain, it wore a somewhat mitigated form, and is distinguished by the name of the ancient Inquisition: its full terrors were not realized till a later period, when the whole of the Spanish territory became united into one kingdom under Ferdinand and Isabella. Spain, at that period, was favourably situated both with respect to power and wealth: the very considerable number of Jews which inhabited her commercial towns, insured to her a fair portion of the commerce of the globe, and an enlightened policy would have afforded all possible encouragement to a race of men, who were the general bankers, brokers, and merchants. They were, however, gross usurers, and we suppose that they made their debtors feel very heavily the weight of their pecuniary obligations. Hence arose a universal prejudice against them, which was nourished and increased by the superstition and fanaticism of the age. The most horrible practices were imputed to this miserable people; they were fleeced by the great and powerful, and pitilessly persecuted by the vulgar. Still, they flourished, and towards the close of the fifteenth century, their situation in Spain was such as to make them the objects of avaricious visitation from the government. The frenzy of the people had terrified great numbers of the Jews into at least an outward profession of Christianity, but, as was to have been expected, many of these, on the cessation of immediate danger, returned to their ancient faith, and the remainder were strongly suspected of cherishing, in secret, their former errors. Ambition and avarice are never at a loss for pretexts. The war of the Albigenses had given an opportunity for the establishment of the first Inquisition: the apostacy of the converted Jews was held forth as dictating the necessity of extending its jurisdiction, and of concentrating and aggravating its powers. It is under this latter and most odious form, that it has existed from 1481 down to the present times, and under which it presented so fascinating an aspect to the beloved Ferdinand, as to determine him on reviving it with all its powers. Ferdinand V. employed his credit with Pope Sixtus IV. to procure this renovation of an antiquated and probably somewhat absolete tribunal with increased powers, obviously for the purpose of filling his coffers by confiscation; and his Holiness cheerfully consented to a measure the ostensible object of which was, to confirm and extend the influence of the Church of Rome. Some historians have attributed to Cardinal Mendoza, to the celebrated Ximenes, and to Torquemada, the

origination of this atrocious scheme; but for this there is no foundation: it was not until 1483, that the latter was made Inquisitor-general, whereas the commencement of the Holy Office under its modern form, was in 1481. Torquemada acquitted himself to admiration in his new office: he exerted himself with notable activity to accomplish three great objects,—the gratification of Ferdinand by unlimited pillage; the extension of the power, and the repletion of the coffers of the Pope; and the domination of the Inquisition over the fears of the people, by the infliction of the severest punishments. In 1484, the first code of regulations was drawn up, marked throughout by that spirit of faithlessness and cruelty which has been always the notorious brand of this tribunal. Prepared as the public mind must have been for the adoption of any plausible scheme of persecution, these violent measures excited the strongest opposition. They were, indeed, too large in their comprehension, not to awaken suspicion and fear; for the lines of distinction were purposely drawn so finely, and expressed so vaguely, as to give the Inquisitors an almost unlimited power of interference. No family could feel itself secure; no rank was privileged; no profession afforded any shelter: this presumptuous agency exercised its tyranny on all orders, from the miserable Jew, to the blood-royal. Its first measures were taken against the converted Jews, or, as they were termed, the new Christians, and their descendants; and under the general and indefinite charge of judaizing, several of this description were condemned and committed to the flames. This class, however, was numerous and powerful; some of the descendants of converted Jews were in the highest offices of the state, and by their alliance were connected with the noblest families of the kingdom. In Arragon, especially, this was the case, and a strong and pertinacious resistance was offered to the introduction of the new system. The inquisitor Arbues was killed in the church at Saragossa; and partial risings of the people took place in different quarters. But all these testimonies of abhorrence were ineffectual, and eventually contributed to the firm establishment of the power against which they were directed. The year 1492 was distinguished by two important events,—the conquest of Grenada, and the expulsion of the Jews, against whom a number of absurd charges had been brought. The resistance of the Jews was strong, but unavailing: they offered a large sum to Ferdinand and Isabella as the price of forbearance, but Torquemada presented himself before the sovereign, with the crucifix in his hands, addressing to them the following insolent remonstrance: "*Judas was the first to sell his master for thirty pieces of* "*silver; your highnesses are about to sell him a second* "*time for thirty thousand pieces of money; behold him*

"*here—take him, and make haste to give him up!*" This appeal was successful, and in 1492 was issued the decree which banished them from Spain within the term of four months from its date, permitting them to dispose of their effects; a permission, however, merely nominal, since the time was too short, and their necessities too urgent, to admit of favourable sales. It is affirmed by Bernaldez, the Parish-priest of Los Palacios, that he actually witnessed the exchange of a horse for an ass. Mariana calculates the emigration consequent on this decree, at no less than eight hundred thousand Jews. Such was the policy dictated to Torquemada by fanaticism, to Ferdinand by avarice and superstition, and to the gentler and more enlightened Isabella by erroneous notions, and by want of firmness to withstand the united influence of her husband and the unrelenting friar! Torquemada was at least impartial in his ferocity: his persecutions reached even the episcopal order. The total of his victims during the eighteen years of his administration, is summed up as follows, on a moderate calculation: More than ten thousand committed to the flames; nearly seven thousand burnt in effigy; and upwards of ninety-seven thousand sentenced to confiscation, perpetual imprisonment, or infamy. With all this, it is no wonder that he was so conscious of the general hatred as never to travel without a guard, and to take all possible precautions against poison. He does not seem to have been in any degree remarkable for intellectual excellence: he was a mortal enemy to books; no regard to prudence or policy appears to have restrained his fanatical energy; and his schemes were driven onward with such furious and undiscriminating zeal, as to call for the interference of the Pope, before whom so many and so incessant accusations were urged, as to put Torquemada under the necessity of sending, at three different times, a confidential agent to Rome for the vindication of his conduct. There is, indeed, every reason to suppose that nothing but political reasons, and deference to the court of Spain, withheld Alexander VI. from depriving him of his office: he contented himself, however, with limiting his authority by the appointment of co-adjutors.

Deza, the successor of Torquemada, in 1498, followed him with equal steps: he employed his influence with Ferdinand to procure the extension of the Inquisitorial regime to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. This was warmly opposed by the inhabitants, and in the former place with success. The zeal of the new Inquisitor-general was also kindled against the Moors, who were in consequence subjected to severe and impolitic severities and expulsions; while he visited those to whom was imputed the crime of Judaizing, with new proscriptions, and he

embittered by harrassing persecutions, the last years of the aged and venerable Archbishop of Grenada. His dictatorship lasted eight years, during which term he caused 2,592 individuals to be burned, 896 to be executed in effigy; and sentenced 34,952 to penance more or less severe. A letter written by a contemporary, gives a striking representation of the excesses committed by this wretch and his subalterns.

'As for the conduct of the affairs of the Inquisition, the only plan has been to leave them wholly to the management of the Archbishop of Seville, (Deza) to Lacero, and to Juan de la Fuente, who have dishonoured all these provinces, and whose agents, in general, pay no regard either to God or justice, killing, plundering, and outraging maids and wives, to the shame and scandal of religion. The mischiefs and miseries which the corrupt ministers of the Inquisition have occasioned to my country, are so great and multiplied that it is impossible for any one not to feel the deepest sorrow.'

Peter Martyr d'Angleria, a man of liberal and accomplished mind, has left on record in his published letters, a lively description of the infamous excesses of the Inquisitors.

'How inconceivably important,' he sarcastically exclaims, 'the pretended story of those young females who had never quitted the paternal roof, and who were notwithstanding accused of having travelled from the heart of Castille to the city of Cordova, through a great part of Spain, that they might there labour in the synagogues for the re-establishment of the Jewish religion! What fund of instruction and doctrinal skill could possibly exist in timid virgins who had never seen any thing beyond the interior of their families? What gratification could it have afforded them to quit their dwellings on a long journey without any kind of accommodation? I am aware, that they are accused of magic, and that it is taken for granted that they travelled on goats instead of horses, and that they were in a state of intoxication—but who besides Lucero would have listened to these reports, more worthy of the malice of hell, than even the credulity of children? Who excepting him would have availed himself of them for condemnation, and to the disgrace of all Spain? The council is engaged in searching out the source of the evil; its members are carefully revising all the processes and sentences of so many individuals committed to the flames, and of so many others subjected to punishment.'

In 1507, the celebrated Ximenes de Cisneros was appointed the third Inquisitor-general. This great man had risen from the situation of a simple monk, to the highest ecclesiastical rank which Spain and the Pope could bestow; he was the Queen's confessor, Archbishop of Toledo, and ultimately Cardinal. He had opposed, in conjunction with Mendoza and Talavera, the establishment of the Inquisition in its second and more aggravated form, had interfered actively against some of its tyrannical

acts, and had proposed measures of reform. But when in power, his views, or, at least, his conduct, changed: he resisted innovation, maintained his whole authority, and, though he introduced some salutary alterations into the administration of the system, he was the instrument of procuring its introduction into the American provinces of the Spanish empire. His authority lasted eleven years, during which, 3564 individuals were burned in person, 1232 in effigy, and nearly 50,000 persons visited with different degrees of punishment. He struggled fiercely for every atom of his power, even against the interference of Rome itself; and when the *new Christians* had offered Ferdinand no less a sum than 600,000 golden ducats, on the sole condition that the processes of the Inquisition should be conducted in public, he succeeded, by the weight of his influence, and by a counter-bribe, in dissuading the bigoted monarch from compliance. They made a second and a larger offer, on similar terms, to Charles V., in consequence of which he caused the colleges, universities, and learned men of Spain and Flanders to be consulted on the subject, and they all gave it as their opinion, that the communication of the depositions, and the confrontation of the witnesses, were the right of the accused, by all laws, human and divine. Ximenes left no means unemployed to counteract these measures; the matter was left undecided until his death, and, though it was submitted to the Cortes, and the alteration approved by them, it ultimately failed. Charles V. in the early part of his reign, appeared disposed to correct the irregularities of the Holy Office: he pledged his promise to that effect, at Valladolid to the Cortes of Castille, and at Saragossa to the Cortes of Arragon; but he suffered himself to be deceived by Cardinal Adrian, the fourth grand Inquisitor, and abandoned his intention. Adrian himself seems to have been an amiable and well-disposed man, but he was weak enough to repose an unbounded confidence in his subalterns, and they continued with unrelenting brutality, the work of blood. It is calculated, that during the forty-three years of the administration of the first four Inquisitors-general, more than 18,000 persons were burned in person, and nearly 10,000 in effigy; while more than 200,000 were subjected to various penances; nor is it at all improbable that all these numbers might be increased by one half.

After this period, the still active exertions of the Inquisition were restricted by various circumstances. Charles V. though not much subject to feelings of compassion, was a more enlightened monarch than his predecessor: Leo X. was, for a Pope, with all his faults, an accomplished and not unamiable personage, and in many instances interfered with vigour and decision in behalf of the victims of the Holy Office. And the

fifth Inquisitor-general, Alphonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, seems to have leaned more to the side of humanity, than those who had gone before him in the office. Still, though a considerable reduction took place in the number of sufferers, it amounted, in the fifteen years of his administration, to 2,250 persons committed to the flames; 1125 burned in effigy; and 11,250 condemned to penance. During this season, much persecution was suffered by the Moriscoes or Moorish inhabitants of Spain; they escaped, however, better than the Jews had previously done, for they were cultivators of the ground and poor, while the Hebrews were merchants and rich. A number of persons also were arrested on charges of sorcery; and we are gravely told by Sandoval, among a number of other exquisite absurdities, that one of the Inquisitors, being desirous of witnessing some of their magic feats, promised pardon to an old witch, on condition that she should exhibit her performances in his presence, permitting her even to effect her escape, if in her power. Nothing, of course, was more easy: the old lady, after obtaining a box of ointment made up of all sorts of filthy ingredients, rubbed it on different parts of her body, calling lustily on her familiar, who announced his presence by an audible reply; she then began to crawl like a creeping animal down the outside of the tower, and when she had descended midway, darted out into the air, flying with great ease, until she was lost in the distant horizon. A reward was offered for the re-apprehension of this gifted person, and in two or three days after, she was found by some herdsmen, and again lodged in safe custody. When questioned why she had not taken a longer flight, so as to place herself in safety, she replied, that her master had refused to convey her beyond the distance of three leagues, and had left her in the field where she was found.

Some of our readers will recollect the reply made by Don Quixote to Sancho Panza when, mounted on the wooden horse, the illustrious pair were riding through the sky to effect the disenchantment of the bearded dames. The worthy squire, feeling himself somewhat annoyed by heat, and shrewdly guessing that they must have reached the region of fire, proposed to loosen the bandage which covered their eyes:—'Beware of so 'doing,' exclaimed the valorous knight, 'and remember thee 'of the veritable history of the licentiate Torralba, who by 'devilish art rode through the air with bandaged eyes, and 'learned upon a bulrush: twelve hours journey brought him to 'Rome, where he alighted, and beheld the storm and sack of 'that city by the troops of Bourbon, with the death of their va- 'liant chief; the morning's light saw him again at Madrid, 'where he faithfully described all that he had seen. He related 'also, that while passing through the air, the devil bid him open

'his eyes, and obeying, he saw himself so near the moon's disk, 'that he could have touched it with his hand, and that he 'feared to cast a glance towards the earth, lest he should faint.' Possibly, however, our readers may not have been aware that Cervantes was not citing a mere legend, but a veritable piece of history; so far, at least, as the veracious licentiate and his confessions were concerned. Llorente has supplied us with a very curious and complete narrative of the history of Eugene Torralba, who was not only a real individual, but a personage of some note in his day. He was born at Cuenza, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and studied philosophy and physic at Rome, where he imbibed from his infidel companions, a strong taint of scepticism. Among his intimacies, he had formed one with a Dominican friar, who one day informed him that he had in his service, a good spirit, whose name was *Zequiel*, and who was unequalled in his knowledge of futurity, and of mysterious things; that he refused to bind himself or his favourites by any compact; and that all endeavour at compulsion to procure answers from him, would be followed by an entire cessation of his visits. He offered to procure an interview between this respectable being and the doctor, and Torralba eagerly acquiescing, *Zequiel* made his appearance in the form of a fair and light-haired young man dressed in a flesh-coloured body dress, with a black surtout, and promised to attach himself to the Spaniard for life. He kept his word, and visited Torralba regularly at the different changes of the moon, and on all occasions when his assistance was required to transport his client to distant places. The spirit always employed in his communications, either the Latin or the Italian language, never spoke against Christianity, nor counselled any unhallowed action; but, on the contrary, reproached his friend when he fell into error, and frequently accompanied him to church. He explained to the physician the hidden virtues of plants, and occasionally supplied him with small sums of money; but the more important of his revelations were those which related to political or personal concerns; and Torralba described himself as having put various individuals in possession of important facts, long before the intelligence arrived through the ordinary channels. Ximenes having expressed a desire for a *tête à tête* with the angel, Eugene endeavoured to procure him that gratification; but *Zequiel* was restive, and kept himself as close as a reviewer behind his invisibility: he condescended, however, to inform the cardinal, through the doctor, that he should be 'king here-'after;' a prediction substantially verified in the elevation of Ximenes to the absolute government, as regent of Spain and the Indies. The licentiate made no secret of his privilege; or rather, finding his imposition turn to good account, took care

that it should be every where known, availing himself of every little accident in his course of life, and of every apparent singularity in his habits, to identify with them the agency of his genius. And his fictions were so firmly accredited, that the Cardinal de Volterra, and the Grand Prior of the Order of St. John, expressed their anxiety to obtain a similar privilege; but *Zequiel* was inflexible. In 1525, he was appointed physician to the Infanta Eleonora, queen-dowager of Portugal, and in the same year, made his famous aërial journey to Rome; the wonders of which were somewhat under-rated by his knightly chronicler, since the licentiate employed only one hour in his transit from Valladolid to Rome; whereas the lover of Dulcinea makes the trip occupy no less than twelve. Torralba took care that all this should be immediately known; and he obtained the reputation of a great and undoubted necromancer, sorcerer, enchanter, and magician.* Unluckily, however, his fame reached the Inquisition: he was taken into custody, and subjected to the torture, under which he made contradictory confessions, but adhered to the main facts of his connexion with *Zequiel*. When asked if the spirit had predicted his imprisonment, he replied in the affirmative; and when the Inquisitors, with all the infirmity of implicit faith, inquired into the opinions entertained by his genius respecting the characters and doctrines of Luther and Erasmus, Torralba with considerable adroitness answered, much to the satisfaction of his interrogators, that *Zequiel* condemned them both, with this distinction,—that he stigmatized Luther as a depraved and corrupt man, while he represented Erasmus as a subtle and dexterous person; affirming, however, that this difference of character did not prevent them from communicating confidentially with each other. This 'liar of the first magnitude' was released in 1531, at the intercession of the Admiral of Castille, his protector and friend, whose physician he had formerly been, and who detained him in that capacity during many years after his sentence.

Manrique occupied the post of Grand Inquisitor from 1523 to 1538. In the following year, Juan Pardo de Tabera, archbishop of Toledo, was nominated to the office. Tabera was a resolute maintainer of the power and privileges of his tribunal. Don Pedro Cardona, viceroy of Catalonia, having ordered the arrest of some servants of the Inquisition, was compelled to submit to a public penance; and the Marquis de Terranova, viceroy of Sicily, for a somewhat similar offence, underwent the

* If he really did in this instance forestall the regular communication, and if it were not a lucky guess, founded on the knowledge of previous circumstances, he must have employed the courier-pigeon, for which he was well prepared by his intimacies in Rome.

same humiliation. During his administration occurred the famous imposition of Juan Perez de Saavedra; who has given a hero to histories, romances, and dramas, under the title of *the false nuncio of Portugal.* Stripped of the fictitious details with which this exquisite knave adorned the narrative of his career, which he drew up at the instance of Cardinal Espinosa, his life and adventures were still of a very extraordinary kind. He was the son of noble parents, and exhibited such indications of talent in his youth, as afforded the promise of a distinguished reputation in riper years. Unhappily, however, he very early took up a strong propensity to the imitation of written papers, and in the course of his occupations in this way, copied or forged, with the utmost accuracy, apostolic bulls, royal ordinances, decrees of the councils and tribunals, letters of exchange, and the signatures of a great variety of individuals. Armed with these, he entered upon a brief but distinguished career. He states himself to have received during a year and a half, the revenues of a commandery of St. Jago, amounting to 3000 ducats annually, on the credit of fictitious titles, and to have accumulated, by his different forgeries, not less than 360,000 ducats. His master-stroke was a bold scheme, it must be confessed, and manifested some genius in its way: it was no less than to pass himself as a cardinal, sent by the Pope to Portugal as a legate *a latere*, for the regulation of the Inquisition. He partially succeeded, and in the course of a visitation through the kingdom, realized handsome sums of money. He seems to have conducted himself with admirable impudence and self-possession; but retaining his honours too long, and neglecting to abscond in time, he fell from his 'pride of place' into the fangs of the Inquisition: he was sentenced to the galleys, and remained there for nineteen years, but was at length liberated. The establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal has been attributed to this impostor, but Llorente, in a brief and clear investigation, has made it appear that it was previously in existence. Under the seven years' presidency of Tabera, the Inquisition of Spain consigned, on a low calculation, 840 persons to the flames, while about half that number were burned in effigy, and 5460 variously punished.

The reign of Philip II. was the most flourishing period of Inquisitorial domination. The Holy Office was less sweeping in its proscriptions, and less multitudinous in its massacres; but its influence was more extensively established, and its chains more firmly rivetted. The spirit of liberty of which Spanish feeling had once been so largely participant, was broken down by the continual and exhausting pressure of civil and ecclesiastical encroachment; and Philip was not disposed to let slip any opportunity of confirming his power. Charles V. though he had

shews himself to be little under the restraints of principle or humanity when they interfered with his schemes, was, in comparison with his successor, a man of honour, mercy, and liberality; and his frequent and protracted absences from Spain, had, in some degree, lessened the oppression of his rule. But Philip was restricted by none of these controling causes. Bigoted and unrelenting, he exercised an unyielding despotism over the consciences of men: sullen and suspicious, he supported the Inquisition both as a system of terror, repelling innovation and deterring opposition, and as a political engine enabling him to put aside, without inconvenient publicity, the objects of his distrust. Nominally, at least, the forms of Inquisitorial judicature underwent some improvement, and the ordinances of the Grand Inquisitor Valdes, offer the semblance of some regard to fairness and equity in the treatment of the prisoner; but the system was in no point substantially altered: the same mockery of justice, the same wanton infliction of suffering, marked the proceedings of this sanguinary tribunal. Lutheranism and the doctrines of the Reformation, attracted its main hostility: they had forced their way even into Spain, and at Valladolid and Seville, found active propagators; but their opponents were resolute and remorseless in counteraction, and many of the most pious and learned men in Spain perished either in prison or in the flames.

It was during the long reign of Philip, from 1556 to 1598, that the persecutions of Carranza and Antonio Perez took place, the events of whose story occupy a considerable space, and furnish some interesting details in Llorente's third volume. The first of these was a man of exemplary character and respectable talents: he was employed in many important ecclesiastical offices, and was nominated professor of theology in the college of St. Gregory at Valladolid; he was employed by the Inquisition as a sort of assistant counsellor, and was occasionally appointed to preach at the *autos da fé*. In 1545, he was sent by Charles V. to the Council of Trent; in 1548, he was nominated to the post of confessor to Philip II. then prince of the Asturias, but declined it from motives of humility; in 1554, he accompanied Philip to England, and exerted himself with no small activity in converting and punishing heretics; and at length, he was made, notwithstanding a most sturdy *nolo episcopari*, archbishop of Toledo. He had, however, enemies who were jealous of his reputation and success, and they succeeded in embittering his latter years by calumny and persecution. The Holy Office took cognizance of a number of frivolous accusations against him; affected to find heretical propositions in a catechism of which he was the author, and paid no regard to his firm and repeated protestations of innocence and orthodoxy. When it was intimated to him, that heresy was part of his accu-

sation, he replied: 'Unless it has crept, unknown to me, up 'the sleeve of my coat, I am, thank God, innocent of anything 'approaching to that crime; I shall let things take their course.' One of the charges against him, alleged, that having engaged in a public dispute with certain Lutherans, he had subsequently said, 'I never felt myself so much embarrassed as to day; that 'Lutheran, who is but a layman, knows more of the Scriptures 'than I do.' The various depositions during his process, are minutely and interestingly abstracted by Llorente, and afford the clearest evidence of the foul and malignant motives by which the Inquisitors were actuated: they listened eagerly to the most vague and unmeaning communications; put on judicial record the small talk of his table; and received as valid depositions, the mere gossiping hearsay of persons who had never exchanged a syllable with him. At length, he was put under arrest, and confined in an inconvenient part of a house belonging, not to the Inquisition, but to an individual; here he was examined, but conducted his defence with such firmness and ability, as to confound his adversaries. His imprisonment excited a strong and general sensation. The Council of Trent, then sitting, voted a formal approbation of his catechism, which had been inserted by the Inquisitors in their *Index expurgatorius;* and the official defenders of Carranza addressed an admirable and high-spirited remonstrance to Philip in his behalf. But the passions and pride of that despot seem to have been completely roused, and he left no effort untried to procure the ruin of the archbishop. By dint of bribery and misrepresentation, he obtained from Pius IV., that the trial should proceed in Spain, and a legate was nominated for that purpose; but Pius V., better informed, rescinded the concession of his predecessor, compelled the lingering obstinacy of Philip to give way on pain of excommunication and interdict, and displaced Valdes, the enemy of Carranza, from the office of Inquisitor-general. Still, every possible delay was interposed, and it was not until he had suffered a detention of seven years, three months, and fourteen days, that he was permitted to leave Valladolid. The chapter of Toledo, to the immortal honour of the ecclesiastics who composed it, had never deserted the cause of its archbishop, and two of its members attended him to Rome. Here he was placed in confinement, it is true, but it was in a prison which we ourselves should not be sorry to tenant, for a time at least: he inhabited the apartments allotted to the Popes themselves in the castle of St. Angelo, with ample space for exercise, and a magnificent prospect around him, of 'the eternal city,' the Tiber, and the Campagna. A series of the most disgusting intrigues now took place; and during the process, Pius died, with some suspicion of poison. His successor gave way to Philip by pronouncing Carranza partially guilty, and by imposing on him a nominal penance.

The narrative of Antonio Perez is full of valuable matter, and much light is thrown on it in connexion with the general state of Spain, by Llorente; but as it belongs somewhat more to the history of the State, than to that of the Inquisition, and as it has already been frequently published in its principal circumstances, we shall pass it by. A very interesting and sufficiently accurate account of it will be found among the valuable tracts of Michael Geddes.

For the same reasons, in part, we shall be brief in adverting to that portion of these collections, which relates to the character and history of the Infant of Spain, Don Carlos of Austria. The story of this wretched prince has been falsified in all its parts, by St. Real and others, who were more anxious for the interest of their narrative than for its truth. Their hero was adorned by them with the various graces of person, mind, and disposition; and the romance was heightened by the introduction of a pathetic episode, in which his hapless attachment to the princess of France, her fond return of his affection, and his father's successful rivalry, with the subsequent detection of their mutual though virtuous flame, the death of the heroine by poison, the consignment of the prince to the tender mercies of the Inquisition, and his 'last dying speech and confession,' make as conspicuous a figure as the most touching distresses of a modern novel. All this, Llorente demolishes by the surest of historical tests,—a reference to dates and documents: he makes it appear that Carlos was weak, capricious, violent, and altogether unfit to reign; that all these defects of character were increased to an intolerable excess, by the effects of a fall which injured his spine and skull; that he had repeatedly threatened the lives of others, and attempted to assassinate the duke of Alba; and that he was actively engaged in dangerous intrigues. He was consequently placed under arrest, by an order of the Council of State; illness, the result of rage and despair, supervened; and his death, with very shrewd suspicions of poison, took place in July, 1568. Elizabeth, queen of Spain, died in October, of the effects of a premature delivery.

The principal event which marked the history of the Inquisition, in the reign of Philip III. was the impolitic expulsion of the Moriscoes, in which its chiefs took an active share, and succeeded in depriving Spain of not less than a million of her most useful and industrious inhabitants. In the *auto* of November, 1610, the Inquisitors of Lagrogno brought forward, not for death, but for severe penance, a considerable assortment of dabblers in the black art; and a number of disgusting details are given of the manner in which these wretches were compelled to describe themselves as carrying on their commerce with the Evil Being. This reign, and that of Philip IV. are passed over by

the Historian rather cursorily. He promises a fourth volume, with an Index and an Appendix, in which the narrative shall be continued to the present time.

Such is a general outline of the history of the Inquisition; a tribunal of which the establishment was the grossest outrage ever offered to reason, religion, and right feeling. We have not, in this place, entered into a minute description of the various modes in which it inflicted personal suffering, because they are of common notoriety; neither have we been solicitous to analyse the different processes which it employed in its visitations of individuals, since they have often been described with competent accuracy, though never with so much precision and detail as in the present volumes. Faithless in all its proceedings, relentless in its persecutions, bent sternly on the condemnation of its victims, this ferocious tribunal refused all the means of establishing innocence, and pushed on its trials through the different stages of deception, privation, terror, and torture, to their termination in a sentence to agonizing death. A remarkable proof of its remorseless tenacity in retaining even its most atrocious usages, is to be found in the infernal ingenuity with which its directors evaded the law which prohibited them from administering torture more than once. When the accused had sustained his allotted term of agony without making the desired confession, the Inquisitors present sent him back to his dungeon with the official intimation that the further application of the torture was *suspended!* Nor was the spirit of 'the bloody tribunal,' meliorated by time, though its practice was necessarily altered by the improvement of the public mind. Llorente is guarded upon this point, but enough appears to shew, that though the treatment of prisoners was in many respects bettered, and public executions no more tolerated, yet that the machinery of the Institution was carefully preserved, and that a favourable opportunity of reviving its energies would not have been let slip. So late as 1791, an unfortunate Frenchman was confined in the prisons of the Inquisition; and though we are persuaded that much is kept back, it plainly appears that he was treated with so much treachery and inhumanity, as to drive him to the commission of suicide.

After the preceding remarks, it cannot be necessary for us to say more in commendation of the work before us, than that we have been deeply interested by these volumes, and that we regard them as by far the most valuable existing collection of documents on the subject of which they treat.

ART. VI. *The Autumnal Excursion*, or Sketches in Teviotdale: with other Poems. By Thomas Pringle. 12mo pp. 136. 1819.

WE have not seen any descriptive poem since Dr. Leyden's "Scenes of Infancy," that has pleased us much better than the leading piece in this little volume. Its Author is evidently a young poet, but he possesses a delicate and cultivated mind. Born in a part of our Island distinguished by its romantic scenery, his earliest associations have been favourable to the love of poetry, while he appears to be in no small degree indebted to a good classical education for the formation of a correct taste. We do not mean to characterise the volume as containing specimens of first-rate excellence. Mr. Pringle's productions are not marked by force or brilliancy, so much as by delicacy and tenderness. The thoughts, though seldom original, are never unpoetical, and are expressed, we think, in language always appropriate, and versification sufficiently melodious.

The scenes of the 'Autumnal Excursion' are those of the Author's infancy;

> 'The scented heath, the sheafy vale,
> The hills and streams of Teviotdale.'

'The district of Teviotdale (we give Dr. Leyden's description) takes its name from the river Teviot, which rises in an elevated mountainous tract in the south of Scotland, from a rude rock, termed the Teviot-stone, descends through a beautiful pastoral dale, and falls into the Tweed at Kelso. The vale of the river is above 30 miles in length, and comprehends every variety of wild, picturesque, and beautiful scenery. The first part of its course is confined and overshadowed by abrupt and savage hills, diversified with smooth, green declivities, and fantastic copses of natural wood. Beneath Hawick, the vale opens, and several beautiful mountain-streams fall into the river. As the stream approaches the Tweed, the scenery becomes gradually softer, and, in the vicinity of Kelso, rivals the beauty of an Italian landscape. The inhabitants of this frontier district, inured to war from their infancy, had, at an early period of Scottish history, attained a high military reputation. They devoted themselves to the life of the predatory warrior, and the shepherd; and the intervals of their incursions were often employed in celebrating their martial exploits. Hence this district became the very cradle of Scottish song, in every variety of melody, from the harsh, and simple, but energetic, war-songs of the Liddisdale borderers, to the soft and pathetic love-strains of the bank of the Tweed.'

Such is the country through part of which the 'Autumnal Excursion' is supposed to be made. We present our readers an extract in which the Poet alludes to the persecutions of the

covenanters in Scotland, when Grahame, of Claverhouse, made himself so odiously conspicuous, whose conduct and character have lately become, in consequence of a very certain popular novel, the subject of much warm discussion.

'Far inland, where the mountain crest
O'erlooks the waters of the west,
And, 'midst the moorland wilderness,
Dark moss-cleughs form a drear recess,
Curtain'd with ceaseless mists, which feed
The sources of the Clyde and Tweed,—
There injur'd Scotland's patriot band
For Faith and Freedom made their stand;
When traitor Kings, who basely sold
Their country's fame for Gallic gold,—
Too abject o'er the free to reign,—
Warn'd by a Father's fate in vain,—
In bigot fury trampled down
The race to whom they owed their crown.
There, worthy of his masters, came
The despot's champion, *Bloody Grahame*,
To stain for aye a warrior's sword,
And lead a fierce, though fawning horde,
The human bloodhounds of the earth,
To hunt the peasant from his hearth!
—Tyrants! could not misfortune teach
That man has rights beyond your reach?
Thought ye the torture and the stake
Could that intrepid spirit break,
Which even in woman's breast withstood
The terrors of the fire and flood!—

'Yes—though the sceptic's tongue deride
Those martyrs who for conscience died;
Though modish history blight their fame,
And sneering courtiers hoot the name
Of men who dar'd alone be free
Amidst a nations slavery;
Yet long for them the poet's lyre
Shall breathe its notes of heavenly fire;
Their names shall nerve the patriot's hand
Uprais'd to save a sinking land;
And piety shall learn to burn
With holier transport o'er their urn!—
* * * * * * *

How lovely seems the simple vale
Where lives our sires' heroic tale!
Where the wild pass and mountain flood,
Hallow'd by dying patriot's blood,—
The rocky cavern, once his tent,
And now his deathless monument,—
Rehearse to memory's kindling thought,
What Faith inspir'd and Valour wrought!—

Oh, ne'er shall he, whose ardent prime
Was foster'd in the freeman's clime,
Though doom'd to seek a distant strand,
Forget his glorious native land!—pp. 10—13.

We recommend to the attention of our readers the Notes on the above extract at the end of the volume.

The dream of past times restored, is well painted in the following lines:

'Even now, far distant fancy leads
Through twilight groves and blooming meads,
And, lovely in the hues of truth,
Restores the scenes—the friends of youth!
I hear their voices on the breeze,
While, walking by the hedge-row trees,
I weave my blissful reveries!
—I see the dusky track afar,
Where, lighted by the evening star,
I sought that home of youthful love.
The balmy west-wind stirs the grove,
And waves the blossom'd eglantine,
I taught around its porch to twine;—
The sire—the friendly band I see—
They rise with smiles to welcome me!—
—Again, sweet Fancy's dream is gone,
And midst the wild I walk alone!'—p. 41.

'Of the Miscellaneous Pieces,' the Author says, 'the greater part are also early productions,—composed amid the scenes they describe, to amuse the Summer solitude of College vacations.' They consist of brief effusions on various subjects, and in various measures, among which we think there are not a few favourable specimens of lyric writing. His songs, in general, are well conceived, and characterized by chasteness and sweetness of expression. To justify, in some degree, the favourable opinion we have passed, we give our readers

'THE WREATH.'

'I sought the garden's gay parterre
To cull a wreath for Mary's hair;
And thought I surely here might find
Some emblem of her lovely mind;
Where taste displays the varied bloom
Of Flora's beauteous drawing-room.
'And, first, of peerless form and hue,
The stately Lily caught my view,
Fair bending from her graceful stem
Like Queen with regal diadem;
But, though I view'd her with delight,
She seem'd too much to woo the sight—
A fashionable belle—to shine
In some more courtly Wreath than mine.

'I turn'd and saw a tempting row
Of flaunting Tulips full in blow,
But left them with their gaudy dyes
To Nature's beaux—the butterflies.

'Bewilder'd 'mid a thousand hues
Still harder grew the task to chuse:
Here, delicate Carnations beat
Their heads in lovely languishment,—
Much as a pensive Miss expresses,
With neck declin'd, her soft distresses!
There, gay Jonquilles in foppish pride
Stood by the Painted Lady's side,
And Hollyhocks superbly tall
Beside the Crown-Imperial:
But still, midst all this gorgeous glow
Seem'd less of sweetness than of show;
While close beside, in warning grew
The allegoric *Thyme* and *Rue*.

'There, too, stood that fair-weather Flower,
Which, faithful still in *sunshine*, hour
With fervent adoration turns
Its breast where golden Phœbus burns—
Base symbol (which I scorn'd to lift)
Of friends that change as fortunes shift!

'Tir'd of the search, I bent my way
Where Teviot's haunted waters stray;
And from the wild-flowers of the grove
I fram'd a garland for my love.
The slender circlet first to twine
I pluck'd the rambling Eglantine,
That deck'd the cliff in clusters free,
As sportive and as sweet as she;
I stole the Violet from the brook,
Though hid, like her, in shady nook,
And wove it with the Mountain Thyme,
The myrtle of our stormy clime.
The Hare-bell look'd like Mary's eye,
The Blush-Rose breath'd her tender sigh,
And Daisies, bath'd in dew, exprest
Her innocent and gentle breast.

'And, now, my Mary's brow to braid,
This chaplet in her bower is laid,
A fragrant Emblem, fresh and wild,
Of simple Nature's sweetest Child.'

Art. VII. 1. *The Voice of Royal Bereavements.* A Sermon preached in the Protestant Dissenting Meeting House, Battersea, Feb. 16, 1820. By Joseph Hughes, A. M. 8vo. pp. 36. Price 1s. 6d.

2. *A Sermon* preached in the Parish Church of Harrow on the Hill, on Feb. 6, 1820, on the Death of His Most Gracious Majesty George the Third. By J. W. Cunningham, M. A. Vicar of Harrow, &c. 8vo. pp. 28.

MR. HUGHES has so rarely appeared before the public in the character of an Author, although, as one of the co-secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, his admirably appropriate talents as a public speaker have made him known in every part of the kingdom, that in making our selection of the Sermons which have been published on the occasion of the demise of our late venerable monarch, his would seem entitled to what will not be thought an invidious preference. Perfectly distinct, and we might add for the most part incompatible, as are the qualifications of the preacher or the secular orator, and those of the writer, we should not expect to find in a fugitive composition of the kind before us, any thing above a certain elegant correctness of style, and a dignified propriety of sentiment. It is by these qualities, perhaps, that Mr. Hughes's extemporaneous addresses are most prominently characterised,—qualities which, if they do not come up to the full idea of eloquence, are not less rare nor less valuable in the advocate of such a cause as that to which Mr. Hughes has devoted himself, than the utmost impetuosity of a luxuriant imagination. In a written discourse, it would have been very excusable had we found them carried to the extreme of a *frigorific* nicety. But this is not the effect which the present discourse will have upon the reader. It is far from being deficient in feeling or animation; while the style is perfectly chaste, and the sentiments strictly appropriate to the occasion. It has all Mr. Hughes's calmness of manner, the calmness of unaffected good sense; but this is carefully rescued from becoming tame. Altogether, we consider it as one of the very best *occasional* sermons which have come before us

The Preacher takes his motto from Jer. ix. 21. "Death is "come up into our windows, and is entered into our palaces." And first he adverts to the loss which society at large has sustained in the sudden death of H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, upon whom he pronounces a warm but not less just eulogy.

'In him the cause of civil and religious freedom was blessed with an intelligent and zealous advocate. Towards the various schemes

of benevolence, fostered all around with such commendable assiduity, he evinced a friendly disposition. If, however, it were required of me to specify the cases in which his joy and pleading energies beamed forth with more than wonted lustre, I should be supported by those of you who witnessed his public career, in referring to those Institutions on behalf of which our countrymen, abstaining from allusions, political or theological, of a discordant nature, were seen associating their counsels, their pecuniary means, and their general influence, for the benefit, sometimes of a neighbourhood, sometimes of a nation, and sometimes of a world. You will, therefore, readily and justly presume, that *The British and Foreign School Society*, and *The British and Foreign Bible Society*, were his favourites. He cherished the former, as offering to the children of the poor an opportunity of learning to read; he cherished the latter, as disclosing and conveying to the educated poor, whether children or parents, the treasures of divine revelation; he was attached to the proceedings, and he exulted in the success, of both, as exhibiting common ground benignantly and advantageously occupied by the pious and humane of all ranks and of all parties. Few things were so revolting to his generous mind as selfishness, bigotry, and a systematic purpose to restrict within a mere section of the Christian church, or the globe, privileges, which, flowing down, not from an earthly partisan, but from our heavenly Father, were meant for universal circulation. Yet, to show how remote he was from the latitudinarianism often charged on liberal principles, it may not be unsuitable to inform you, that, the last time I had the privilege of intercourse with him, he expressed great satisfaction in the prospect of a measure then contemplated by himself and a few other patrons of education, which, if accomplished, besides perpetuating in the schools the use of the Holy Scriptures, would furnish the children with Catechetical instruction—regulated, of course, so as not to interfere with the convictions and scruples of their respective parents. Whether the project will be extensively tried, or abandoned; and whether, if tried, it will, without deteriorating the constitution of *The British and Foreign School Society*, convert objectors into advocates, or leave them, for the most part, objectors still; His Royal Highness's sanction and benevolent hope demonstrate that his endeavours to provide schools for all, did not imply the sacrifice of truth on the altar of indifference, or the opinion, that to introduce human formularies, is to bar an ultimate appeal to the oracles of God.'

Mr. Hughes expresses himself with most exemplary caution on the subject of his Royal Highness's views and impressions as an expectant of immortality, when he arrived at its confines. Aware that by some persons his language will be thought more than sufficiently guarded, he adds:

'I feel assured, that, could the voice of him whom the statement regards, be rendered audible in this assembly, his voice, from whatever region of the universe it might proceed, would proclaim my for-

givenness, or rather, my full acquittal. The colourings of hope, in their application to the dead, are, probably, much oftener chargeable with excess than with defect; and, while, in neither case, can they alter the condition of the dead, it is to be feared, that, in the former case, they are incalculably prejudicial to the living—whom they dazzle into a confidence, that, whether their characters be exemplary, or dubious, or flagrantly bad, death will elicit the encomiums of men, and surround them with the congratulations of angels.

'On the other hand, we should recollect, that the spiritual disadvantages of a prince are neither few nor small. To say nothing of the homage invariably paid him, and of that pomp whose glare so often conceals from him his obligations and his interests—how easily may he avoid listening to the accents of evangelical truth, as they fall from the lips of those who, experiencing its renovating influence, are intent on the eternal welfare of all around them; and how seldom is wholesome advice poured into his ear, or "pure and undefiled religion" exemplified before his eye! The elements of his grandeur conspire against his salvation.

'Let inferior and even indigent mortals, when regretting, the former their obscurity, the latter their privations, consider this; that they may learn to oppose the first risings of discontent, and even to be thankful that God has assigned to them the humble vale—a spot favourable to the growth of righteousness and peace. I may also suggest, that the most candid conclusions which the Scriptures, fairly interpreted, will support, should be eagerly drawn in favour of such as must encounter the perils of worldly elevation.' p. 9, 10.

In the same spirit of affectionate but chastened loyalty, the Preacher proceeds to delineate the character of our late sovereign, adverting to 'his regular habits, his temperance, his conjugal 'fidelity, his paternal tenderness,'—describing him as 'frank, 'sincere, affable, and benign, a patron of the arts, a "lover 'of good men," a firm believer in the Bible, and a constant fre-'quenter of the sanctuary.'

'The fact is familiar, that many subordinate situations about the court were filled by persons of undoubted piety; that his majesty set a high value upon such persons; that he occasionally conferred with them on the subject of their distinguishing sentiments; that he was uniformly indulgent to their peculiarities; and that, according to their testimony, he deserved to be revered as an humble disciple of the Divine Redeemer.'

'As for his official capacities, the administrations which he framed or dissolved, the wars which he levied or concluded, the territories which he lost or acquired, and all those mighty movements which, within the last forty years, have convulsed Europe, and astonished the world; I attempt no discussion, I adduce no document, no conjecture, no opinion. My province is not that of a politician; I should never be at home, never at ease, there. Thoughts, indeed, will naturally arise on such subjects, which it were fastidious and absurd to banish from our social intercourse. But, sensible that, *every where*, the disciple of Him whose kingdom is not of this world, must guard

against secularity, animosity, sycophancy, faction, and that political interference which lays the mind open to them all; I feel, more especially, concerned never to be chargeable with such interference *here*, or indeed to dilate on any topic, or manifest any temper, which would disappoint the holy wishes of a Christian congregation, or violate the awful engagements of a Christian minister.

'At the same time, a discourse professedly applicable, as far as religious considerations admit, to an event so serious and affecting as that of a sovereign's demise, would be palpably deficient, if it took no cognizance of the principal transactions of his reign; whether those transactions respect the laws of the kingdom or the deeds of its inhabitants, such omission would, in the present instance, be the more inexcusable, as the period under review may, on various accounts, be deemed both important and illustrious.' pp. 12, 13.

The points to which Mr. Hughes directs the attention of his audience, are judiciously selected. He reminds them that it was during the late reign, that our judges were rendered independent of the crown by being fixed in their office for life; that the term of military service was limited; that the privileges of dissenters from the established church were extended, the execrable slave trade was abolished, and 'public munificence burst forth, in the 'form of voluntary associations, with unprecedented ardour.' These are adverted to as furnishing matter for gratitude, rather than as the materials for panegyric, for which they would not in all respects constitute a legitimate occasion. With regard, however, to one of the particulars—the enlargement of the privileges enjoyed by Protestant Dissenters, the Preacher feels himself called upon 'as a sharer in those privileges,' to offer a fuller acknowledgment of that 'righteous, gracious, and seasona-'ble measure.' After a very temperate assertion of the right of private judgement in the matter of religion, Mr. Hughes vindicates the introduction of the topic, as strictly relevant to the occasion, and then adds:

'Through the mercy of Him in whose hands are the hearts of kings, we, and our immediate progenitors, have reposed beneath the protection of a sceptre wisely and justly swayed. If every reasonable desire is not gratified; if, according to our conceptions, and to those of many connected with all the Christian communities in Britain, certain statutes are still in force, which frown upon individuals of whom the world is not worthy, injure the public service, and desecrate a sacred ordinance; and if the hard name of *schismatic* is sometimes applied to men, who, amidst the separate inclosures into which a sense of duty urges them, keep "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,"—it still becomes us joyfully to hail the progress, here and there observable, of more liberal sentiments, and gratefully to embrace the opportunities awarded to us, of worshipping God agreeably to our convictions—none making us afraid.

'I cannot state this, without reminding those who, in common with myself, have peculiar reason to dwell on the circumstance, that, at a very recent period, soon after recovering from the apprehension of losing a part of what had been conceded for ages, we received, without importuning, additional favour. The right of exercising the ministerial office among Protestant Dissenters, apart from legislative interference, was thrown more widely open; the crime of disturbing their assemblies was visited with heavier penalties; and thus, the numerous intimations which, for several preceding years, had floated through the realm, that formidable restrictions were preparing, subsided into a tranquility and a confidence which, I trust, will never be forfeited by abuses on the one hand, or broken up by unmerited severity on the other. Such things endear the memory of the sovereign during whose life they occurred, and who had, long before, signified, that there should be no persecution in his reign. Well might he say so, on the ground of equity and enlightened policy; and it peculiarly befitted him to say so in reference to a class of subjects, whose ancestors contributed their utmost efforts towards raising his illustrious family to the throne, and who, subsequently, reasoned, and prayed, and expended their treasure and their blood, for the protection of that throne from the attack of popish usurpers.' pp. 20, 21.

The remainder of the Discourse is occupied with a very striking application of the solemn lesson which the general subject of mortality supplies. We must make room for the concluding paragraphs.

'I entreat you, my hearers, to give timely heed to the counsels of the Bible, and to all that is taught you, when you hear another and yet another cry from the beds of the dying and the sepulchres of the dead. Sharing in the solemnity which now pervades, or ought to pervade, the nation, be it yours to derive everlasting benefit from the awakening occasion. Royal personages have been smitten, but you are spared. If the stroke had fallen on you, what would have been your present condition? Does the appeal offend you? "Far from it," (I feel persuaded,) is your unanimous reply. You know that the appeal is at once important and seasonable. If you cannot meet it with cheerful decision, how deep should your solicitude be, how urgent your inquiries, how serious and firm your resolutions! Fain would I lead every wish, and hope, and thought, within you, to Jesus Christ. "There is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." From this day, from this hour, may He enthrone himself in your Hearts, and enrich you with the inheritance of his "exceeding great and precious promises." May the Teacher, Sanctifier, and Comforter of his church, be with you all. Thus will you draw attention to the claims of the gospel; confer the advantages of a high example; and, nature having in vain struggled awhile with the last enemy, sink down in the embraces of the best Friend—by him to be conducted, amidst the acclamations of the heavenly host, into the palace which neither death, nor sorrow, nor sin, can for one moment enter.' pp. 29, 30.

'Refrain, O Christian, from lamenting, that you, and the other

members of the household of faith, are forbidden to live always here. What charms can the music and the poetry of the earth have for beings invited to hear the hymns and the harps of heaven? What comparison can be made between the tenderest friendship which entwines one human heart with another, and "the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge;" or between the accumulation of all which mortals, formed into one vast confederacy on your behalf, can bestow, and the everlasting vision of "Him who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think?" You may easily dispense with terrestrial riches, dignities, and indulgences, when the great Inhabitant of eternity says, "Come up hither." And with your last breathings, you may bid a calm farewell to the saints that weep in your chamber—those kindred spirits whom you will soon rejoin above; and it will be yours to welcome the roaring of the floods and the tempests which shall but hurry you forward into "glory, honour, and immortality." ' pp. 30, 31.

Mr. Cunningham's Sermon, although of a rather more decidedly political complexion, is of an impressive and useful character, and not unworthy of the Author's high reputation. His loyalty, however, in some passages carries him to the very confines of poetry. Speaking of the decease of the King, he says: 'There is scarcely any man who does not feel that a '*void is created in his own heart*, which he cannot easily fill.' Although warned of the event by a succession of sad circumstances, yet, he adds, 'we were still unprepared for it.'

'We part with the sovereign of our hearts, and the friend of our youth reluctantly; and, even in his upward flight, like the prophet watching the ascent of his brother prophet, we cannot resist exclaiming, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!"'

We will not say any thing more of this accommodation of Scripture, than that it is in bad taste. The Preacher proceeds to offer some observations, (1) on the personal character of our deceased sovereign; (2) on the influence of his character on the moral state of the country; and (3) on the duties connected with the present crisis.

Mr. Cunningham justly remarks that few British sovereigns ever engaged so large a share of the affections of the people as his late Majesty, and he attributes this popularity to the circumstance of his possessing a character so essentially and minutely *British*. He was, in the first place, eminently *simple* in his pursuits; he was conspicuous for his *sincerity*, for his *constancy and fidelity* to his friends, and not less so for *personal decision and magnanimity*; he was in the highest degree *domestic* in his character; and, with regard to the moral qualities of his mind, *deeply conscientious*, and 'a man of *scriptural*, *habitual*, '*practical piety*.'

With regard to the conscientiousness of our venerable sovereign, Mr. Cunningham is fully borne out in the strongest language he employs.

'He is well known, for instance, to have declared with regard to certain political concessions demanded of him, that "he would rather lay his head on the block, than concede that which he conceived himself bound by his oath to his country to refuse." And on the spirit of this splendid declaration, he appears habitually to have acted. Where is the solitary instance in which he sacrificed conscience to interest, to terror, or to persuasion? When did he trifle with his oath to God, or his pledges to the country? Politicians may differ as to the decisions to which his conscience conducted him; but none are rash or wicked enough to charge him with evasion—with a spirit of compromise—with a surrender of right to expedience—with giving his conscience into the keeping of his interest—with endeavouring to twist the straight letter of the word of God, or the stubborn maxims of common equity into all the crooks and windings of state policy.' p. 13.

Under the second division of his subject, Mr. Cunningham introduces the following gratulatory reference to the progress which has been made in the moral feelings and energies of the middle and lower classes. Whether he quite makes out his point as to this advancement being mainly attributable to the example and influence of our late Sovereign, 'next to the grace 'and power of the Holy Spirit,' we will not too nicely scrutinize, lest we should seem to be insensible to the high importance of his exemplary private character, which we are far from undervaluing. We are glad to receive from Mr. Cunningham such a testimony to the improved disposition of the poor.

'I shall next direct your attention to the *middle classes* of society. The existence of a large body of individuals, occupying a central point between the extreme ranks of society, is one of the valuable peculiarities in our national condition. And the moral state of the country is in a great degree determined by the condition of this particular body. But it may be confidently affirmed, that at no period did this class comprehend as large a number of devout, intelligent, and benevolent men, as at the present moment. It is by this class of individuals that our churches are filled, that our charitable institutions are chiefly managed, that those funds are mainly sustained. There is also this new feature in the moral state of the nation: Formerly, if some wise or benevolent individual projected a scheme for improving the religious or moral condition of society, it perished, with its projector, for want of some atmosphere in the nation at large suited to its development. *Now*, the inventor of any such scheme finds his agents and abettors every where—ample funds at his disposal; and the public mind almost anticipating his most sanguine desires. The recent reform in Newgate and other prisons, if it owe much to the distinguished individuals who projected it, stands also deeply indebted to general sympathy, to a concurrent feeling in the great mass of the

people, to that eager spirit of philanthropy which characterizes the improved period in which we live. No fact can more decisively mark the progress of national character.

'Nor have the *poor* of our country fallen behind in the race of general improvement. I am not speaking as though crime were extinct, or as though a real and deep feeling of religion generally prevailed. But our schools and our places of worship are more crowded; and the haunts of profligacy are less frequented. And, if the pressure of the last few years, by throwing a large number of individuals out of employment, has increased for a time the number of petty offences; if the devilish arts of popular demagogues has succeeded in seducing a few from the banner of sound religion and loyalty, yet the number of ferocious crimes has considerably diminished, sin has assumed a less hideous form, and the great mass of the community has never, perhaps, been so strongly impregnated with a spirit of genuine religion as at the present moment. God has given the word, and great is the number of those who proclaim the principles of truth: vast also is the multitude who welcome the "glad tidings," who bring their sins and their sorrows to the cross of a compassionate Redeemer, and who, consecrated to his holy happy service, break from the bondage of corruption, and rejoice in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. The progress of religion and of morals among the poor, within the last half century, is, I believe, a matter of astonishment and gratitude to those, who, by their age and circumstances, have been best able to measure it. Religion has stretched the cords and widened the stakes of her tent. And, struck with the unusual progress, not a few ardent spirits are tempted to conceive that the pledges of prophecy are about instantly to be fulfilled, and her golden visions realized: and that soon this worn-out world shall be swept away, and that "new heaven and new earth" created, "wherein dwelleth righteousness." It is sufficient for the calmer observer to watch the present advancement with delight and gratitude to the Great Author of it, without venturing to predict any thing as to the future.'

pp. 20—23.

*** *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the* Eclectic Review, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Art. VIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Louis Buonaparte's History of his reign in Holland, will be published in a few days.

The Travels in England, Wales, and Scotland in the year 1816, of Dr. Spiker, Librarian to his Majesty the King of Prussia, have been translated from the German; and will be published in the course of the ensuing month.

Also, a System of Education intended for the King of Rome and other Princes of the Blood of France, drawn up by the Imperial Council of State, under the personal superintendence of the Emperor Napoleon, and finally approved by him. This extraordinary production was found in the Cabinet of Napoleon at St. Cloud. It is printing in French *verbatim*, with an English translation, and will be ornamented with a beautiful portrait of the Son of Napoleon, engraving by Wright, from a fine original minature painting by Isabey.

The Rev. Dr. Evans, of Islington, has on the eve of publication, The Welsh Nonconformist Memorial; or, Cambro-british Biography: containing Sketches of Vavasor Powell, and other founders of the Dissenting Interest in Wales. With an Essay on Druidism, by the late W. Richards, LL.D. of Lynn.

Mr. Fraser's Travels in the Himala Mountains, are nearly ready for publication.

Nearly ready for publication, Dialogues, Moral and Religious, intended chiefly for the domestic use of young persons in the middle ranks of life, and for their reading in schools, in one Volume, 12mo.

In the press, Early Education, or the general Management of Children, considered with a view to their future character. By Elizabeth Appleton, author of Private Education, &c. in one Volume, 12mo.

The Rev. H. Card, vicar of Great Malvern, M.R. F.R.S. has in the press, a Third and enlarged edition of his Essay on the Sacrament, or a Refutation of the Headlyan Scheme of it.

Mr. Murray's "Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia," which has been for some time announced, will make its appearance in the course of this month. The object of this work, as of that on Africa, is to comprise, within a moderate compass, whatever is most important and amusing in the narratives of the various travellers, who have visited this extensive quarter of the globe. Besides the best works of known and standard travellers, the author has introduced a considerable number, which, as they exist only in the less known European languages, or in the MSS. of our public libraries, may probably be new to the English reader. Among these may be mentioned, Clavijo's Embassy to Timur in 1404—Andrada's Passage of the Himmaleh in 1624—Don Garcia de Sylva's Embassy to the Court of Shah Abbas in 1618—Sir Thomas Grantham's Voyage in the Indian Seas in 1683-4—Proceedings of the Portuguese Missionaries in Idia and Japan, (from the great works of Gusman, Nieremberg, the *Oriente Conquistado*, &c.) —MS. Reports to the Senate of Venice, on various countries of the East; and narratives relative to Asiatic Russia, from the German collections of Pallas and Muller. The whole will be accompanied with geographical and historical illustrations of the past and present state of the continent.

Select Biography. Under the above Title it is proposed to publish Monthly, at a moderate price, in a convenient and uniform size, after the manner of Sharpe's Classics and the Percy Anecdotes, a Selection of the most approved Pieces of Biography extant in the English Language. A few notes will be added where fresh information can be given. A specimen will be ready on the first of May next. The Life of Hugh Latimer, with a portrait, 18mo, 2s. 6d. Among the lives intended to be brought forward are the following: Cavendish's Life of Wolsey; Life of Sir T. More, by his Son-in-law, Roper; Gilpin's Lives

of Wicliff, Latimer, Cranmer, and Bernard Gilpin; Walton's Lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, Herbert, Sanderson, and his own Life by Dr. Zouch; Lives of Bishops Newton and Pearce, written by themselves.

Preparing for the press, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, by James Grey Jackson, Professor of Arabic; late British Consul at Santa Cruz, in South Barbary; resident merchant upward of 16 years in a country where the Arabic is the vernacular language. No accurate Grammar of the Arabic Language has ever yet issued from the British Press! —It is extraordinary that the many professors of that bold and figurative language of the East, have never yet favoured the public with such a desirable work. An attempt will now be made, by the above author, to supply in England this deficiency in Oriental Literature.

Miss Joanna Baillie, it is said, is to receive 1000 guineas for a volume of Metrical Legends of exalted characters, to be published next season. The subjects are Sir William Wallace, Christopher Columbus, Rady Griselda Baillie, &c.

Mr. Ingram Cobbin is printing, Memorials of Royal Worth, containing a collection of Anecdotes of George III. and various tributes of grief on the death of the Duke of Kent.

G. B. Greenough, Esq. will soon publish, a Geological Map of England, accompanied by a Memoir; with an alphabetical index to the hills, and a list of the hills arranged according to the counties.

The Rev. Dr. Lant Carpenter has in the press, Principles of Education, intellectual, moral, moral, and physical, in an octavo volume.

The Rev. F. A. Cox will soon publish, Seasonable Advice to Youth on the Study of the Scriptures.

The Rev. Dr. Wm. Brown is printing, in two octavo volumes, The Antiquities of the Jews, compiled from authentic sources, and illustrated from modern travels.

The Rev. James Townley has in the press, an Introduction to the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of the Sacred Scriptures, in three octavo volumes, with plates.

Miss Holford will soon publish, Tales of the Priory, in three volumes.

Capt. Batty is printing in quarto, The Campaigns of the Allied Army, under the Duke of Wellington, in 1813-14, with a plan and twenty views.

Art. IX. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Wesley, and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s. with portraits.

Memoir of the late John Murray, jun. Published by Order of the Governors of the New York Hospital. 1s.

Memoir of the Rev. S. J. Mills, late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent to the Colonization Society, deputed to explore the coast of Africa. By G. Spring, D.D. 12mo. 4s.

The Converted Atheist, or a Narrative of the early life of a Reclaimed Infidel. Written by himself. Revised and edited by W. Roby. 6d.

EDUCATION.

Collectanea Græca Majora, ad usum Academicæ Juventutis Accommodata. Cum Notis Philologicis, quas Partim Collegit, Partim Scripsit Georgius Dunbar, A. M. Socius Regiæ Societatis Edinensis, et in Academia Jacobi VI. cotorum Regis Litt. Gr. Prof. Tomus III. Complectens Excerptaex Duobus Principibus Oratoribus et Variis Poetis, atque in Duas Partes Divisus. 8vo. 15s. bds.

An Introduction to Arithmetic, in which the primary rules are interspersed with a variety of biographical, historical and miscellaneous information. By Richard Chambers. 2s. bound.

The Mercantile Letter-Writer; or, Commercial Correspondent: containing a Series of Letters on Business, comprehending almost every Subject which occurs in the Counting-house, for the Use of Commercial Schools. With an Introduction; containing Remarks on the Style and Manner of Mercantile Letter-writing. By James Morrison, Accountant, Author of the Commercial Arithmetic, Elements of Book-keeping, &c. 12mo.

A Treatise of Geometry, containing the first Six Books of Euclid's Elements, methodically arranged, and concisely

demonstrated; together with the Elements of Solid Geometry. By D. Creswell, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 14s.

HISTORY.

The History of Greenland; including an account of the Mission carried on by the United Brethren in that country: from the German of David Crantz. With a continuation to the present Time; illustrative Notes; and an Appendix, containing a Sketch of the Mission of the Brethren in Labrador. A new Edition, with new maps and plates, 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

An Introduction to Modern History, from the Birth of Christ to the present Time. By the Rev. Jellard Hort. Printed uniformly with his Chronology and Ancient History. 2 vols. 18mo. 10s. 6d. bound.

An Historical Research concerning the most ancient Congregational Church in England; shewing the Claim of the Church worshipping in Union-street, Southwark, to that distinction. By B. Hanbury. 2s. *(See the Cover.)*

MEDICINE.

Cases of Tic Douloureux successfully Treated. By Benjamin Hutchinson, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London, &c. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Winter Nights. By Nathan Drake, M.D. Author of Literary Hours, an Essay on periodical Literature, and Shakspeare and his Times. 2 vols. post 8vo. 18s.

Letters from a Mother to her Daughter, at, or going to, school. Pointing out the Duties toward her Maker, her Governess, her School-fellows, and herself. By Mrs. J. A. Sargant. 18mo. 3s. bound.

Edward; or, the Pursuit of Happiness. 12mo. 6s. 6d.

Original Miscellanies, in Prose and Verse. By John Laurens Bicknell, F.A.S. 8vo. 9s.

The Orientalist; or Electioneering in Ireland: a Tale. 2 vols. 12mo. 15s.

POETRY.

The River Duddon, a Series of Sonnets; Vaudracour and Julia, with other Poems. By William Wordsworth. 8vo. 12s. boards.

*** This publication, together with Peter Bell, the Waggoner, and the Thanksgiving Ode, completes the third and last Volume of the Author's Miscellaneous Poems.

Trivial Poems and Triolets. By Patrick Carey, 20th August, 1651. Edited, with a Preface, by Walter Scott, Esq. 4to. 15s.—A very few copies are printed.

Zayda; a Spanish tale, in three cantos; and other poems. By Oscar. fcap. 8vo. 5s.

The Fall of Jerusalem, a Dramatic Poem. By H. H. Milman, M.A. Author of Fazio. 8vo. 8s. 6d.

The Comedies of Aristophanes, translated from the Greek, with numerous illustrative Notes. By Thomas Mitchell, A.M. late Fellow of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge. Vol. I. 8vo. 12s.

The Comforter, a Poem. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

POLITICAL.

The Principles of Political Economy considered with a View to their practical application. By T. R. Malthus, A.M. 8vo. 15s.

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The Age of Christian Reason: containing, exclusive of the Evidences of the Holy Scriptures, a Refutation of the Political and Theological Principles of Thomas Paine and M. Volney; also of S. Francis, M.D. in his "Bishop Watson Refuted:" and the Objections of Atheists to the Being of a God, answered on their own Grounds. Also, a Refutation of Unitarianism, in an Enquiry into the Charge of Deism, cloaked with Christianity, made by a Follower of Paine on his late Trial, against that Doctrine; and on a Unitarian Sermon on that occasion, by the Rev. W. J. Fox; with Strictures on Wm. Cobbett with Paine's Bones, and on the Theology of R. Owen, Esq. of New Lanark, in his Reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. By Thomas Broughton, Esq. 8vo. 7s.

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A Journey in Carniola and Italy, in the Years 1817-18. By W. A. Cadell, Esq. F.R.S. [33 Engravings] 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s.

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ERRATA IN THE LAST NUMBER.

Page 387, *line* 6, *for* plan *read* flaw.
394, *line* 1, *for* scent *read* secret.

THE

ECLECTIC RE.

For JUNE, 1820.

Art. I. *The History of the Crusades for the Recovery and Possession of the Holy Land.* By Charles Mills. 2 vols 8vo. pp. 898. London. 1820.

THAT the intrinsic character of the Crusades was evil, that they originated in evil principle, and that in their immediate effects they were productive of monstrous and infernal evil, few persons in the present day will be disposed to deny: but it admits of a question, whether or not their ultimate influence upon the interests of society was upon the whole beneficial; and, if it was, to what extent, and in what respects, they operated in aiding the progress of civilization. The *principle* of the Crusades was, as Gibbon has remarked, 'a savage fanaticism,' 'and the most important effects were,' he adds, 'analogous to the cause.' The nature of the Crusades is sufficiently described by the principle in which they had their origin: it was war in its most malignant and ferocious form, war conducted on the principle of extermination; it was the strife of fanatical rage between the votaries and victims of opposite superstitions, a conflict in which those who boasted of the Christian name, were the grosser idolaters and the greater barbarians. The holy Crusades and the holy Inquisition, which grew out of the Crusades, were projects of a similar character: both were alike professedly undertaken for the purpose of vindicating and of extending the true faith by means repugnant to its plainest dictates. The Crusades were not, indeed, the first occasion on which the warriors of Christendom engaged in what were regarded as sacred wars. The Saracens of Spain, and the Moslem invaders of other parts of Europe, had, in preceding centuries, supplied employment to the favourite heroes of chivalry; but in these conflicts, the love of military glory, or the desire of conquest, was the dominant passion which actuated the Christian knight. The spirit of chivalry had a very subordinate share in originating the Crusades. A mightier impulse, an enthusiasm which, in becoming the master passion,

did not so much overpower as change into itself every other, impelled succeeding generations to that desperate and fatal adventure. It was a new spirit which had taken possession of society; and the more harmless demon of chivalry was forced to become the tributary of the Moloch fiend, superstition. The full energies of the physical capacity of the human being, for good or evil are never called out, till something which appeals to the hopes or fears of a hereafter, and is itself religion, or passes for religion, has taken possession of the mind. The love of fame or of adventure, avarice or ambition, the idolatry of Honour or of Pleasure, all of which supply motives of commanding force, and any one of which has been found adequate to excite to the loftiest deeds of daring or of endurance, still leave untouched the deepest and most potent spring of human action. The spirit of Christianity can come into contact with any one of these principles only in the way of opposition, its direct tendency being either to extinguish or to regulate them; but a false religion has the property of coalescing with the dominant passion, which ever it be, and it is then, and not till then, under the force of the complex motive, that the whole character is put in action, and that it is made to exhibit all its latent energies.

The days of the Crusades still retain a considerable hold on the popular imagination. To this, the allusions of our own poets, and the romances of Italy have chiefly contributed; and it is in fact as poetry, not as history, that we are familiar with the events of those times. No unimportant service, therefore, is undertaken by the writer whose design is to rescue so remarkable a series of events from the brilliant misrepresentation which conceals their true character, and consecrates, at least in the imaginations of the romantic, the blind achievements of folly and crime. Gibbon has, in a great measure, accomplished this, but he has neither told the whole of the history, nor exhausted the general subject. The fourth, the sixth, and the seventh Crusades, he has left unnoticed. Mr. Mills, therefore, cannot be considered as having employed any superfluous labour in compiling out of the very ample materials which presented themselves, a complete history of the Crusades, and in investigating more at large their general consequences. The ability displayed by the Author, in his History of Muhammedanism,* affords a sufficient pledge as to the competent manner in which he has in the present instance discharged his task. The variety and amplitude of his researches are attested by the authorities carefully cited throughout the history; and it must have been no small matter, to wade through the ponderous tomes bequeathed to us by monkish or mussulman historians. The necessary pro-

* See Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. VII. p. 555.

cess of collation and abridgement is unfavourable to freedom and fluency of style; but any disadvantageous effects of this nature which may be discernible in our Author's narrative, are more than compensated by the accuracy which he has been so laudably indefatigable in securing by every means that was accessible.

The subject divides itself into three parts: the causes which led to so extraordinary a convulsion in society; the events which took place as the result of that ebullition of insane zeal; and the ultimate consequences of the Crusades upon society. Mr. Mills has divided his work in the most inartificial manner, into chapters. In the first, he takes a brief view of the circumstances which led to the holy wars. The second presents us an account of the destruction of the four rabble armies of which Europe successively disburthened itself, before a sword was drawn against a Saracen enemy. The First Crusade, under Godfrey of Bouillon and his compeers, together with a digression on the chivalric institutions of Palestine, occupies the following six chapters; and two more, which describe the Second Crusade under the Emperor Conrad III. of Germany, and Louis VII. and the subsequent triumphs of Saladin, complete the first volume. The events of the Third Crusade, headed by Philip Augustus of France and our own Cœur de Lion, are detailed in Chapters I. and II. of the second volume. The Fourth, under the German Princes, which took place in 1195, at the instigation of Pope Celestine III.; and the Fifth, A.D. 1200, which terminated in the taking of Constantinople by the Croises, and the fall of the Greek Empire; are the subject of Chapter III. The Sixth, decreed by the fourth council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, occupies the next. Chapter V. describes the Seventh Crusade, consisting of the joint expeditions of the Count of Champagne and the Earl of Cornwall, in 1237—9, and the Crusade of St. Louis in 1245, which is reckoned as the Eighth. The last, under Prince Edward of England, afterwards our Edward I., is the subject of Chapter VI. Chapter VII. traces the fate of the military orders. Remarks on the general consequences of the Crusades, form the concluding chapter.

The whole merit of causing the Crusades, from first to last, belongs to the Church and Court of Rome. It was the Romish priesthood who, by teaching the expiatory efficacy of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, first stimulated the ignorant curiosity of their flocks to that passionate ardour for visiting Palestine, which Peter the Hermit kindled into an epidemic frenzy. It was by the Church of Rome that the gainful sale of relics, and especially that of miraculously multiplied fragments of the Cross, was made the means of keeping alive, during successive centuries, the imbecile spirit of idolatry. It was the same Church which,

agreeably to its policy of adopting, with some slight transformation, all that was captivating in the institutions of Paganism, constituted the order of knighthood, like that of the priesthood, a holy order, sanctified by the most solemn rites the initiation of the military candidate, and gave up the enemies of the Church to the most licentious exercise of his zeal and hatred. By a flagrant prostitution of sacred language, the privileged freebooter became the soldier of Christ, was sent out as the apostle of the Church, with the general commission, not to convert, but to destroy; and if he fell in combating the enemies of his faith, he was ensured the crown of Martyrdom. Finally, it was the voice of the Pope, or the decree of a Romish council, which again and again summoned the princes of Europe to the holy war, still urging forward at every pause, the bootless havoc of human life and happiness. In the Crusades, then, we have exemplified, the genuine spirit of the Roman Catholic superstition. True, it may be said, it was the spirit of the times, of a barbarous and unenlightened age. But what produced those times, and gave birth to the spirit by which they are characterised? The corruption of the religion of Jesus Christ consequent on the rise of ecclesiastical power, and the almost total extinction of the light of the Gospel, supply the only rational solution of the question. When the civilized world was inundated by the barbarous hordes of the North, the persons and even the property of the clergy were for the most part respected by the conquerors, who displayed a readiness to embrace the Christian religion. But such was the ignorance, or such the depraved policy of the ministers of that religion, that the nominal convert gained little or nothing by his new creed in point of either knowledge or virtue. The object, but not the spirit of his worship, became changed. The ritual observances of the Church, were systematically accommodated to the rude ideas of those whom it was sought to bring within her pale, while the code of morals was gradually relaxed, till the requisitious of duty were brought down to the level of a licentious practice. The scheme of ritual, penal, and pecuniary compensation, was the crown and consummation of the monstrous system of error by which the religion of the New Testament was silently abolished from the world, while the universal ignorance and profligacy of the monastic orders seemed to seal up the fountains of instruction, and to extinguish every ray of light. The spirit of the times was the spirit of the religion of the times, which, instead of being in opposition, as a true religion ever must be, to the institutions and practices of secular men, blended itself with the genius of the feudal system, and while it founded its empire on the credulous fears, grew strong by flattering the vices of mankind. The clergy, in fact, so far from exerting any counteractive influence upon society, them-

selves partook of the martial feeling and violent character of the age. Churchmen, as well as laymen, held their estates on the terms of military service; and though by law prohibited from bearing arms, were found not only defending their castles and cathedrals with fire and sword, but engaging in the usual excesses of predatory warfare.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the pilgrimising mania had reached its height. The general belief which began to prevail in the preceding century, still continued to operate, that the end of the world was at hand, and that Jerusalem was about to become the scene of the final judgement. Among the armies of Pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land, kings, earls, marquisses, bishops, and great numbers of women, are enumerated, as having taken the resolution to die there, or to wait the coming of the Lord. Ingulph gives us an account of a corps of pilgrims of which he was himself one, whose number amounted to 7,000, and among whose leaders occur the names of the Archbishop of Mayence, and the bishops of Bamberg, Ratisbon, and Utrecht. These defenceles detachments were of course not suffered to pass through the infidel territory without paying toll to the Arab robbers who infested the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, besides the capitation tax exacted by the Moslem government. The spirit of pilgrimising would doubtless in time have worn itself out, as the panic impulse died away, except so far as mercantile purposes furnished a substantial standing reason for such devout expeditions, had not fresh expedients been furnished to keep alive the curiosity of the vulgar. The recital of the disasters and cruelties to which the pilgrims were exposed, had no effect in diminishing their numbers, since these only rendered the journey more meritorious; but they nourished the desire of revenge, and, by superadding a motive far more permanent, if not more powerful, than that which actuated the simple palmer, served to perpetuate as well as to darken the character of this migratory zeal. Sooner or later, it might seem to have been inevitable that these pilgrim troops should have had recourse to means of securing a free passage for themselves by force of arms, and a very slight metamorphosis would at any time have converted the pilgrim into the crusader. Once in arms, a leader only would have been wanted to change the peaceful procession into the hostile array of war.

Pope Sylvester the Second has the merit of first calling upon the Church universal to arm for the redemption of the holy Sepulchre. Pisa was, however, the only city which obeyed this summons so far as to commit some predatory incursions on the Syrian coast, in which probably she might have indulged herself had no such sacred obligation been laid upon her. The humble supplication of the Greek Emperor to Pope Gregory

VII. for aid against the Saracens, in the first year of the eleventh century, occasioned more general preparations; but the conquest of Palestine does not at this period appear to have been even dreamed of, and all ideas of a crusade for the purpose of checking the march of Islamism, soon died away. In the pontificate of his successor, while the fortunes of Constantinople still hung in perilous uncertainty, the Emperor Alexius was reduced to the necessity of renewing the application to the hated Latins, for the succour of his capital. His application would probably have terminated in demonstrations equally abortive, had it not suited the policy of Urban II. to direct to foreign enterprises the martial energies of Europe. Accordingly, when Peter the Hermit repaired to the Vatican on his return from Jerusalem, he found his Holiness fully prepared to listen to his tales. The Pope's principal advice, however, in the business, was Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, a Norman freebooter, who looked to recover by help of the army that should be raised, the Grecian territories which had been the transient possession of his family. In March 1095, Pope Urban held the council of Placentia, at which the legates of Alexius were admitted, and it was agreed by the prelates, that it was just and politic to assist the Emperor of Greece in punishing the Pagans. In the month of November following, the clerical and secular people of the West were summoned to council in the city of Clermont. Laymen, as well as ecclesiastics of every rank and order, flocked thither from all parts of France and Germany; and the deliberations were carried on in an open square, because no hall could contain the unprecedented multitude. Seven days were occupied in passing decrees relating to matters of local or temporary interest, and in issuing canons for the edification of manners. On the eighth, the Pope ascended the pulpit, and in an oration which fortunately has been preserved, exhorted the impatient audience to make war on the enemies of God. Those who might die in the encounter, he assured them, should enter the mansions of heaven, while the living should have the unspeakable happiness of beholding the sepulchre of the Lord. Cries of *Deus vult, Deus lo vult, Dieux el volt,* interrupted the Pontiff, who, seizing the auspicious omen, directed that these very words should be the war-cry of the crusade. 'Let 'every one,' he added, 'mark on his breast or back the sign of 'our Lord's Cross, in order that the saying may be fulfilled, "He who takes up the Cross and follows me, is worthy of 'me."'

'The report of the council of Clermont,' says a contemporary chronicler, 'wafted a cheering gale over the minds of 'Christians. There was no nation so remote, no people so re-'tired, as did not respond to the papal wishes. This ardent

'love not only inspired the continental provinces, but the most 'distant islands and savage countries. The Welshman left his 'hunting; the Scotch his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his 'drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish.' We transcribe Mr. Mills's account of the extraordinary commotion which ensued: it is, in fact, a faithful translation of the concurrent testimonies of William of Malmesbury, Fulcher, Guibert, the Archbishop of Tyre, and other early writers.

'The preaching of Peter,—the entreaties of Alexius,—the councils of Placentia and Clermont, and the exertions of the Pope.—all these concurrent causes enkindled the elements of combustion, turned the people of the west from intestine discord to foreign war, from dull superstition to furious zeal. The military enthusiast heard the voice of Charlemagne calling the French to glory. The religious fanatic eagerly and credulously listened to tales of visions and dreams. Every wonderful event in the natural world was regarded as an indication of the divine will. Meteors and stars pointed at and fell on the road to Jerusalem. The skies were involved in perpetual storms; and the blaze and terror of anxious and disordered nature shewed the terrific harmony of heaven with the sanguinary fury of earth. Prodigies were not confined to the west. In the states of Greece a marvellous number of locusts destroyed the vineyards, but spared the corn. The discovery that the locusts were the forerunners of the Europeans, was an ingenious interpretation of the sign; but the diviners, with more nationality than truth, compared the corn with the sobriety of the eastern Christians, and the vines with the licentiousness of the Saracens. Man fully responded to the supposed calls of God. The moral fabric of Europe was convulsed; the relations and charities of life were broken; society appeared to be dissolved. Persons of every age, rank, and degree, assumed the cross. The storm of public feeling was raised, and neither reason nor authority could guide its course. The prohibition of women from undertaking the journey, was passed over in contemptuous silence. They separated themselves from their husbands, where men wanted faith, or resolved to follow them with their helpless infants. Monks, not waiting for the permission of their superiors, threw aside their black mourning gowns, and issued from their cloisters full of the spirit of holy warriors. They who had devoted themselves to a solitary life mistook the impulse of passion for divine revelations, and thought that Heaven had annulled their oaths of retirement. A stamp of virtue was fixed upon every one who embraced the cause; and many were urged to the semblance of religion by shame, reproach, and fashion. The numerous cases of hypocrisy attested the commanding influence of the general religious principle. They who had been visited by criminal justice were permitted to expiate, in the service of God, their sins against the world. The pretence of debtors was admitted, that the calls of heaven were of greater obligation than any claims of man. Murderers, adulterers, robbers, and pirates, quitted their iniquitous pursuits, and declared that they would wash away their sins in the blood of the Infidels. In short, thousands and millions of armed saints and sinners ranged themselves to fight the battles of the

Lord. All nations were enveloped in the whirlwind of superstition. It was people, and not merely armies, countries, and not only their military representatives, that thought they had received the divine command to unsheath the sword of the Almighty, and to redeem the sepulchre of Christ.

'For some months after the session of the council of Clermont, nothing was heard through Europe but the note of preparation for war.—Men of all ranks and degrees purchased horses, and arms, and coin. Such as had not taken the vow, paid for their timidity or prudence by supplying the wants of their enthusiastic brethren. The wretched fanatics alienated their land, or sold their instruments of handicraft and husbandry. The caution of the purchasers prevailed over the eagerness of the sellers; and the inequality of the transactions was ridiculed by the cold hearted and sceptical. Yet, as the contagion of crusading spread, they who had been scoffers became converts; and, like their former objects of satire, sacrificed their property to the necessity of preparation.

'In the spring of the year 1096, the masses of European population began to roll. But the roads were too narrow for the passengers; the paths were obstructed by the number of travellers. When families divided, nature and fanaticism contended for the mastery. A wife consented to the departure of her husband on his vowing to return at the end of three years. Another, in whom fear was stronger than hope, was lost in violence of grief. The husband wore the semblance of indifference, unmoved by the tears of his wife and the kisses of his children; though his heart reproached him for the sternness of his countenance. On the other hand, fathers led their sons to the place of meeting; women blessed the moment of separation from their husbands; or, if they lamented, it was from the cause that they were not permitted to share the honours and perils of the expedition. In some instances the poor rustic shod his oxen like horses, and placed his whole family in a cart, where it was amusing to hear the children, on the approach to any large town or castle, inquiring if that were Jerusalem.' Vol. I. pp. 57—64.

The simplicity of the children was far from being extraordinary; for the Author adds in a note, that so profound was the ignorance of the French, even of the fourth century, on the subject of geography, that in a MS. of that time of the Chronicle of St. Denys, the city of Jerusalem is placed in the middle of the map; and Alexandria appears as near to it as Nazareth.

Twenty thousand foot, attended by eight horsemen, under the command of Walter the Pennyless, constituted the first rabble army who swept along from France to Hungary, and thence into Bulgaria. They were followed by a second division, composed of forty thousand, men, women, and children, led on by Peter the Hermit. The perfidious and savage outrages of which this insane mob were every where guilty, met with a just reward. The Turks avenged the injuries of the Hungarians, and three thousand persons only escaped the scymitar of the infidel in the plains of Bythinia. The third division, a band of fifteen

thousand fiery enthusiasts from Lorraine, the east of France, and Bavaria, under Godeschal, a German priest, met with a similar fate. Their destruction was effected by stratagem. The King of Hungary, dreading the fury of desperation to which hostility might drive the Croises, had the address to persuade them to surrender their arms, in reliance upon his promise of clemency; but no sooner had they resigned the means of defence, than the enraged Hungarians rushed upon the naked multitude, and the plains of Belgrade were covered with the slain.

'Before Europe glittered with the pomp and splendour of chivalry, another herd of wild and desperate savages scourged and devastated the world. They issued from England, France, Flanders, and Lorraine.—Their avowed principle of union was the redemption of the holy sepulchre. History is silent on the subordinate modes and bands of connection, except the horrible superstition of adoring and following a goat and a goose, which they believed to be filled with the divine spirit: and if such were their religion, we cannot wonder at the brutality of their manners. Besides, their fanaticism was the height of fury, for these ministers of the devouring flame, nearly trebled their precursors. Their zeal was guided by envy and malignity, and they pretended that it was unjust that any foes of God should enjoy temporal prosperity. The Jews enriched the towns on the banks of the Moselle and of the Rhine, and communicated to France and Germany the products of each respective country. The city of Cologne was the first city which was stained with their blood. The sanctity of the archiepiscopal palace at Mayence, the sacred presence of the venerable metropolitan, could not shield seven hundred of the children of Israel from the swords of men who professed a religion of mercy and love. The bishop of Spires bravely and successfully defended the Jews in his city, but the generosity of the bishops of Treves and Worms was not equally pure and meritorious, if it be true that they compelled the objects of their protection to change their religion. Many firm and noble spirits disdained apostacy. Some of them retired to a chamber of the bishop at Worms, on pretence of deliberating on the renunciation of their faith. Deliberation produced virtue, and by self-slaughter they disappointed the cruelty of their enemies. More appalling spectacles were witnessed at Treves. Mothers plunged the dagger into the breasts of their own children; fathers and sons destroyed each other, and women threw themselves into the Moselle.

'When the measure of murder and robbery was full, the infernal multitude proceeded on their journey. Two hundred thousand people, of whom only three thousand were horsemen, entered Hungary. They hurried on to the south in their usual career of carnage and rapine; but when they came to Mersbourg, their passage was opposed by an Hungarian army. Their requests to the king's general for provisions and a free passage were denied; but they forced a bridge over the Danube; and gathering strength from the desperateness of their situation, they succeeded in making some breaches in the wall of the town. The ruin of the Hungarian nation appeared inevitable; and the king with his nobles

was prepared to fly to the south. By some strange panic which the best historians can neither explain nor describe, the besiegers deserted the assault and fled. Their cowardice was as abject as their boldness had been ferocious; and the Hungarians pursued them with such slaughter, that the waters of the Danube were for days red with their blood. But few of the rabble survived. Count Emicho, who had gained damnatory distinction by his cruelties on the Jews, succeeded in flying into Germany. Some others escaped to the south; and in time joined the regular forces of the feudal princes of Europe.' Vol. I. pp. 76—79.

More than a quarter of a million of wretched fanatics thus perished in the first great convulsion, before the Crusaders took the field against the Saracens; a circumstance which, in estimating the general sum of good and evil connected with the Crusades, might seem to require a counterbalance of some specific gravity. The annihilation of the stagnant masses of population of which Europe had been drained, was, it may be admitted, a salutary catastrophe: they could not have been reabsorbed, without endangering the whole frame of society. But we must not forget that it was the intoxication of fanatical zeal, or those expectations of plunder which were authorized by the preachers of the Crusade, and the indulgences held out to all classes who should assume the cross, that seduced these multitudes from their homes, and let them loose from all social restraints, the ties of nature and the obligations of conscience, to provoke their own destruction. We must trace the mischief to its source, and it will then appear that the immense waste of human life caused by the Crusades, was the most inconsiderable part of the amount of evil chargeable as their effects upon society.

The greater part of the rabble armies were hurried on, it is most probable, by no intelligible motive. The love of rapine and the hope of salvation, were the uppermost ideas which the sermons of the priests would excite; but the spirit which animated the heterogeneous aggregate, may properly be termed a diabolical frenzy. The long continuance of the interest excited, is a circumstance more remarkable than the pitch of insanity which it reached. For this, however, the extensive privileges and immunities granted to the Crusaders, satisfactorily account. Dr. Robertson thus enumerates them in the Notes to his View of the State of Europe: 1. 'They were exempted from prosecutions on account of debt, during the time of their being engaged in this holy service. 2. They were exempted from paying interest for the money which they had borrowed in order to fit them for this sacred warfare. 3. They were exempted, either entirely, or at least during a certain time, from the payment of taxes. 4. They might alienate their lands without the consent of the superior lord of whom they

held. 5. Their persons and effects were taken under the protection of St. Peter, and the anathemas of the Church were denounced against all who should molest them, or carry on any quarrel or hostility against them, during their absence on account of the holy war. 6. They enjoyed all the privileges of ecclesiastics, and were not bound to plead in any civil court, but were declared subject to the spiritual jurisdiction alone. 7. They obtained *a plenary remission of all their sins*, and the gates of heaven were set open to them, without requiring any other proof of their penitence, but their engaging in this expedition; and thus, by gratifying their favourite passion, the love of war, they secured to themselves immunities which were not usually obtained, but by paying large sums of money, or by undergoing painful penances.' This last abuse of indulgences,' as it is termed by Gibbon, deserves no mean rank in the catalogue of abominations which flowed from 'the baleful fountain of the holy war.'

Such, then, were, in brief, the principles which originated the Crusades; the spirit of pilgrimising, the desire of revenge, the passion for military glory, and the assurance of an eternal reward,—all, with the exception of the love of war, the foul offspring of that faith, in itself little better than Paganism under a Christian name, which so long eclipsed the light of Revelation. No one of these principles would of itself have been adequate to kindle and sustain the requisite degree of enthusiasm; and only by a false religion could they have been all associated. On the injustice of the holy wars, it is needless to enlarge: they were entirely unprovoked. Had the relief of the Greek Emperor been their object, a shadow of right might have attached to the cause of the Crusaders; but Alexius soon discovered his fear and hatred of his new allies, and the Greek empire fell before the defenders of Christendom. The chastisement of the Arab robbers who infested the route to the sacred city, might have been an object worthy of the spirit of chivalry; but with regard to the Moslem lords of Jerusalem, the Christian inhabitants, though subject to the disasters attendant upon changes in the caliphate, and at times suffering from the oppressive and wanton cruelties of an arbitrary despot, enjoyed upon the whole, tolerance and protection; nor could there be any pretence for arming in their cause, till all negotiation with the Mussulman government had proved unavailing. Dr. Johnson, indeed, in his Notes upon Shakspeare, ventures the opinion, that the principle of self-defence would justify Christians in adopting, by way of retaliation, the apostolic sword of Mahomet. 'If,' he says, 'it be a part of the religion of the Mahometans, 'to extirpate by the sword all other religions, it is, by the laws 'of self-defence, lawful for men of every other religion, and for

'Christians among others, to make war upon Mahometans, 'simply as Mahometans, as men obliged by their own prin-'ciples to make war upon Christians, and only lying in wait 'till opportunity shall promise them success.' Mr. Mills quotes a similar passage from Lord Bacon, in which that great man does not scruple to intimate his approbation of the principle, 'that Christian princes and states have always a suffi-'cient ground of invasive war against the Turk, not for cause 'of religion, but upon a just fear of war from the enemy, 'and therefore they may at all times, as they think good, be 'upon the preventive.' Such a plea as this would of course justify, were it valid, the most nefarious acts of aggression; and indeed, conquest in order to security, has in all ages been the pretence of ambition. The doctrine laid down by Dr. Johnson, is in other words this: If it be a part of the religion of Mahometans, to extirpate, &c. it ought to be a part of the religion of Christians. Its not being a part of the Christian religion, he forgets to notice; at all events, he seems to think, it should be a part of Christian practice; and if the Mahometans do not act up to their principles, since they suffer the sword of extermination to sleep, we ought to punish them for their inconsistency, although in utter disregard of what ought to be our own. On no better grounds than these have almost all the wars, holy and unholy, in the annals of history, been waged. Nor has the spirit which dictated the Crusades, wholly ceased to operate. The very language of that age has been applied to modern contests in which self-defence has furnished a plea for invasion, and the character of atheism has been considered as sufficiently designating to hatred and vengeance the persons of political enemies. Into the merits of the war waged against the French republic, this is not the place to enter; but the coincidence cannot fail to strike an intelligent observer, with regard to that profane misapplication of terms which still prevails in some quarters, in reference to the character and motives of the warfare.

To enjoy completely the history of the Crusades, the reader must at least forget that he is a Christian. He ought, indeed, to be a Mussulman. Saladin should be his hero, a name which far outshines in lustre, the heroes of Christendom; and the triumphant sequel of the tale should be, what the Italian bard forgot to tell, *Jerusalem regained.* The hand of Providence might then be viewed as dealing judgements down upon the Christian invader; and the final result of the successive descents upon the Asiatic coast, would appear to be strictly accordant with poetical justice, ending, as all epics should do, in the triumph of the just cause, and the discomfiture of the aggressor.

As it is, the history of the Crusades forms a disastrous and sickening narrative.

The character of Godfrey of Bouillon, however, appears to have deserved much of the veneration which the legends of the middle ages have procured for him. Uniting the gentlest manners to the firmest spirit, 'the amiableness of virtue to its commanding gravity,' he was distinguished alike for political courage and for personal bravery.

'His lofty mind was capable of the grandest enterprises. His deportment was moral; his piety was fervent; and he appeared, perhaps, to be better fitted for a cloister of reformed monks, than for the command of a furious and licentious soldiery. He regretted the stern necessity which drew him from the immediate service of God; but when in arms, he was a hero; and his martial zeal in the cause of heaven was always directed by prudence and tempered by philanthropy.'

Godfrey alone of all the crusading princes, receives the praise of the Princess Anna Commena, as being influenced by religious motives in the enterprise: the views of the others, she represents as purely secular. Tancred, however, is praised for his martial and intellectual qualities. Generous, open, and high-minded, he would, 'says the present Writer, have been 'courteous and humane to all mankind, if the superstition of the age had not 'taught him that the Saracens were the enemies of God, and 'that the Christians were the ministers of heavenly wrath.' When all the other princes had submitted to the degradation of swearing fealty to the Greek Emperor as their liege lord, Tancred, on his arrival at the Bosphorus, disguised himself as a common soldier, and by this means passed into Asia, having escaped the disgrace. The Count of Thoulouse was the only one who was permitted to take a qualified oath of fealty.

In May, 1097, the Crusading army opened the holy campaign by the siege and capture of the capital of Bythinia. We pass over the burning of a castle full of Pelagonian heretics, by the soldiers of the prince of Tarentum, in their march to Constantinople. Seven weeks were spent in the siege of Nice, during which, the number of the Christians who, in the language of the times, received martyrdom, was considerable. At this period, 'the morals of the Croises, were of less questionable merit than 'the cause for which they were in arms.'

'The camp presented the rare and edifying spectacle of a chaste and sober soldiery: and although not free from the common disposition of exalting past ages at the expense of the present, the confession was drawn from the severest censors, that there was far more virtue among the crusading warriors than among the hosts of Israel in old time. The simplicity and purity of the early church were revived. So affectionate was the union between the brotherhood, that all things were held in common. The generals not only commanded and fought, but watched and did the

most humble duties of the camp: so that the officer and the soldier were scarcely to be distinguished. Artificial discipline was needless, when virtue pervaded every part of manners.'

All this Mr. Mills tells us very gravely, on the authority chiefly of 'the good Archbishop Baldric.' But we have to find fault with our Author, that, perhaps in imitation of Gibbon, he often seems purposely to leave his readers in doubt, whether the historian is in earnest, or whether he is only repeating the details of authors for whose large demands on the credulity of posterity, he holds himself in no way accountable. This brotherly union among the chiefs, this edifying spectacle of primitive piety among the soldiery, were not long to be exhibited. It is not Lent, but Easter, which tries the virtue of the faithful. Of this same warlike fraternity, the impartial record of history reveals, that disunion, treachery, and ambition soon manifested themselves among the chiefs, and that not all the ceaseless exhortations of the clergy, or the judicial punishments inflicted upon crime, could long preserve any regard to morals in the camp. Alternate famine and plenty were alike productive of either the most desperate or the most wanton excesses of immorality and cruelty. Alexius, in saving Nice from the inevitable consequences of its being taken by storm, was guilty of some unfairness to his professed allies, but the soldiers of the Cross were no doubt indebted to him for the preservation, at that dangerous crisis, of their fair character for discipline and virtue.

The separation of Baldwin the brother of Godfrey, from the main army, in consequence of the disputes in which his selfishness and violence involved him with his compeers, led to the foundation of the Latin state of Edessa. After the victory obtained by the Crusaders in the battle of Doryleum, and the fall of Tarsus, it was an easy triumph which was obtained over the inert population of Mesopotamia by this detachment of brave, but unprincipled adventurers. In the meantime, the main body of the army advanced towards the capital of Syria. During the protracted siege which it sustained uninjured, so unskilful were the operations of the assailants, the Christian camp experienced all the horrors of famine. The distresses which they had occasioned in the exhausted country, now recoiled on themselves. An ox, which at the commencement of the siege was scarcely worth fifteen shillings, became as valuable as four pounds. The cavalry, which had numbered more than seventy thousand, were reduced to two thousand. Carrion was openly dressed, and human flesh was eaten in secret. We may take this opportunity of remarking, that the charge of cannibalism is most distinctly and repeatedly brought against the Crusaders. Malmsbury asserts, that the practice was carried to a great extent, by the lowest of the low. Mr. Mills, by a ludicrous slip of the pen, informs us, that Bohe-

ınd '*slew* some Turkish prisoners and roasted them *alive*,' de-
ring to the astonished bye-standers, that his appetite would
bmit to necessity; but whether he partook of the dinner he af-
ted to provide, does not appear: his design was merely to strike
ror into the enemy. A story not very dissimilar is told of the
n-hearted king, in the metrical romance of Richard Cœur de
on, preserved in Mr. Ellis's Specimens.

' On the occasion of an entertainment which he gave to some Sara-
ıian embassadors, he commanded his marshal to strike off the heads of
equal number of Muselman prisoners of high rank, and deliver them
the cook, with instructions to clear away the hair, and, after boiling
m in a caldron, to distribute them on several platters, one to each
est, observing to fasten on the forehead of each, the piece of parchment
pressing the name and family of the victim. A head was also to be
ought for Richard, and he would eat thereof,

As it were a tender chick,
To see how the others will like.

ery thing took place according to order. The embassadors were
ocked at the repast, and astonished at the king, who swallowed the
orsels as fast as they could be supplied by the knight who carved them.

Every man then poked other;
They said, "This is the devil's brother,
That slays our men, and thus them eats."

' The table was then cleared, and covered with a proper dinner. Richard
en courteously relieved their fears respecting their own personal safety,
ologized to them for what had passed, which he attributed entirely to
ignorance of their taste, adding that no food was so nourishing to an
ıglishman as the head of a Saracen, and that so long as one was left in
ria, they would care for no other meat.'

Were the tales of lying minstrels to be believed, this was not
e first occasion on which his lion majesty had tasted of such a
licacy. The cannibalism of the Croises, rests upon better autho-
y. At the siege of Marra, the old resources of dogs' flesh and
ıman carcasses, were again rendered necessary by the famine
tailed upon the army by their improvidence; and when the
y was taken, many of the inhabitants were mangled and eaten
their conquerors. These disgusting facts are mentioned by
ıdebodus, Robert, Baldric, and Albert: the latter expresses
astonishment that they should prefer the flesh of dogs to that
Christians and Saracens. Ralph of Caen also mentions the
ts with shame and indignation; and Mr. Mills enumerates
ber concurrent testimonies.

Antioch at length fell through treachery, and in the silence of
night, the Croises commenced their indiscriminate butchery
its sleeping inhabitants. For some time, Greeks and Arme-
ıns were equally with the Mussulmans exposed to their fury;
d 'the dignity of age, the helplessness of infancy, and the
eauty of the weaker sex, were alike disregarded by the Latin

'savages.' The number of Turks massacred, was at least ten thousand. When their swords had been sufficiently glutted with slaughter, the holy army, 'changing,' says Mr. Mills, 'their 'fierceness for the more civilized vices of debauchery and hypo-'crisy, ate and drank, rendering thanks to God.' All discipline in the camp was now at an end, and the Crusaders gave themselves up to the most unbridled profligacy. Pestilence, famine, and the horrors of a siege, soon, however, brought back for a while, the reign of sobriety and superstition. The battle of Antioch ensued, in which the talisman of the holy lance did not fail, by the help of certain celestial allies who appeared in white armour, and riding on white horses, on the summit of the neighbouring hills, to secure the soldiers of the Cross the victory.

It was not till the following spring, that the Croises set out on their march towards Jerusalem. The holy city was invested by them, June 7, 1099. Of the millions of fanatics who had vowed to rescue the Sepulchre from the hands of infidels, forty thousand only encamped before Jerusalem, of whom not much more than half were soldiers. The destruction of more than 850,000 Europeans, had, according to our Author's computation, purchased the possession of Nice, Antioch, and Edessa. The tumultuous joy awakened by the first view of Jerusalem in the minds of the whole pilgrim army, may be easily imagined; nor is it difficult to appreciate the character of their religious emotions. In a moment, if we may believe the monkish historians, the fierceness of the warrior was dissolved into tears of devotion and gratitude; his lance and sword were thrown aside, and with bare feet he approached 'the seat of man's redemption.' What ensued, supplies an expressive comment on these demonstrations of piety. The clergy complained that in the short space of a month, the character of the Christian soldiers before Jerusalem, had become as immoral as it had been in the long and painful siege of Antioch. When the ill-fated city was at length taken by storm, the carnage exceeded all description. The 'pious' Godfrey, on entering it, set the example of avenging upon the helpless Saracens, the Christian blood which had been spilled. Three days were devoted to a promiscuous massacre. On the day after the victory, three hundred men, to whom Tancred and Gaston de Bearn had promised protection, and had given a standard as a warrant for their safety, were murdered in cold blood by the soldiery. The subjugated and defenceless inhabitants—women with children at the breast, girls, and boys, were dragged into the public places, and deliberately butchered, while the synagogues were set on fire, and great numbers of Jews perished in the flames. Seventy thousand Moslems is the total number, according to Gibbon, of those who were put to the sword; and the infection of the dead bodies, he adds, produced an epidemical disease. Thus was the

triumph of fanaticism consummated, and the foundations of the transitory kingdom of Jerusalem, laid in cruelty and rapine.

The Second Crusade, rendered necessary by the fall of Edessa, was one of disaster and disgrace. The original object of the expedition was speedily abandoned; and Louis and Conrad returned to Europe, with the shattered relics of their armies, having failed in every enterprise. This took place in the year 1149. The history of Palestine from that period, to the establishment of the supreme power of Saladin, as lord of Syria and Egypt, in 1186, consists of petty conflicts generally unfavourable in their issue to the Christians. Mr. Mills's rapid outline of these events, is, upon the whole, clear and satisfactory. As he was writing the history of the Crusades, not that of Palestine, he has done well to refrain from more ample details, although the life and character of Noureddin furnish a subject of seductive interest.

The invasion of Saladin was occasioned and justified by the predatory incursions which, in contempt of existing treaties, the Latin chieftains, who were no better than common robbers, made upon the Moslem states. In the battle of Tiberias, the King of Jerusalem, and the Master of the Templars, were taken prisoners. Acre, Jaffa, Cesarea, and Beritus, followed the example of Tiberias, and yielded to the conqueror. In October, 1187, Jerusalem capitulated; and Saladin, 'in nothing a barbarian but in name,' with courteous clemency released, at the supplication of the women, the greater part of his prisoners, and loaded them with presents.

'This action, worthy of a gentle and Christian knight, was not the consequence of a transient feeling of humanity; for when he entered the city of Jerusalem, and heard of the tender care with which the military friars of St. John treated the sick, he allowed ten of the order to remain in their hospital till they could complete their work of humanity. Many of the Christians who left Jerusalem, went to Antioch: but Bohemond not only denied them hospitality, but even stripped them. They marched into the Saracenian country, and were well received.' Vol. I. p. 441.

Saladin pursued his conquests in the principality of Antioch: five and twenty towns submitted, and the capital itself became tributary to the Musselmans.

The Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus of France, who followed up the successes of the heroic Frederic Barbarossa, took place in the year 1191. Acre surrendered to the two kings; and near Azotus, Saladin in person sustained a signal defeat. During the subsequent negotiations which took place between Richard and Saladin, the people of the two armies lived in friendly intercourse, and mingled in the tournament.

'More than this: through the whole of the war, Saladin and Richard emulated each other as much in the reciprocation of courtesy as in military exploits. If ever the king of England chanced to be ill, Saladin sent him presents of Damascene pears, peaches, and other fruits. The same liberal hand gave the luxury of snow in the hot seasons. Hoveden, p. 693. Saladin could not but have felt some kindness for gallant warriors, whether Christians or Musselmans, if it be true, that as soon as he was old enough to bear arms, he had requested and received the honour of knighthood from a French cavalier, named Humphrey de Thoron.' 'Saphadin (the brother of Saladin) shewed his respect for the military character of Richard, by obtaining from him the honour of knighthood for his son.'

An honourable truce was the termination of the campaign. The Christian King and the Sultan of Egypt, interchanged expressions of esteem; Jaffa and Tyre were surrendered to the Christians; and the people of the West were to be at liberty to make their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, exempt from the taxes formerly imposed by the Saracenian princes. At the solicitation of the Bishop of Salisbury, who visited Jerusalem, where he was invited to the royal palace, Saladin even allowed establishments of Latin priests to be formed in the Holy Sepulchre, and in the churches of Bethlehem and Nazareth. The generosity of this singular man exceeds any thing in the annals of chivalry. As for his Christian rival, Mr. Mills remarks, that he gained more honour in Palestine than any of the emperors or kings who had sought renown in foreign wars.

The spirit of fanaticism and romance revived at the death of Saladin, A. D. 1193; and was diligently fanned by Pope Celestine III. But the concerns of the King of England left him no longer at liberty for foreign adventures, and France had not yet recovered from the losses it had sustained in the Third Crusade. Germany alone embraced the call. Although the truce agreed upon between Richard and Saladin had expired, yet, the Christians and Musselmans continued to live in amity, and all the Latins resident in the Holy Land deprecated the renewal of hostilities. The new Crusaders, however, were neither to be counselled nor controlled. They took the field, and obtained some advantages; but their cause was ruined by the dissentions and cowardice of their chiefs: part returned to Germany, leaving the Sepulchre to its fate, and the rest were massacred by the Moslems, who surprised them while celebrating the feast of St. Martin, in the city of Jaffa, Nov. 11, 1197.

The Fifth Crusade is the fourth of Gibbon, with whose masterly sketch, Mr. Mills's distinct and accurate narrative, drawn chiefly from the same sources, may be compared with advantage. Although it possesses less novelty than other portions of the history, it forms one of the most interesting chapters in the work. The origin of this Crusade is to be referred more directly

than either of the preceding two, to genuine fanaticism; yet was it in the issue wholly diverted from a religious purpose. Constantinople became, instead of Syria, the seat of war, and in spite of the prohibitions of the Vatican, the Greek fell beneath the sword that had been drawn by his fellow Christian against the common enemy of their faith; the injuries of the first Crusaders were repaid with usury upon their treacherous ally; and learning wept over the treasures which perished in the flames kindled in the superb capital by the Latin barbarians.

To the Sixth Crusade, which Gibbon despatches in between three and four pages, Mr. Mills devotes a whole chapter. It appears to have been instigated by Pope Innocent III. for the purpose of establishing his own supremacy, and of getting rid of the Emperor, who was struggling with the Pontiff for supremacy, by commanding him to take the cross. Of late, the Muselmans of Asia had been forgotten: the enthusiasm of chivalry, and the zeal of fanaticism, had been diverted into new channels. The Pope had himself levied a considerable number of crusaders for the purpose of destroying the Albigenses in France, promising the exterminators of heresy the self-same pardons and indulgences as had been conceded to those who went out to Palestine. In a letter to the Sultan of Aleppo, written in 1212, the Pontiff had complimented the Saracen upon his respect for Christianity; but now it suited his policy to demand from Saphadin the restitution of the Holy Land; and the fourth council of Lateran was summoned, A.D. 1215, to give the greater effect to the call made upon the princes and nations of Christendom to arm for the sacred war. The history of this Crusade divides itself into three parts. The expedition of the king of Hungary, which forms the first act of the drama, terminated in murdering a few thousands of infidels, robbing the private and religious houses of the Latins and Syrians, making some useless pilgrimages in armed procession, and collecting a few relics, with which the royal fanatic wisely hastened back to his impoverished kingdom. The war in Egypt forms the second part of the history, and presents a variety in crusading operations. Reinforcements having arrived from Europe, it was resolved to lay siege to Damietta, then looked upon as the key of Egypt.* It was taken by assault, but not before it had been reduced by the horrors of famine and pestilence, to a 'vast charnel house.' Of its population of seventy thousand, three thousand only were the relics: the streets, the mosques, and the houses were strewed with dead bodies, and

* 'The modern Damietta is at some distance to the south of the city which the Christians besieged, and which was destroyed by the Muselmans, A.D. 1250.' Mills, Vol. ii. p. 175.

the conquerors 'marched through a pestilential vapour.' This important acquisition was not long retained: after it had been eight months in the possession of the Latins, its voluntary restoration to the Musselmans was the price of a safe retreat for the invading army, who were fortunate in being able to return to Europe. A third detachment was led by the Emperor Frederic II. in person, who, after being excommunicated by his Holiness for suspending his vow to redeem the Holy Land, drew upon himself all the thunders of the Vatican, and what was worse, the inroads of the Pope's troops during his absence, for entering upon the crusade before he had been relieved from the Papal censures. The enraged Pontiff followed him with his bulls to Palestine, and harassed him by prohibiting the faithful from obeying a rebellious son of the Church. Nevertheless, this extraordinary person had the address to obtain by negotiation more than all the heroic phrenzy of Richard could accomplish. Before he returned to Europe, a treaty had been signed, by which Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and their appendages, were restored to the Christians, and a ten years' truce was agreed upon between the contending parties. The Sepulchre was given up to the Latins; the mosque of Omar only, or, as they termed it, the temple of Solomon, being left in the hands of the Musselmans, on the condition of a right of visiting it on the part of the Christians. The patriarch, however, and the clergy, regarded with abhorrence an excommunicated prince; 'a man, too, who had given license to the 'Saracens to adore their God in a Christian temple.' The guilt of a conspiracy to betray him into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, lies between the Hospitallers and the Templars.

'Camel read the letter which conveyed to him the news, exclaimed to his associates, "See the fidelity of these Christian dogs;" and dispatched a friend to Frederic with the paper which he had received.' [M. Paris.]

Attended only by his courtiers and the Teutonic knights, the Emperor visited the church of the Sepulchre, and boldly taking the crown from the altar, to which, by virtue of his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem, he laid a legitimate claim, placed it upon his own head, while the Grand Master of the Teutonic order pronounced a laudatory oration. Having given orders for the restoration of the city walls, he returned to Acre, and from thence to Europe.

Mr. Mills is aware that he has but partially succeeded in clearing up the involved and disputed details of this very extraordinary train of events. Few parts of the history of the Crusades are, he remarks, more difficult to understand. Frederic's friendship with the Moslems, on the ground of which he was vilified by the Templars and the Hospitallers as an enemy

of the Church, is a circumstance upon which no light is thrown in the present work. Matthew Paris is our Author's chief authority; and from some interesting circumstances quoted from him at p. 223, it appears that the esteem with which the Emperor was regarded by the Sultan, as well as by his son, was both sincere and lasting.

The Seventh Crusade, consequent on the council of Spoletto, A.D. 1234, had also two parts; the expedition of the count of Champagne, and that of Richard, earl of Cornwall. The Sepulchre was once more to be redeemed. At the first sound of warlike preparations in the West, the Sultan of Egypt had driven the Latins out of Jerusalem, and overthrown the tower of David, which hitherto had been regarded as sacred by all classes of religionists. The French crusade was wholly unsuccessful; but the English, arriving at a fortunate moment when the Sultans of Egypt and Damascus were at variance, obtained the renunciation on the part of the latter, of Jerusalem, Beritus, Nazareth, and Bethlehem; and Palestine was once more in the hands of the Christians. For two years they enjoyed their possessions in security; but then a new enemy appeared in the Korasmians: the Tartarian tempest burst with exterminating fury upon the now unfortified holy city, and Acre received the flying remnants of its Christian population who escaped the sword.

The news of this dreadful reverse of affairs, concurring opportunely with the vow of a French king to travel to the Holy Land, gave birth to the Eighth Crusade, which was resolved upon at the council of Lyons, A. D. 1245. St. Louis, however, did not fulfil his vow till the year 1249. Again Damietta fell into the hands of the invaders, and again its surrender became the price of safety. In a vain attempt to retreat, the king was made prisoner, together with twenty thousand of his men, and seven thousand were slain or drowned. A pecuniary ransom was accepted as the terms of deliverance for the army; and in April 1254, after some fruitless delay, Louis embarked for France. A second crusade was undertaken by him in 1268, and his fleet being driven into Sardinia, he was persuaded to make a descent, by way of prelude, upon the coast of Africa; but here a pestilential disease arrested his Most Christian Majesty in the midst of his pious enterprises, in the month of August, 1270.

Prince Edward of England has the honour of having conducted with success the last Crusade. He arrived at Acre with one thousand men, in April, 1271, but soon found himself at the head of an army seven times that number. Nazareth fell before his skill and valour, and a large Turkish force sustained a defeat. His triumphs and his cruelties were checked by the poisoned dagger of an emissary of the treacherous governor of

Jaffa. His recovery, Camden tells us, was owing to his lady Eleanora's heroism in sucking the venom from his wounds; and 'pity is it,' says old Fuller, 'that so pretty a story should not 'be true, with all the miracles in love's legends.' It was in reality effected by surgical skill. Discord among the Moslem powers, now once more turned to the advantage of the Christians. After the English prince had been fourteen months in Acre, the Sultan of Egypt offered peace: a ten years' truce was readily agreed upon, and the English quitted Palestine for their native land. Two years after, the Council of Lyons, assembled by Gregory IX., decreed a new crusade; but if the world had not become wiser, (for Philip the French king, Michael Palæologus, and the king of the two Sicilies, embraced the cause,) circumstances rendered the scheme abortive, and the power of the Latins approached its fatal termination. The Mamlukes swept all before them; Acre itself could not hold out against their overwhelming force; and before the close of the year 1231, 'the cry of religious war no longer rung thro' Palestine.'

Mr. Mills traces the last appearances of the crusading spirit, up to the avowed intention of our Henry the Fifth, as expressed in his last moments, to have led an army to Jerusalem; and he assigns satisfactory reasons for its gradual extinction. It is not enough to say, that the flame of fanaticism burned itself out. The decline of the papal influence, the cheapness of indulgences, the extension of the privileges of crusaders to other orthodox warriors, the commercial politics of the Italian states, and the growing conviction of the impossibility of ultimate success in preserving a Latin empire in Palestine, all powerfully concurred to ruin the crusading cause. Till past the middle of the fourteenth century, the Popes repeatedly sounded the charge, but the sovereigns of the West were either 'deaf or disobedient.' A very interesting sequel to the history is furnished by Mr. Mills, in the fate of the military orders.

The notion has obtained the sanction of several highly respectable writers, that the general consequences of the Crusades were upon the whole beneficial to society. We think that three causes have led to the adoption of such an opinion: in some persons, it has been the mere love of hypothesis; in others, the philosophic wish to discover in so enormous a tissue of crime and suffering, some redeeming qualities which might reconcile the mind to the contemplation of the vast aggregate of evil; while not a few, imagining that religion is in some way or other implicated in having originated the Crusades, would fain vindicate them on the ground of beneficial results. Dr. Robertson takes this view of them in the very superficial notice bestowed on the subject in his History of Charles V. He lays great stress on the advantages which the Crusaders must have derived from

marching through countries better cultivated and more highly civilized than their own, instancing Italy, which few of the Crusaders visited, and Constantinople, which they visited to destroy. Their views, he affirms, have enlarged, their prejudices *must* have worn off, as the effect of travelling through so many countries. 'Soon after the commencement of the Crusades,' it is added, 'we discover greater splendour in the courts of princes, 'greater pomp in public ceremonies, a more refined taste in 'pleasure and amusements, together with a more romantic 'spirit of enterprise spreading gradually over Europe; and to 'these wild expeditions, the effect of superstition or folly, we 'owe the first gleams of light which tended to dispel barbarism 'and ignorance.' Their influence on the state of property, and their commercial effects, are also instanced as importantly beneficial. In the same strain, the Author of an elegant "Intro-"duction to the Literary History of the Fourteenth Century," insists at great length upon the 'scientific and literary efficacy' of the Crusades, as one cause of the revival of learning; and an accomplished writer in one of our Quarterly Journals, goes so far as to affirm, that 'had it not been for these holy wars, the 'human race would, perhaps, even now have been degraded to 'the lowest depth of slavery and barbarity.'* Mr. Gibbon has come to a very different conclusion: while he refers with respect to his illustrious contemporary, Robertson, he owns that, in his view, the holy wars 'appear to have checked rather than for-'warded, the maturity of Europe.' This opinion, which is also that of Mr. Berington, the Author of a Literary History of the Middle Ages, is very ably supported by the present Writer; and few of his readers will, we apprehend, after the perusal of his concluding chapter, have any doubt of its accordance with fact. We shall briefly examine each of the supposed advantages accruing to society from these transmarine wars.

1. In the first place, it is said, that the Crusades were beneficial inasmuch as they were the means of bringing the barbarians of the West into contact with more polished nations. Any such advantage resulting from the sacred wars, would, however, with more propriety be referred to the spirit of pilgrimising, which had prevailed for ages prior to the first Crusade; and it is highly probable that to the travelling monks, although still more to the travelling Jews, learning is under some obligations. Aristotle was introduced to the Western universities through the medium of a corrupt version obtained from the Jews and Moors of Andalusia. It was, in fact, by way of Spain, not by that of Palestine, that Europe became

* Quarterly Review, No. 42, p. 546.

possessed of the treasures of the East, of which Bagdad, not Jerusalem, was the chief depository. The Crusades which grew out of the love of pilgrimage, were adapted rather to put an end to all beneficial intercourse with those Eastern nations, among whom, in the better days of the Abassides, as well as under some of the Fatimite caliphs, the itinerants both of commerce and of superstition, pursued their errands in safety. It is strange enough that the occupation of Constantinople by the Latins, should be brought forward as a circumstance beneficial to the interests of learning. A free communication had in preceding centuries been maintained between the clergy of the West and those of the East, which was interrupted only by the unhappy influence of ecclesiastical schism; but the Crusades added new fuel to the flames of theological hatred. The Latins were utter strangers to the language of Greece, as were the Greeks to the Latin; nor did the Crusades produce any approximation to a literary intercourse between them. When, in the fifth expedition, the storm of religious and national hatred burst upon the Eastern capital, the barbarian invaders, 'instead of 'beholding with the awe of classical enthusiasm the marbled and 'bronzed representations of ancient virtue and genius, destroyed 'the former, and coined the latter into drachmas.'

'The savage conquerors of Constantinople carried, in mock procession, the pens and inkhorns of the vanquished. Even the tomb of the Roman lawgiver was violated, and in the triple fire of the city, the incendiaries were never checked in their savage gratifications by the dread lest the flames should devour some sacred remnant of the learning of Greece or Rome. The Latins, during the half century in which they were lords of the imperial city, did not adopt the letters of the subjugated people. Rigord, in his life of Philip Augustus, tells us that the metaphysics of Aristotle, translated into Latin, were carried to Paris after the sack of Constantinople. I know of no other book that the West received from the East, in consequence of the Latin reign over Greece. The conquerors despised remains of literature; but they were diligent hunters after relics. Superstition received additional food by the sack of Constantinople, and every country of Europe for ages acknowledged its obligations.'

2. The diffusion of oriental imagery over the West, and the supply of new and inexhaustible materials for poetry and romance, are with not much better reason enumerated among the beneficial effects of the Crusades. Warburton and Warton have asserted that, after the holy wars, a new set of champions, conquests, and countries were introduced into romance; and that Soliman, Noureddin, with the cities of Palestine and Egypt, became the favourite topics. Mr. Ritson, a much higher authority, contends that no such change took place; and Mr. Dunlop, whose History of Fiction ought not to have escaped our attention so

long, espouses the same opinion. Mezerai, the French historian, is for deriving Romance entirely from the Crusades. Mr. Mills says:

'The circumstance of Musselmans aspiring to the dignity of chivalry, is a subject, indeed, of the Trouveurs, or Poets of the North of France, who flourished from the close of the twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century. But the wars between the Christians and the infidels in the holy land form no part of their theme. Those Italian novels which constitute much of the basis of the Decameron of Boccaccio are likewise barren of crusading events: but if it be true that many of those novels were drawn from the Fabliaux of the Trouveurs, we cannot expect to find in the copy what does not exist in the original. The bright days of Troubadour song were also coeval with the Crusades. The Provençal poets sometimes emerged from the mystics of love, to excite the zeal of princes and subjects for the recovery of the holy land. Occasionally and accidentally Palestine was the scene of their romantic passion. As the Crusades were wild and romantic adventures, it might be expected that they would have formed the great topic of popular fiction. But excepting the romance concerning Richard, and another relating to Godfrey, the Crusades are not the subject of the romances of chivalry. The victories of Arthur and Charlemagne were still dwelt upon, though the brilliant achievements of holy warriors were before the writers. The fame of the latter had not transcended the glory of the former. This love of ancient chivalry influence the courts of princes as well as the haunts of poets; and it was the reputation of Arthur, not that of Godfrey, which Edward III. wished to emulate, and in honour of whom he kept a round table of knights.'

The hypothesis which attributes to the Crusades the improvement of Western Literature, is manifestly a mere assumption, and it owes all its plausibility to an unfair view of the subject. Before their 'literary efficacy' could be admitted, it ought to be shewn, that whatever supposed accessions to our resources they were instrumental in introducing, would not have been otherwise obtained through commercial intercourse with the East, through the visits of pilgrims, and especially through the Saracens of Spain and Sicily. After all, when we reflect upon the millions who perished in the crusading wars, upon the unparalleled atrocities which marked alike the successes and the reverses of the Latins, and upon all the horrible mischiefs which flowed from a ferocious fanaticism, it would doubtless be highly consolatory to the mind, to think that the Crusades had some share in furnishing the Troubadour with a theme, or in inspiring the genius of Romance!

3. The influence of the sacred wars upon *the spirit of chivalry*, is a point to which we have already adverted. Our opinion is, that it was decidedly unfavourable; that the union of religion and arms, or rather, the grafting of fanatical zeal on the military

passion, only tended to change ambition into revenge, and courage into cruelty.

'On the fair part of ancient warfare,' says Mr. Mills, 'the Crusades cast a baleful influence. That tenacious and delicate regard to veracity which was a great characteristic of the true knight, must have lost much of its sensitiveness by the habitual and systematic violations of faith with infidels. A liberal treatment of prisoners was another remarkable point in the chivalric character. So firm was the trust of cavaliers in each other's honour, that it was common for a victorious knight to suffer his captive to return to his own country, in order to collect his ransom. In the days of Richard and Saladin, some lofty and romantic feelings of generosity took from war many of its horrors, and the Turks even aspired to the distinction of Christian knighthood. But on most other occasions, as there was no common tie of religion between the two people, no principle mutually acknowledged, the cavaliers would place no trust in the word of men whom they either hated or despised. In some cases a pure thirst of glory, and a generous love of renown, impelled the European soldiers into the east: but bigotry and cruelty were the general and ruling passions of holy warriors. When, indeed, the knight was errant in Palestine, as the price of female smiles, the full effects of chivalry and of holy wars were similar. But these instances were comparatively rare. The western world precipitated itself into Asia from fanatical, not romantic motives; for purposes of savage destruction, not of that high-minded protection of women which the lawless state of society in Europe rendered necessary, and which was granted in consequence of the deep feelings of veneration with which the German ancestors of the cavaliers had always regarded the opposite sex. Palestine was the land of religion, but not of love. The Crusaders were armed devotees rather than gentle knights. The prize of beauty was not joined with the praise of arms. The soldiers of the cross had all the heroism, but none of the polish, of knight-errantry, and the sword leaped from its scabbard, not for the generous purpose of avenging the looks which threatened beauty with insult; but for the vile and rude office of striking off a Saracen's head. In Europe, they fought for Heaven and the ladies; in Palestine, for Heaven only; and the spirit of military fanaticism was so much stronger than that of military gallantry, that many noble cavaliers, disdaining the soft collar of the gentle affections, aspired to high and austere virtues, and enrolled themselves in those martial fraternities, of which celibacy was the key, in order that the "lascivious pleasings of the lute" should be drowned in the roarings of the brazen throat of Paynim war.' Vol. II. pp. 349—352.

The formation of the orders of military friars, tended to introduce a total change in the spirit of chivalry. These self-devoted celibates renounced all social ties, all humanizing relations, and the actual consequence was, that they were distinguished by cruelty, treachery, and licentiousness. The implacable hostility which subsisted between the rival orders, surpassed the usual measure of party or of national hatred. The union, indeed, between the warrior and the devotee, was in itself monstrous: it was

the offspring of Paganism, and its effects corresponded to the character thus generated, that of 'a savage fanaticism.'

4. Dr. Robertson adverts to the *commercial* effects of the Crusades; and it may be admitted that trade with the Christian states in Palestine, and the furnishing of transports to the pilgrims, greatly augmented the wealth of the commercial cities of Italy. The capture of Constantinople restored the maritime ascendancy of Venice, but this was soon taken from her by Genoa, by whom also Pisa was subdued; so that the rapid increase of the wealth and power of the former two, and the eventual destruction of the latter, are, as Mr. Mills remarks, the principal circumstances in commercial history which the Crusades were instrumental in producing. Against whatever advantages commerce might derive from the holy expeditions, must be set the impoverishment of whole nations, by the constant drain of population and of money which they occasioned, and the oppressive exactions for which they afforded so convenient a pretext. In the fall of Constantinople, the destruction of property was immense. 'At the first view', remarks the profound historian so often referred to, 'it should seem that the wealth of Constantinople was only transferred from one nation to another. But in the miserable account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain: the smiles of the Latins were transient and fallacious; the Greeks for ever wept over the ruins of their country.'

5. In one respect, however, Mr. Gibbon himself is disposed to admit that the accidental operation of the Crusades was beneficial in removing an evil; in breaking the power of the feudal aristocracy, by dissipating the fortunes of the barons, and in some cases extinguishing their race. 'Their poverty extorted from their pride those charters of freedom which unlocked the fetters of the slave, secured the farm of the peasant and the shop of the artificer, and gradually restored a substance and a soul to the most numerous and useful part of the community.' The increase of the monarchical power and prerogative, in some cases by lapsed fiefs, in others by the purchase or forcible appropriation of territories belonging to absentees, is supposed to have been a simultaneous consequence. In reply to this argument, we again avail ourselves of the judicious reasonings of the present Author.

'It cannot be shown, that the condition of the people was ameliorated, or that the tyranny of the aristocracy was broken by the holy wars. Much blood and treasure were wasted; but in no greater ratio in one class of society than in another, for the epidemic ran through all ranks of people, and potentates and plebeians made consentaneous movements and simultaneous exertions. However calamitous might have been the lot of individuals, yet it does not appear that families were ruined on

became extinct in consequence of the Crusades. Religious madness was hereditary, and the reader of these volumes must have often remarked how frequently, though at distant intervals, members of the same family appeared on the scene. For example, the counts of St. Paul, Flanders, and Blois, of every generation, headed their well-appointed powers, and spread the bloody cross on Paynim ground. If the crown had been aggrandized by the holy wars, we might expect to find instances of it in the French monarchy particularly, because the valorous noblesse of France entered into the Crusades with more enthusiasm than other people, and because we know that the throne of that country was more powerful at the close of the thirteenth, than at the end of the eleventh, century. In this long interval, many of the grand fiefs were re-annexed to the crown. Artois was gained by marriage; the county of Alençon, by purchase. Vermandois and Valois were added to the dominion of Philip Augustus by the donation of the last possessor. The same prince acquired Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Poitiers, and Anjou, because he profited by the imbecility of king John of England, and the divisions among the barons consequent on the circumstance, that some of them espoused the cause of Arthur, duke of Bretagne, and others, that of his uncle. Philip the Fair established his seignorial rights over Champagne, by virtue of his marriage with the heiress of that county. The fief of Macon, also, was united to the throne in the days of the Crusades. Not, however, in consequence of war, but because the last count and countess had no children, and the count sold it to St. Louis. The county of Perche, also a part of the Norman territories, followed after some years the fate of the parent state. The French crown regained the south of France partly by war, and partly by marriage. The county of Carcasson was added to the monarchy by St. Louis, in the time of the contests with the Albigenses. Charles of Anjou, a brother of St. Louis, received with his wife the great dower of Provence, and some years afterwards made a violent seizure of the Provençal marquisate, and of all the estates which appertained to the house of Thoulouse. Except the county and city of Bourges, which a French king purchased from a crusading knight, no regal acquisitions of arriere fiefs proceeded from the holy wars.' Vol. II. pp. 351—4.

If the power of the French crown was much higher at the end of the thirteenth, than it had been at the close of the eleventh century, the influence of the Imperial throne, as Mr. Mills remarks, was materially depressed; and these opposite effects could not have been the simple results of the same alleged cause, the destruction of the aristocracy by the Crusades. The real causes of the different results of the feudal system in France and Germany, have been ably exposed by Mr. Hallam: the Crusades had certainly but little share in determining the course of events. They had still less to do in establishing the independence of the cities in the North of Italy. In England, their operation is not perceptible. The monarchy stood in the same situation at the close of the reign of Richard I., as at its

commencement. The assumption of the cross by King John, did not take place till after he had surrendered his crown to the papal see, and the barons had formed a confederacy against him; it neither retarded, therefore, nor accelerated the progress of our liberties.

6. On the interests of Christianity, of public morals, and of religious liberty, the influence of the Crusades was most disastrous. We need but recapitulate their baleful fruits,—the traffic in indulgences, the clerical dragooning of heretics, and the execrable Inquisition. The natural tendency of war is to brutalize, but that of religious wars, is, if we may be allowed the phrase, to infernalize the mind. The Crusaders were taught to regard the slaughter of human beings as a propitiation for the foulest crimes; and every crime which can disgrace human nature, was committed by them in Palestine. At home, money procured the same impunity, for every offence had its price. Thus was religion alternately exhibited by the villany of the priests, as a system of ferocity and as a trade. While its holy precepts were in this manner nullified, its doctrines were lost amid the idolatrous corruptions of superstition. If we consider the aspect which Christianity so disguised, must have worn in the eyes of the Mussulmans, we can scarcely blame them for regarding it as a foul system of idolatry. And who shall estimate the extent to which this source of prejudice against the Christian name, has operated in retarding the conversion of the nations? Nor is this all: circumstances which tended so directly to obstruct the influence of religion upon the minds of men, making war against every principle of the Gospel, must have thwarted, and that in no small degree, the march of civilization and the development of intellect. If Christianity be, in its moral and political influence, good, the influence of events which opposed the progress of Christianity, and counteracted the operation of its principles, must have been evil,—evil in those very respects, as tending to the enslavement, instead of the emancipation of the human mind, and to the destruction, instead of the progress of social freedom and happiness. 'If it be still insisted,' says Mr. Berington, 'that some benefits in domestic, civil, or scientific knowledge were necessarily communicated to Europe, 'either by the expeditions themselves, or, at least, owing to our 'long abode in the East, I ask what those benefits were; or how 'it happens, that the literary and intellectual aspect of Europe 'exhibited no striking changes till other causes, wholly unconnected with the Crusades, were brought into action. I believe, then, that these expeditions were utterly sterile with 'respect to the arts, to learning, and every moral advantage, 'and that they neither retarded the progress of the invading 'enemy, nor, for a single day the fate of the Eastern empire.'

Art. II. *Ivanhoe; a Romance.* By "the Author of Waverley," &c. 3 vols. cr. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1820.

THERE are several good reasons for our not saying much about the present production of the Author of Waverley. In the first place, it belongs to a class of works which has but doubtful claims upon our notice; in the next place, we have recently delivered our sentiments pretty much at large upon some preceding publications of the same Author; and we shall only add, though we have twenty reasons quite as strong in reserve, that most of our readers have before this time made up their own opinion about the merits of Ivanhoe, and will therefore care less about ours. It is almost impossible to keep pace with the pen of this prolific Writer. Before the novel in question could have completed the circulation of the reading societies, or half the subscribers to the libraries could have been satisfied, a new series of volumes is in the hands of the public, and more are understood to be behind. We might regret this rapidity of composition in a writer of so much talent, were there not reason to believe, that he is one who can execute with spirit only his first warm conceptions, and that the attempt to elaborate would, with him, be as unsuccessful as it would be irksome. He has probably taken greater pains, if not in writing, yet, in order to write the present work, than in the case of any of the preceding tales: accordingly, it contains more information of a certain kind, is in parts more highly wrought, and is richer in antiquarian details, than perhaps any other; but it has less of verisimilitude, and makes a much more evanescent, if not a less vivid impression upon the reader's fancy.

The Author was himself aware that he was making an experiment very different from any of his previous attempts, when he undertook to carry his readers six hundred years back, instead of sixty, and 'to obtain an interest for the traditions and manners 'of old England, similar to that which has been excited in 'behalf of those of our poorer and less celebrated neighbours.' In the Dedicatory Epistle to the Rev. Dr. Dryasdust, he anticipates and replies to the objections which *à priori* lie against such an attempt, founded on the remote distance of the state of society in which the scene is laid, the total dissimilarity of the circumstances and manners of that era, to any thing which comes within the range of an Englishman's experience, and the scantiness of the materials for memoirs of the domestic life of our Saxon and Norman ancestors. English is a term scarcely applicable, indeed, to the times of Richard I. At that period, the very language of the country was undergoing a transition correspondent to the change which was being wrought upon the people, by the blending down of the conquerors and the con-

quered into one nation; and while Norman French was the only language 'of honour, of chivalry, and of justice,' which continued to be the case to the time of Edward the Third, it is not without a contradiction in terms that we can speak of old English manners, as having under such circumstances come into existence. Whether we term them English, or French, or Anglo-Norman, they were still, however, the manners of our ancestors, and as such, a legitimate matter of curiosity. The only question is, whether they admit of being brought before us with a graphic force of description, that shall transport us in imagination back to the times to which the tale refers, and deceive us into the belief that in the pictures of the Novelist, we have represented to us the realities of history.

From one obvious means of aiding to produce such an illusion, the Writer is of necesity debarred by the circumstance, that the language he is compelled to employ, is not the language of the times in which his *dramatis personæ* are supposed to have lived: at the same time there is, in the present instance, just a sufficient mixture of foreign and antiquated phraseology, to fix the reader's attention upon the circumstance, and to give the medium employed, the awkwardness of translation. The extent of this disadvantage can be judged of only by calling to mind how much of the spirit and effect of the dialogue in the preceding tales of the Author of Waverley, arise from the recognised peculiarities of provincial idiom, and the comic force of quaint or familiar turns of expression. We could point out more than one of the ideal actors, who is indebted to this circumstance for nearly the whole of his dramatic individuality and importance. The character of the Jester in Ivanhoe, is one of the most interesting in the Tale; strange to say, however, it is an interest of an heroic kind, arising from the touching display of his fidelity to his master, and his other very singular good qualities. His appropriate excellence as a professed humourist, is very tolerably vindicated by the occasional sallies of his wit; yet, in spite of his best efforts, he is, take him altogether, an exceedingly less amusing and less comic personage than either Captain Dugald Dalgetty, or Dousterswivel, or Dominie Sampson. In a pure romance, the modern flavour of the language put into the mouths of the ladies and gentlemen of remote times, is not felt to be a discrepancy; but the present work has for its design, in common with all the inimitable productions of its Author, to present to us, with antiquarian fidelity, the manners and customs of the age. Every part, therefore, must be in more than dramatic consistency; every thing bordering upon palpable anachronism, must be carefully avoided; and although the language 'must not be 'exclusively obsolete and unintelligible,' yet 'no word or turn 'of phraseology betraying an origin directly modern,' is, if pos-

sible, to be admitted into the composition. All that the romance-writer is concerned to make us believe, is, that the events he details, took place in the order and under the circumstances described, and that the parties whose names are given, had an existence, and did and said in substance the things ascribed to their agency. But the Author of Ivanhoe, not content with this, aims to produce the conviction in his readers, that the personages of the tale performed their part in a specific manner, and used certain specific modes of speech; that the events recorded not merely took place, but took place under such and such minutely defined peculiarities of scene and circumstance. The consequence is, that the moment the antiquary is at fault, the pseudo-historian is detected in his forgeries; every incongruity in the narrative, operates as an impeachment of his testimony; the costume which the actors have borrowed from ancient times, is perceived to be the only thing which claims affinity with reality; and while we admire the ingenuity and inventive fertility of the Writer, no other impression is left on the mind, than that of a pageant or a masquerade.

It is a fatal disadvantage in all historical romances, that they attempt to combine two opposite kinds of interest; that arising from general views of society connected with moral and political considerations, and implying a certain degree of abstraction, which is the proper interest of history, and that resulting from an engrossing sympathy with the feelings and fortunes of individuals, which is the appropriate charm of fictitious narrative. It is true that sometimes the historian, by deviating into the province of the biographer, succeeds in bespeaking a very strong feeling of interest on behalf of some favourite hero; but neither the design nor the excellence of history consists in producing any such effect upon the feelings through the medium of the imagination. The effect, however, is still in sufficient harmony with that of the general narrative, the mind being in either case occupied with realities. In the state of feeling requisite to the full enjoyment of a work of fiction, the realities of history can, on the contrary, please only as they are disguised by circumstances which give them the power of acting upon the imagination. The sole purpose which they are adapted to serve, is, to lend an appearance of verity to the supposititious details which are built upon them; for which purpose it is requisite that they should occupy the mere back-ground, so as never to become the object of distinct attention. But in that anomalous sort of production which is perpetually hovering between history and romance without possessing the genuine character of either, the illusion is never complete: the grand facts of history are perpetually forcing themselves upon the recollection in all their unromantic truth and moral importance, while a competitor

interest to which the imagination is quite disposed to yield, is ever soliciting the feelings, and awakening emotions of an opposite nature. We think that if the readers of such works were at sufficient leisure to attend to the operation of their own minds under the excitation of perusal, they would find that they never entered into the full spirit of the fiction, except when they fairly lost sight of the history.

The historical plays of Shakspeare may seem to require our notice as a grand exception to this remark. The fact is, that they please, not as romance, but as history: the illusion is complete, but it is produced by different means from those employed by the Novelist; and the high tragic interest which is for the most part excited by the graver scenes of the great Dramatist, bears a much nearer relation to what the same scenes in real life would produce, than is the case with any other species of fiction. Add to this, that the charm of the language, and the beauty and elevation of the sentiment, qualities substantially real, have no small share in the effect produced upon the imagination.

A comparison has been more than indirectly suggested between Shakspeare and the Author of Waverley. No better illustration could have been furnished than that with which the Novelist has himself supplied us in Ivanhoe, for the purpose of pointing out the extent of the difference. Shakspeare is *all true;* he is always true to nature, and where he differs from the truth of history, it is only by strong and repeated efforts that the mind can disengage itself from the thraldom of his authority. In the delineation of the Scottish and Gaelic national characters, the Author of the Novels is equally faithful, and, within a certain range, the power of observation supplies to him the place of that mighty creative genius which made Shakspeare free of the universe. Nothing since Hamlet and Falstaff took their place among the real existences of history, has ever approached so near to those splendid creations of fancy, in individuality and verisimilitude, as some of the familiar personages in these tales. But we must not confound the description of talent, any more than the degree of talent, which has originated the latter, with the comprehensive genius of the great Expositor of Nature.

Ivanhoe is perhaps one of the cleverest of all our Author's productions; but in those respects in which it was an experiment, it is, in our opinion, a failure. It professes to be a romance; but the talents of the Author are not adapted to romance-writing. He is, if we mistake not, destitute of the requisite enthusiasm. The writer of a romance must at least seem to be in earnest, and by this means he may succeed in engaging the reader's attention to his narrative, how improbable soever it may be, and how foreign soever the events to his experience. A sort of reflected belief is awakened by the recital

of wonders which are known to have exerted on the minds of others the effect of reality, provided there is nothing in the air and manner of the reciter to counteract it. Our Author refers to the goblin tale written by Horace Walpole, 'which has 'thrilled many a bosom,' and it furnishes an instance in point. The Castle of Otranto is so admirable an imitation of the old romances, that it passes with the reader, not simply as a *record* of the times to which it relates, but as a *production* of those times; and hence it is that the enchanted casque, which, viewed as a modern fiction, would be too palpably false to awaken any sensation of terror, is an incident perfectly proper and highly impressive. In like manner, the Lay of the Last Minstrel derives from the character of the imaginary bard, a charm which none of the subsequent poems of the same Author possess. The authenticity of tales of gramarye and witchcraft, is quite equal to that of the more plausible fictions about damsels and warriors; and as to the various degrees of credibility which respectively attach to them, that circumstance can make no difference, when there is, in either case, absolutely no ground of belief, but the reader is called upon to place himself in the situation of those persons by whom they were alike received with implicit credulity.

If there be any justice in these remarks, it will be sufficient to say, that Ivanhoe has no pretensions to the character of an ancient legend: it has none of the musty odour of antiquity about it. The diction of the narrative is unaffectedly modern; and it is only in the dialogue that any attempt is made to give an antique cast to the phraseology. Instead of the grave and somewhat dignified style in which it behooved the celebrator of ancient deeds of chivalry to describe such high achievements, a vein of facetiousness runs through the composition, which is not always in unison with good taste; and the Author throughout the narrative, takes especial care to keep himself distinct from the subjects of the fiction, ever and anon pretending to translate from the language of the original, or inserting parenthetical notes and reflections, such as might be looked for in a genuine and veritable history. The effect of this, is positively bad; and the alternate description and dialogue present a species of patchwork, which has neither beauty, nor apparent necessity, nor correctness to recommend it. There are many parts of the Tale which are strikingly picturesque and dramatic, and the characters of some of the personages are very finely discriminated; all this we readily admit; but what we complain of, and what we think most readers on a cool perusal will perceive to be matter of just complaint, is, that the Author has not given us either genuine romance or genuine history: he has furnished us with neither a memoir nor a legend of the times,

—certainly with nothing that can convey any idea of the living manners of our ancestors, beyond what may easily be picked out of the History of England, except as to a few points of costume; nor yet with a work of pure entrancing fiction; but with that mongrel sort of production, an historical novel,—as inferior in point of interest (we do not say in point of merit) to the Castle of Otranto, or the Mysteries of Udolpho, as it is to the Chronicle of the Cid, or the inimitable Froissart.

In conformity to equitable custom, we shall now proceed, without further prologue, to select a few extracts from the work before us, which we shall leave to speak for themselves. The tournament is, unquestionably, one of the very best things in the Tale, but its length will preclude our giving the whole of the scene.

'The scene was singularly romantic. On the verge of a wood, which approached to within a mile of the town of Ashby, was an extensive meadow of the finest and most beautiful green turf, surrounded on one side by the forest, and fringed on the other by straggling oak-trees, some of which had grown to an immense size. The ground, as if fashioned on purpose for the martial display which was intended, sloped gradually down on all sides to a level bottom, which was inclosed for the lists with strong palisades, forming a space of a quarter of a mile in length, and about half as broad. The form was square, save that the corners were considerably rounded off, in order to afford more convenience for the spectators. The openings for the entry of the combatants were at the northern and southern extremities of the lists, accessible by strong wooden gates, each wide enough to admit two horsemen riding abreast. At each of these portals were stationed two heralds, attended by six trumpets, as many pursuivants, and a strong body of men-at-arms for maintaining order, and ascertaining the quality of the knights who proposed to engage in this martial game.

'On a platform beyond the southern entrance, formed by a natural elevation of the ground, were pitched five magnificent pavilions, adorned with pennons of russet and black, the chosen colour of the five knights challengers. The cords of the tents were of the same colour. Before each pavilion was suspended the shield of the knight by whom it was occupied, and beside it stood his squire, quaintly disguised as a savage or sylvan man, or in some other fantastic dress, according to the taste of his master, and the character which he was pleased to assume during the game. The central pavilion, as the place of honour, had been assigned to Brian de Bois Guilbert, whose renown, in all games of chivalry, no less than his connection with the knights who had undertaken this Passage of Arms, had occasioned him to be eagerly received in the company of the challengers, and even adopted as a chief. On one side of his tent were pitched those of Reginald Front-de-Bœuf and Richard de Malvoisin, and on the other was the pavilion of Hugh de Glentmesnil, a noble baron in the vicinity, whose ancestor had been Lord High Steward of England in

the time of the Conqueror, and his son William Rufus. Ralph de Vipont, a Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, who had some ancient possessions at a place called Heather, near Ashby-de-la-Zouche, occupied the fifth pavilion. From the entrance into the lists, a gently sloping passage, ten yards in breadth, led up to the platform on which the tents were pitched. It was strongly secured by a palisade on each side, as was the esplanade in front of the pavilions, and the whole was guarded by men-at-arms.

'The northern access to the lists terminated in a similar entrance of thirty feet in breadth, at the extremity of which was a large inclosed space for such knights as might be disposed to enter the lists with the challengers, behind which were placed tents containing refreshments of every kind for their accommodation, with armourers, farriers, and other attendants in readiness to give their services wherever they might be necessary.

'The exterior of the lists was in part occupied by temporary galleries spread with tapestry and carpets, and accommodated with cushions for the convenience of those ladies and nobles who were expected to attend upon the tournament. A narrow space, betwixt these galleries and the lists, gave accommodation for yeomanry and spectators of a better degree than the mere vulgar, and might be compared to the pit of a theatre. The promiscuous multitude arranged themselves upon large banks of turf prepared for the purpose, which, aided by the natural elevation of the ground, enabled them to look over the galleries and obtain a fair view into the lists. Besides the accommodation which these stations afforded, many hundreds had perched themselves on the branches of the trees which surrounded the meadow, and even the steeple of a country church, at some distance, was crowded with spectators.

'It only remains to notice respecting the general arrangement, that one gallery in the very centre of the eastern side of the lists, and consequently exactly opposite to the spot where the shock of the combat must take place, was raised higher than the others, more richly decorated, and graced by a sort of throne and canopy, on which the royal arms were emblazoned. Squires, pages, and yeomen in rich liveries, waited around this place of honour, which was designed for Prince John and his attendants. Opposite to this royal gallery was another, elevated to the same height on the western side of the lists; and more gaily, if less sumptuously decorated, than that destined for the Prince himself. A train of pages and of young maidens, the most beautiful who could be selected, gaily dressed in fancy habits of green and pink, surrounded a throne decorated with the same colours. Among pennons and flags bearing wounded hearts, burning hearts, bleeding hearts, bows and quivers, and all the common place emblems of the triumphs of Cupid, a blazoned inscription informed the spectators that this seat of honour was designed for *La Reyne de la Beauté et des Amours*. But who the Queen of Beauty and of Love was to prove, no one was prepared to guess.'

'At length the barriers were opened, and five knights, chosen by lot, advanced slowly into the area; a single champion riding in front, and the other four following in pairs. All were splendidly armed,

and my Saxon authority (in the Wardour Manuscript,) records at great length their devices, their colours, and the embroidery of their horse trappings. It is unnecessary to be particular on these subjects. To borrow lines from a contemporary poet, who has written but too little—

> 'The knights are dust,
> And their good swords are rust,
> Their souls are with the saints, we trust.

'Their escutcheons have long mouldered from the walls of their castles. Their castles themselves are but green mounds and shattered ruins—the place that once knew them, knows them no more—nay, many a race since theirs has died out and been forgotten in the very land which they occupied, with all the authority of feudal proprietors and feudal lords. What then would it avail the reader to know their names, or the evanescent symbols of their martial rank!

'Now, however, no whit anticipating the oblivion which awaited their names and feats, the champions advanced through the lists, restraining their fiery steeds, and compelling them to move slowly, while, at the same time, they exhibited their paces, together with the grace and dexterity of the riders. As the procession entered the lists, the sound of a wild Barbaric music was heard from behind the tents of the challengers, where the performers were concealed. It was of eastern origin, having been brought from the Holy Land: and the mixture of the cymbals and bells seemed to bid welcome at once, and defiance, to the knights as they advanced. With the eyes of an immense concourse of spectators fixed upon them, the five knights advanced up to the platform upon which the tents of the challengers stood, and there separating themselves, each touched slightly, and with the reverse of his lance, the shield of the antagonist to whom he wished to oppose himself. The lower orders of spectators in general —nay, many of the higher, and it is even said several of the ladies, were rather disappointed at the champions choosing the arms of courtesy. For the same sort of persons, who, in the present day, applaud most highly the deepest tragedies, were then interested in a tournament exactly in proportion to the danger incurred by the champions engaged.

'Having intimated their more pacific purpose, the champions retreated to the extremity of the lists, where they remained drawn up in a line; while the challengers, sallying each from his pavilion, mounted their horses, and headed by Brian de Bois-Guilbert, descended from the platform, and opposed themselves individually to the knights who had touched their respective shields.

'At the flourish of clarions and trumpets, they started out against each other at full gallop, and such was the superior dexterity or good fortune of the challengers, that those opposed to Bois-Guilbert, Malvoisin, and Front-de-Bœuf, rolled on the ground. The antagonist of Grant-Mesnil, instead of bearing his lance-point fair against the crest of his enemy, swerved so much from the direct line as to break his weapon athwart the person of his opponent—a circumstance which was accounted more disgraceful than being actually unhorsed; be-

cause the one might happen from accident, whereas the other evinced awkwardness and want of management of the weapon and of the horse. The fifth knight alone maintained the honour of his party, and parted fairly with the Knight of St. John, both splintering their lances without advantage on either side.

'The shouts of the multitude, together with the acclamations of the heralds, and the clangour of the trumpets, announced the triumph of the victors and the defeat of the vanquished. The former retreated to their pavilions, and the latter, gathering themselves up as they could, withdrew from the lists in disgrace and dejection, to agree with their victors concerning the redemption of their arms and their horses, which, according to the laws of the tournament, they had forfeited.' Vol. I. pp. 133—59.

The siege of the castle of Torquilstone by the Black Knight and his strange ally, Locksley, at the head of a band of heroic outlaws, is another of those admirably painted scenes which exhibit the master hand. Wilfrid of Ivanhoe, wounded and a prisoner, is stretched upon a bed of pain. His attendant is a lovely Jewess, the magnanimous heroine of the tale, upon the delineation of whose character, the Author has bestowed his very best efforts.

'"And I must lie here like a bedridden monk," exclaimed Ivanhoe, "while the game that gives me freedom or death is played out by the hand of others!—Look from the window once again, kind maiden, but beware that you are not marked by the archers beneath —Look out once more, and tell me if they yet advance to the storm."

'With patient courage, strengthened by the interval which she had employed in mental devotion, Rebecca again took post at the lattice, sheltering herself, however, so as not to be visible from beneath.

'"What dost thou see, Rebecca?" again demanded the wounded knight.

'"Nothing but the cloud of arrows, flying so thick as to dazzle mine eyes, and to hide the bowmen who shoot them."

'"That cannot endure," said Ivanhoe; "if they press not right on to carry the castle by pure force of arms, the archery may avail but little against stone walls and bulwarks. Look for the knight of the fetterlock, fair Rebecca, and see how he bears himself; for as the leader is, so will his followers be."

'"I see him not," said Rebecca.

'"Foul craven!" exclaimed Ivanhoe; "does he blench from the helm when the wind blows highest?"

'"He blenches not! he blenches not!" said Rebecca, "I see him now; he leads a body of men close under the outer barrier of the barbican.—They pull down the piles and palisades; they hew down the barriers with axes—His high black plume floats abroad over the throng, like a raven over the field of the slain.—They have made a breach in the barriers—they rush in—they are thrust back!—Front-de-Bœuf heads the defenders, I see his gigantic form above the press.

They throng again to the breach, and the pass is disputed hand to hand and man to man. God of Jacob! it is the meeting of two fierce tides—the conflict of two oceans moved by adverse winds."

'She turned her head from the lattice, as if unable longer to endure a sight so terrible.

'"Look forth, again, Rebecca," said Ivanhoe, mistaking the cause of her retiring; "the archery must in some degree have ceased, since they are now fighting hand to hand—Look again, there is now less danger."

'Rebecca again looked forth, and almost immediately exclaimed, "Holy prophets of the law! Front-de-Bœuf and the Black Knight fight hand to hand on the breach, amid the roar of their followers, who watch the progress of the strife—Heaven strike with the cause of the oppressed and of the captive!" She then uttered a loud shriek, and exclaimed, "He is down!—he is down!"

'"Who is down?" cried Ivanhoe; "for our dear Lady's sake, tell me which has fallen?"

'"The Black Knight," answered Rebecca, faintly; then instantly again shouted with joyful eagerness—"But no—but no!—the name of the Lord of Hosts be blessed!—he is on foot again, and fights as if there were twenty men's strength in his single arm—His sword is broken—he snatches an axe from a yeoman—he presses Front-de-Bœuf with blow on blow—The giant stoops and totters like an oak under the steel of the woodman—he falls—he falls!"

'"Front-de-Bœuf!" exclaimed Ivanhoe.

'"Front-de-Bœuf," answered the Jewess; "his men rush to the rescue, headed by the haughty Templar—their united force compels the champion to pause—They drag Front-de-Bœuf within the walls.

'"The assailants have won the barriers, have they not?" said Ivanhoe.

'"They have—they have—and they press the besieged hard upon the outer wall; some plant ladders, some swarm like bees, and endeavour to ascend upon the shoulders of each other—down go stones, beams, and trunks of trees upon their heads, and as fast as they bear the wounded to the rear, fresh men supply their place in the assault—Great God! hast thou given men thine own image, that it should be thus cruelly defaced by the hands of their brethren!"

'"Think not of that," replied Ivanhoe; "this is no time for such thoughts.—Who yield?—who push their way?"

'"The ladders are thrown down," replied Rebecca, shuddering; "the soldiers lie grovelling under them like crushed reptiles—The besieged have the better."

'"Saint George strike for us," said the Knight; "do the false yeomen give way?"

'"No!" exclaimed Rebecca, "they bear themselves right yeomanly—the Black Knight approaches the postern with his huge axe—the thundering blows which he deals, you may hear them above all the din and shouts of the battle—Stones and beams are hailed down on the bold champion—he regards them no more than if they were thistle-down or feathers."

' " By Saint John of Acre," said Ivanhoe, raising himself joyfully on his couch, " methought there was but one man in England that might do such a deed."

' " The postern gate shakes," continued Rebecca; " it crashes—it is splintered by his blows—they rush in—the out-work is won—Oh God!—they hurl the defenders from the battlements—they throw them into the moat—O men, if ye be indeed men, spare them that can resist no longer!"

' " The bridge—the bridge which communicates with the castle—have they won that pass?" exclaimed Ivanhoe.

' " No," replied Rebecca, " the Templar has destroyed the plank on which they crossed—few of the defenders escaped with him into the castle—the shrieks and cries which you hear tell the fate of the others—Alas! I see that it is still more difficult to look upon victory than upon battle."

' " What do they now, maiden?" said Ivanhoe; " look forth yet again—this is no time to faint at bloodshed."

' " It is over for the time," said Rebecca; " our friends strengthen themselves within the out-work which they have mastered, and it affords them so good a shelter from the foemen's shot, that the garrison only bestow a few bolts on it from interval to interval, as if rather to disquiet than effectually injure them."

' " Our friends," said Wilfrid, " will surely not abandon an enterprize so gloriously begun and so happily attained.—O no! I will put my faith in the good knight whose axe has rent heart-of-oak and bars of iron.—Singular," he again muttered to himself, " if there be two who can do a deed of such *derring-do*—a fetter-lock, and a shackle-bolt on a field sable—what may that mean?—seest thou nought else, Rebecca, by which the Black Knight may be distinguished?"

' " Nothing," said the Jewess; all about him is black as the wing of the night raven. Nothing can I spy that can mark him further—but having once seen him put forth his strength in battle, methinks I could know him again among a thousand warriors. He rushes to the fray as if he were summoned to a banquet. There is more than mere strength, there seems as if the whole soul and spirit of the champion were given to every blow which he deals upon his enemies. God assoilzie him of the sin of bloodshed!—it is fearful, yet magnificent, to behold how the arm and heart of one man can triumph over hundreds." ' Vol. II. pp. 294—301.

The death-scene of Front de Bœuf is not half so thrilling as that of old Dumbiedikes, nor does the Saxon maniac, Ulrica, horrible even to disgusting as is the whole conception, equal in sublimity the character of old Elspeth in the Antiquary. The fact is, that the historic truth of terrible realities like those to which we are at present alluding, forms no apology for the introduction of them into Romance. Our last specimen must be, the trial of Rebecca on the charge of witchcraft.

' At this period of the trial, the Grand Master commanded Rebecca to unveil herself. Opening her lips for the first time, she replied

patiently, but with dignity,—"That it was not the wont of the daughters of her people to uncover their faces when alone in an assembly of strangers." The sweet tones of her voice, and the softness of her reply, impressed on the audience a sentiment of pity and sympathy. But Beaumanoir, in whose mind the suppression of each feeling of humanity which could interfere with his imagined duty, was a virtue of itself, repeated his commands that his victim should be unveiled. The guards were about to remove her veil accordingly, when she stood up before the Grand Master and said, "Nay, but for the love of your own daughters—Alas," she said, recollecting herself, "ye have no daughters!—but for the remembrance of your mothers—for the love of your sisters, and of female decency, let me not be thus handled in your presence; it suits not a maiden to be disrobed by such rude grooms. I will obey you," she added, with an expression of patient sorrow in her voice, which had almost melted the heart of Beaumanoir himself; "ye are elders among your people, and at your command I will shew the features of an ill-fated maiden."

'She withdrew her veil, and looked on them with a countenance in which bashfulness contended with dignity. Her exceeding beauty excited a murmur of surprise, and the younger knights told each other with their eyes, in silent correspondence, that Brian's best apology was in the power of her real charms, rather than of her imaginary witchcraft.'

'The two men-at-arms, with whom Albert Malvoisin had not failed to communicate upon the import of their testimony, were now called forward. Though both were hardened and inflexible villains, the sight of the captive maiden, as well as her exceeding beauty, at the first appeared to stagger them; but an expressive glance from the Preceptor of Templestowe restored them to their dogged composure; and they delivered, with a precision which would have seemed suspicious to more favourable judges, circumstances either altogether fictitious, or trivial and natural in themselves, but rendered pregnant with suspicion by the exaggerated manner in which they were told, and the sinister commentary which the witnesses added to the facts. The circumstances of their evidence would have been, in modern days, divided into two classes—those which were immaterial, and those which were actually and physically impossible. But both were, in those ignorant and superstitious times, easily credited as proofs of guilt.—The first class set forth, that Rebecca was heard to mutter to herself in an unknown tongue—that the songs she sung by fits were of a strangely sweet sound, which made the ears of the hearer tingle, and his heart throb—that she spoke at times to herself, and seemed to look upward for a reply—that her garments were of a strange and mystic form, unlike those of women of good repute—that she had rings impressed with cabalistical devices, and that strange characters were embroidered on her veil.

'All these circumstances, so natural and so trivial, were gravely listened to as proofs, or, at least, as affording strong suspicions that Rebecca had unlawful correspondence with mystical powers.'

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'The Grand Master had collected the suffrages, and now in a solemn tone demanded of Rebecca what she had to say against the sentence of condemnation, which he was about to pronounce.

'"To invoke your pity," said the lovely Jewess, with a voice somewhat tremulous with emotion, "would, I am aware, be as useless as I should hold it mean. To state that to relieve the sick and wounded of another religion, cannot be displeasing to the acknowledged Founder of both our faiths, were also unavailing; to plead that many things which these men (whom may Heaven pardon!) have spoken against me are impossible, would avail me but little, since you believe in their possibility; and still less would it advantage me to explain, that the peculiarities of my dress, language, and manners, are those of my people—I had well nigh said of my country, but alas! we have no country. Nor will I even vindicate myself at the expence of my oppressor, who stands there listening to the fictions and surmises which seem to convert the tyrant into the victim.—God be judge between him and me! but rather would I submit to ten such deaths as your pleasure may denounce against me, than listen to the suit which that man of Belial has urged upon me—friendless, defenceless, and his prisoner. But he is of your own faith, and his lightest affirmance would weigh down the most solemn protestations of the distressed Jewess. I will not therefore return to himself the charge brought against me—but to himself—Yes, Brian de Bois-Guilbert, to thyself I appeal, whether these accusations are not false? as monstrous and calumnious as they are deadly?"

'There was a pause; all eyes turned to Brian de Bois-Guilbert. He was silent.

'"Speak," she said, "if thou art a man—if thou art a Christian, speak!—I conjure thee, by the habit which thou dost wear, by the name thou dost inherit—by the knighthood thou dost vaunt—by the honour of thy mother—by the tomb and the bones of thy father—I conjure thee to say, are these things true?"

'"Answer her, brother," said the Grand Master, "if the Enemy with whom thou dost wrestle will give thee power."

'In fact, Bois-Guilbert seemed agitated by contending passions, which almost convulsed his features, and it was with a constrained voice that at last he replied, looking to Rebecca,—"The scroll!—the scroll!"

'"Ay," said Beaumanoir, "this is indeed testimony—the victim of her witcheries can only name the fatal scroll, the spell inscribed on which is, doubtless, the cause of his silence."

'But Rebecca put another interpretation on the words extorted as it were from Bois-Guilbert, and glancing her eye upon the slip of parchment which she continued to hold in her hand, she read written thereupon in the Arabian character, *Demand a Champion!* The murmuring commentary which ran through the assembly at the strange reply of Bois-Guilbert, gave Rebecca leisure to examine and instantly to destroy the scroll, as she thought unobserved. When the whisper had ceased, the Grand Master spoke.

'"Rebecca, thou canst derive no benefit from the evidence of this unhappy knight, for whom, as we well perceive, the Enemy is yet too powerful. Hast thou aught else to say?"

'"There is yet one chance of life left to me," said Rebecca, "even by your own fierce laws. Life has been miserable—miserable, at least, of late—but I will not cast away the gift of God, while he affords me the means of defending it. I deny this charge—I maintain my innocence, and I declare the falsehood of this accusation—I challenge the privilege of trial by combat, and will appear by my champion."

'"And who, Rebecca," replied the Grand Master, "will lay lance in rest for a sorceress?—who will be the champion of a Jewess?"

'"God will raise me up a champion," said Rebecca—"It cannot be that in merry England—the hospitable, the generous, the free, where so many are ready to peril their lives for honour, there shall not be found one to fight for justice. But it is enough that I challenge the trial by combat—there lies my gage."

'She took her embroidered glove from her hand, and flung it down before the Grand Master with an air of mingled simplicity and dignity, which excited universal surprise and admiration.'

'Even Lucas Beaumanoir himself was affected by the mien and appearance of Rebecca. He was not originally a cruel or even a severe man; but with passions by nature cold, and with a high, though mistaken, sense of duty, his heart had been gradually hardened by the ascetic life which he pursued, the supreme power which he enjoyed, and the supposed necessity of subduing infidelity and eradicating heresy, which he conceived peculiarly incumbent on him. His features relaxed in their usual severity as he gazed upon the beautiful creature before him, alone, unfriended, and defending herself with so much spirit and courage. He crossed himself twice, as doubting whence arose the unwonted softening of a heart, which on such occasions used to resemble in hardness the steel of his sword. At length he spoke.

'"Damsel," he said, "if the pity I feel for thee arise from any practice thine evil arts have made on me, great is thy guilt. But I rather judge it the kinder feelings of nature which grieves that so goodly a form should be a vessel of perdition. Repent, my daughter—confess thy witchcrafts—turn thee from thine evil faith—embrace this holy emblem, and all shall yet be well with thee here and hereafter. In some sisterhood of the strictest order, shalt thou have time for prayer and fitting penance, and that repentance not to be repented of. This do and live—what has the law of Moses done for thee that thou shouldest die for it?"

'"It was the law of my fathers," said Rebecca; "it was delivered in thunders and in storms upon the mountain of Sinai, in cloud and in fire. This, if ye are Christians, ye believe—it is, you say, recalled, but so my teachers have not taught me."

'"Let our chaplain," said Beaumanoir, "stand forth, and tell this obstinate infidel"——

'"Forgive the interruption," said Rebecca, meekly; "I am a maiden, unskilled to dispute for my religion, but I can die for it, if it be God's will.—Let me pray your answer to my demand of a champion."

'"Give me her glove," said Beaumanoir. "This is indeed," he continued, as he looked at the flimsy texture and slender fingers, "a

slight and frail gage for a purpose so deadly—Seest thou, Rebecca, as this thin and light glove of thine is to one of our heavy steel gauntlets, so is thy cause to that of the Temple, for it is our Order which thou hast defied."

'"Cast my innocence into the scale," answered Rebecca, "and the glove of silk shall outweigh the glove of iron."

'"Then thou doest persist in thy refusal to confess thy guilt, and in that bold challenge which thou hast made?"

'"I do persist, noble sir," answered Rebecca.

'"So be it then, in the name of Heaven," said the Grand Master; '"and may God shew the right!"

'"Amen" replied the Preceptors around him, and the word was deeply echoed by the whole assembly.' pp. 174—87.

Art. III. *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah:* an Inquiry with a View to a satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Person of Christ, including a careful Examination of the Rev. Thomas Belsham's Calm Inquiry, and of other Unitarian Works on the same Subject. By John Pye Smith, D.D. In two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. xxviii, 472. Price 14*s*. London. 1818.

THE declaration made by the Author of the Calm Inquiry, is highly remarkable, especially considering the quarter from which it proceeds, that 'profound learning and metaphysical 'subtilty are by no means necessary to settle the important 'question concerning the person of Christ.' Nothing can be more true; it is a point upon which orthodox controvertists have all along been insisting, that the doctrines of the New Testament are not matters of Biblical criticism; that the Scriptures are not so obscure or so enigmatical as certain modern methods of interpretation would imply that they are; and that a plain Christian who studies the Divine message on which he builds his hope of salvation, in a devout reliance on that Spirit by which it was dictated, has no occasion whatever to concern himself with disputed texts, and various readings, and supposed interpretations. Unless the Scriptures were meant to deceive, and unless its promises are fallacious, he possesses means of arriving at a certain knowledge of revealed truth, to which the aid of human wisdom can add little. He needs entertain no anxiety respecting the result of critical researches, and collations of manuscripts, and philological inquiries: his faith rests on the broad basis of the whole scope of the inspired writings, confirmed by the harmony of its doctrines with the Divine perfections, and their adaptation to his own experience. Talk to him of *settling the question* concerning the person of his Saviour, and—we readily admit—he will not be prepared to institute a '*calm* in-'quiry,' that shall have for its object to shake the very foundations

of his faith, the faith of the whole Church of Christ, and to reduce Christianity to an enigmatical modification of simple Deism. 'No;' he will reply, 'I reject the very terms with 'abhorrence. There are those who affect to question the being 'of a God, but shall it therefore be deemed questionable?—'There will always be sceptics, and always be scoffers; and 'they must be answered. I am neither a scholar nor a casuist, 'but believing as I do, upon what appears to me the plain, 'unequivocal import of the Divine testimony, I must leave 'others to canvass the personal claims of the Redeemer, and 'coolly to try the merits of the scheme of their salvation. I be-'lieve, and am satisfied.' Such an individual would not, perhaps, be honoured with the designation of an *impartial* inquirer; but, admitting that his faith is sincerely founded on the Scripture evidence of the doctrines he receives, it would be difficult to disprove his claim to that of a rational believer. And were it possible that his belief under these circumstances should be a mistake, it would not be enough for the Socinian to say, that his error is innocent, and will be harmless: he is bound to explain how it comes to pass, that the inspired rule of faith has, in all ages since the establishment of Christianity, been the cause, and the only adequate cause, of a prevalent belief which he assumes to be grossly erroneous; how it is that, while other corruptions have originated in a neglect or in total ignorance of the Scriptures, this pretended error has spread in proportion as the Scriptures have been studied and circulated; and since 'profound 'learning and metaphysical subtilty,' cannot be necessary to determine the plain import of the volume of Revelation, how it is reconcileable with our ideas of the wisdom of its Divine Author, that the unskilled and simple-hearted reader should uniformly be betrayed, by trusting to the obvious sense of the inspired writers, into an idolatrous heresy.

If the sacred Scriptures are a sufficient and intelligible rule of faith, if they are competent to settle the important question at issue between the asserter and the impugner of our Lord's personal divinity, the persuasion which they are found to produce in the minds of—to say the least—the immense majority of intelligent and devout believers, must of necessity, one would imagine, be substantially the persuasion which they were intended to inspire. The Socinian denies this inference, and yet he talks of the whole burden of proof resting with the believer! He maintains that the Scriptures were not designed to teach what, in effect, they never fail to teach,—that between the testimony and the impression produced by that testimony, there is the utmost dissimilarity, and yet, that its import is plain and unequivocal! He will not allow that there is any force in the argument drawn from this grand practical criterion of the truth;

yet, while disdaining as requisites in the controversy, profound learning and metaphysical subtilty, he proposes to settle the question dogmatically by the aid of Biblical criticism!

But although the question, in the sense in which it may be termed a question, will never be settled by either logical or philological means, an important office is assigned to the Biblical controvertist. Profound learning and metaphysical subtilty *are* necessary in order to refute the false glosses and the bold assertions brought forward by objectors whose learning is not profound, and whose reasonings are nothing better than critical or metaphysical casuistry. The services rendered by Biblical critics, have been of the most eminent value. To them we are indebted for the more ample illustration of the genuine force of the Scripture evidence; and by their labours we have been put in possession of the interesting and satisfactory fact, that when all the countless variations of readings which can be detected in manuscripts and versions, all the real or pretended corruptions of the sacred text, are summed up in one amount, they do not affect a single doctrine or a single sentiment of importance advanced by the inspired writers. So admirably are the interests of truth secured by the *indirect* method in which the doctrines of Christianity are unfolded, that the most incorrect edition of the most corrupt version on the one hand, or the most *improved* version of the most sceptically rectified text on the other, is found to contain amply sufficient proof of every truth which involves either the duty or the consolation of the believer; although that proof, from the very nature of the evidence itself, is in its highest measure resistible by the understanding, and therefore cannot but admit of the possibility of scepticism.

The indirect method, however, in which the doctrines of Christianity are taught in the sacred Scriptures, while it places the proof of those doctrines above the suspicion of corruption, and while it is, in all respects, the best adapted to inspire a *persuasion* of their truth, offers a perilous advantage to the sceptical controvertist, who will admit of no other evidence than the direct and positive affirmations of Scripture. We scarcely know whether we ought to term that an advantage, which enables him to elude, the force of that very species of evidence with which the Scriptures might be expected the most to abound, being originally addressed, not to those who disputed, but to those who had already embraced the doctrines of Christianity. For the purpose of controversy, however, the position in which it places the assailant, is what may be termed advantageous. If the sceptic can succeed in bringing off the Christian advocate from the proper ground of argument, and in narrowing the field of discussion by reducing the evidence to a comparatively few striking but detached passages, on which he dares him to a philological combat,—the cause

of Revelation, though in no peril itself, is exhibited in the weakest form it is capable of assuming; a weakness wholly foreign to its native character, and in the highest degree derogatory to its awful claims. This disadvantageous effect is almost inseparable from works written specifically to refute the cavils of sceptical writers. The believer, whose knowledge and persuasion of the doctrines of Christianity have been imbibed from the inartificial testimony of the inspired writers, and to whom it has seemed that those doctrines are implied in every page, is often disappointed and perplexed, on perusing such works, to find how inconsiderable a part of either the Old or the New Testament is admitted to contain any thing sufficiently direct to be available for the purposes of the argument. The evidence in favour of the truth, appears to him, on such occasions, to have suffered an unjust, an injurious retrenchment. Having himself gone to the Bible for information, and having found the information it affords amply satisfactory for his guidance and consolation, he is not at first able to understand, how differently the contents of the sacred volume are regarded by those who, instead of seeking for information, are demanding decisive proof. Whatsoever Revelation distinctly affirms, it, confessedly, by virtue of its simple affirmation, proves to be true. But a very large portion of what is indirectly affirmed in the Scriptures, wants the explicitness requisite to constitute an independent proof, and, though adapted both to instruct and to confirm the believer, is of too indeterminate a character to compel conviction in the mind of the disputant. This distinction ought by all means to be borne in mind by persons unaccustomed to works of Biblical controversy; otherwise, they are more likely to have the firmness of their convictions shaken, than to have their belief established, on finding how few passages are deemed capable of yielding an argument that shall have the force of demonstration.

We should not be much surprised if the perusal of the present valuable addition to Biblical literature, should, in the minds of some persons, have at first an effect of the kind to which we have been alluding,—that of occasioning a disappointment at the diminished sum of evidence which the Scriptures of the Old Testament would seem to furnish in favour of the proper Deity of our Lord. For such an effect, the learned Author would be answerable no further than as his exemplary candour, and his cautious and severe habits of criticism, have led him to decline adducing any passages which did not appear to him to constitute an independent argument. Some writers, he remarks in the Preface, 'have sacrificed their utility to their jealousies; and, by 'the accumulation of weak or dubious arguments, have ob-'scured and enfeebled their better matter.' This fault will certainly not, as an essential blemish, be charged upon the present

work: in this respect, it is, we imagine, generally unexceptionable, and will fairly sustain the reputation of Dr. Smith as an impartial and judicious controvertist. On those few points on which we hesitate to adopt his views of the import or bearing of the cited text, his arguments are far from being either weak or unimportant. He has certainly trusted nothing to accumulation, but almost every thing to selection of proofs; his plan being, 'by a careful and impartial analysis,' to obtain the 'separate 'result of each leading part of the prophetic testimony to the 'person and character of the then future Messiah.' Altogether, the legitimate deduction from the whole chain of prophecy, is placed in the strong light of an unanswerable and independent argument in proof of the Divine perfections of the promised Deliverer; and the bold assertion made by the Author of the Calm Inquiry, that 'no conclusion can be drawn from the ob-'scure and figurative language of prophecy,' is shewn to be as false as it is impious.

It would, however, be a very unwarrantable concession, that these selected proofs comprise the whole of the Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, which is really contained in the Old Testament Scriptures. Dr. Smith, in his enumeration, does not propose to bring forward every text capable of such an application, but such only as, according to the criteria which he lays down, 'carry certain, or, at least, probable evidence of having 'been so designed.' And the number of these might, he is of opinion, be still greatly reduced, without at all diminishing the weight of the argument. But, although the argument might not be essentially weakened by the reduction of their number, there are other purposes which the Scriptures are designed to subserve, than the refutation of the sceptic, and these forbid our even seeming to give up any of the instructive references to the Messiah, which point out, however obscurely, to the faith of the Christian, Him to whom all the prophets bare witness. Because the evidence of their having such an import is only probable, and they possess, therefore, little independent weight in controversial discussions, it does not follow that the believer is at liberty to disregard the testimony they contain. To him, the fewness of such references would have a tendency to diminish both the interest and the value of the Jewish Scriptures; to take away from the harp of prophecy half the sweetness of its tones. A plan the very opposite of that imposed upon the critic, would be that which he would best consult his own religious benefit by adopting. It is certain, that the obscurity which inevitably attaches to the phraseology of ancient records written in a language no longer vernacular, prevents us from perceiving the force of numberless passages which had either a primary or an ultimate reference to the sufferings and the subsequent glory of Christ; for, in the

New Testament, we find citations so applied by our Lord himself and by his apostles, the import of which, but for this circumstance, it would have been impossible to ascertain with any precision, much less to prove, to the satisfaction of the infidel, that they ought to be understood in the sense attributed to them, on the highest authority. Who can imagine that we are aware of all the points on which our Lord rested his argumentative appeal to the two disciples whom he joined on the road to Emmaus, when, beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself? Some of the citations from the Old Testament in the Apostolic writings, *seem* to us inapplicable: many of them, it is readily admitted, are introduced merely as illustrative applications of the language of Inspiration. The fact, however, is undoubted, that both Moses and the Prophets spake of Christ, and the probability is in the highest degree deserving of consideration, that, in such cases, as well as in many others in which we have no such means of ascertaining the reference, there may be, as Dr. Smith remarks, a 'ground of appropriation, the inobservance of which is solely 'owing to our ignorance of some circumstance in the *original* 'intent of the passage.' Besides, it must be borne in mind, that it was by no means the chief design of the predictions respecting the Messiah, to bear express testimony to the Divinity of his person. The Jews, to whom those predictions were addressed, were ready enough to form the most exalted notions, though notions confused and essentially erroneous, of their great Ben David, the promised Deliverer. It was, therefore, quite as necessary to designate him by those marks which relate to his humiliation, and rejection by men, and sufferings and death, as by the attributes of his pre-existent Deity. The Scripture proofs which bear upon the latter point, form but a small part of the inspired testimony which, as a whole, presents so wonderful a confirmation of the faith and hope of the believer.

A very brief consideration of the primary design of the prophetic testimony, will suffice to shew, that, even had the information contained in the Old Testament Scriptures been far less explicit and abundant on this subject than it is, there would have been little room for wonder or dissatisfaction. From the first obscure and figurative intimation of a Saviour given to the parents of mankind, to the last accents of prophecy, the annunciation is almost uniformly introduced as a promise, the expression of Divine mercy, designed to console the righteous under the sufferings of life. The terms, therefore, of such predictions, we might reasonably expect to find more especially adapted to this purpose. No doubt, it entered into the design of the Prophets, to keep alive in the minds of their countrymen at large that expectation of a Messiah, which had prevailed from the earliest

times, and which, as being a tradition flattering to their national pride, was so passionately cherished, as to contribute in some degree to keep them distinct from the surrounding heathen. The ultimate design of prophecy was, to establish the truth of Christianity by the accordance of the predictions with the historical facts; but the evident intention of its language is, to animate the hopes, and to elevate the views of the pious, by the great promise of a Messiah. One of the most remarkable portions of prophecy, is ushered in with the express annunciation of comfort to the people of God; but in this passage, it is in terms of condescension, under the character of a Shepherd, that the Deliverer is described. It is upon the official functions, the moral characteristics, and the mysterious sufferings of the Son of God, that the 'evangelical prophet' more expressly dwells; and it was this part of the criterion of our Lord's claims to the Messiahship, which it was the most necessary to render distinct and prominent, in order that the Jews might have no excuse for rejecting him on account of the meanness of his personal appearance. For proofs of his Divinity, we find our Lord himself appealing to the works he wrought. His references to the prophetic testimony, were rather for the purpose of convincing those of his disciples who were staggered at the idea of a suffering Messiah, that 'Christ ought to suffer.' In every point of view in which we regard the Old Testament Scriptures, they would not seem to be likely to contain much specific information with regard to the subject of the present Inquiry, inasmuch as to convey such information, formed no part of their design; nor does it appear that the most devout expectants of the Consolation of Israel, had any distinct idea of the full import of the magnificent language by which he is designated, as Jehovah's Son and David's Lord. It is enough that such language, which the Jews themselves, when urged by our Lord, were at a loss to explain, is incapable of any lower application than that which refers it to the Only Begotten of the Father. To suppose that many of these passages were otherwise than imperfectly understood at the time of their promulgation, would, as Dr. Smith justly remarks, 'contradict a principal characteristic in the plan of prophecy; 'but enough of their meaning was from the first apparent, to 'convince the men of those times that their proper application 'was hidden in the darkness of futurity.' Accordingly, the modern Jews have no hesitation in referring such passages to the Messiah, ignorant as they are of their true import, and obstinately as they resist their application.

We trust that these introductory remarks will not appear to our readers irrelevant, inasmuch as it does seem to us highly important that right ideas should be formed as to the kind of evidence to be expected from the Old Testament Scriptures.

'Whether such a course of inquiry' as that to which Dr. Smith's first volume is devoted, 'would be of itself sufficient to deter-'mine the great question at issue, or not, it cannot fail,' he justly remarks, 'to be a useful preparative to the study of the 'Christian Scriptures.' For specific information and positive evidence, however, for a key to the prophecies themselves, and a full illustration of those mysterious annunciations which they contain relative to a victim-conqueror, we must have recourse to the scriptures of the New Testament; and it is by means of what they affirm, that what antecedentedly amounts to no more than a strong presumption in favour of our Lord's divinity, becomes converted into a proof. On this account, some persons may be of opinion, that our Author would have adopted a better plan, had he in the first instance brought forward the positive testimony of the Christian Scriptures, and then shewn its accordance with the otherwise inexplicable language of prophecy; and this opinion, possibly, may not be diminished in strength, as, in their perusal of the work, they remark, how frequently the evidence of the New Testament Scriptures is blended with that of the sacred Hebrew writings in the discussion of the leading question. Whether the argument might, or might not, have been exhibited by this means to greater advantage, we will not pretend to decide: the essential value of the criticisms which the work contains, and of the reasonings by which they are supported, cannot in the least degree be affected by the mere order in which they appear; and had not the first volume been published separately, the circumstance would scarcely have been open to remark. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers a summary of its contents; and no apology will be necessary to the learned Author for the free expression of our sentiments, wheresoever we find occasion to dissent from his critical opinions.

The present volume contains, besides an Introduction, the first two Books of the Inquiry. Book I. consists of 'preliminary 'considerations'—on the evidence proper to the Inquiry; on the interpretation of Scripture; on the errors and faults chargeable on controvertists of both parties; on those attributable exclusively to Unitarian writers; on the moral state of the mind and affections, in relation to such investigations; and on Mr. Belsham's Preface and Introduction to his "Calm Inquiry." This portion of the work, we have read with the highest satisfaction; and it deserves the very serious attention of every person that makes the least pretensions to the character of a candid inquirer. The chapter on the Interpretation of Scripture, is particularly valuable. Dr. Smith insists upon the singular adaptation of the Scriptures to universal diffusion through all diversities of nation, age, and language, and upon the characteristic plainness of the diction of the New Testament, the consequence of its par-

taking of the cast of common life. He remarks, that the Hebraisms which abound in the Apostolic writings, are far from being a source of obscurity, at least with regard to any doctrinal points; and he denies that the style of the New Testament is rhetorical or figurative. These considerations will, however, more properly fall under our notice, in reviewing the general argument of the Author's second volume. The chapter on the Moral State of the Mind and the Affections, contains a free examination of the tendency of the Socinian system, in the course of which Dr. Smith takes occasion to pass a deserved encomium on Mr. Andrew Fuller's admirable work, "The Calvinistic and Socinian systems compared," which it has pleased some persons to represent as sinking into oblivion. By none of his publications did its estimable Author display to greater advantage his vigorous understanding, or more efficiently serve the cause of Christianity.

Book II. comprises an analysis of passages in the Old Testament writings, which are generally considered as containing prophetic intimations of the appearance of a 'great Deliverer' and Author of happiness to mankind.' It is Dr. Smith's specific object throughout this book, to ascertain, by collecting every descriptive particular from the sacred Hebrew records, by singly scrutinizing their import, and by a just comparison and combination of them all, what are the characters and attributes of the Messiah on whom the hopes and expectations of mankind were fixed as the person who was to confer salvation on the world. Such readers as are prepared to accompany the Author through these pages, must carefully keep in view the purpose for which they are put into their hands; otherwise they will be ready to impute to him omissions with which he is not to be charged: it is not, they should recollect, the *whole* proof from Scripture prophecy relative to the character and office of the Messiah, that is attempted to be exhibited, but only one important branch of it, that which has reference to his person. No examination, therefore, is entered into in these volumes, of several striking and important passages, which probably some readers might expect to see noticed; e. g. Isa. liii. Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 3. xxxvii. 24. Daniel ix. 25, &c. &c.

In pursuing the inquiry into the sense of the Jewish Scriptures on this important subject, it is obviously of great moment that each separate passage should be fairly examined, and its applications determined by unexceptionable rules. The rules which Dr. Smith has adopted, we shall state in his own words.

'Our first criterion is the common rule of all rational interpretation; that *the sense* afforded by a cautious and critical examination of the terms of the passage, and an impartial construction of the whole sentences, according to the known usage of the language and

the writer, *be such as naturally and justly refers to the* MESSIAH, and cannot, without violence, be applied to any object exclusive of him. The application of this criterion will be strengthened in those cases in which the Targumists, or the Jewish commentators of later periods, have admitted a reference to the Messiah.

'The other criterion is one which, indeed, presupposes the divine authority of the New Testament, and which could not therefore be employed against an advocate of modern Judaism: but in any controversy between professed Christians, it *ought* to be held unexceptionable; and assuredly, those who have the lowest opinions on the inspiration of the apostolic writings, will not refuse its claim to very respectful regard. This ground of authority is, the *sense assumed*, positively *averred*, or manifestly *implied by the writers of the New Testament, in citations from the Old.*' pp. 167, 168.

These *criteria* are too simple and too just to be excepted against. The application of the latter is, however, in some cases, a process of much difficulty; the modes of quotation from the Old Testament, employed by the New Testament writers, being one of the most intricate questions in Biblical criticism. It is, moreover, one, against the fair consideration of which there exist very strong prejudices in the minds of some Christians. But that the difficulties exist, cannot be denied; and as they must in some way or other be disposed of, we should prefer that method of determining their extent, and the manner of their solution, which best comports with the subject, and with the serious humility of the devout believer. From Dr. Smith we do not, in the present volume, receive much assistance towards the elucidation of this delicate and difficult point: his second volume may probably afford us some light on the subject. 'It 'is admitted,' he remarks, 'that the apostles and evangelists 'have sometimes cited sentences and phrases from the Old 'Testament, in the way of accommodation to subjects not con-'templated in the original design of those passages.' In a subsequent part of the volume, he appears to dispose of a passage on the assumption of a principle which is so applied, as if it furnished a decisive mode of discriminating accommodated passages from passages of a higher description: the soundness of this principle, we shall presently examine.

The first passage adduced in this part of the Inquiry, is Gen. iii. 15. which the Author, in common with the greater number of theologians, considers as revealing in general and figurative, but intelligible terms, the Divine mercy to fallen man, and as supplying these characters of the Messiah: 'That he 'should be *a human being*, in a peculiar sense *the offspring* 'of the female; and that though previously a partial sufferer 'by the evil and malignant power, he should, in the end, com-'pletely conquer it.' On Gen. iv. 1. a greater weight of inference is rested, than we fear the passage will support. In

Gen. v. 28, 29. the reference is too obscure to admit of its taking rank with passages supplying any proof relative to the great object of expectation, the promised Deliverer from the sorrows of the world. The subject of the prediction in Gen. xxii. 18. is evidently the Messiah, although the passage, as Dr. Smith correctly states, affords no other conclusion as to his person, than that he should be a descendant of Abraham. The celebrated text, Gen. xlix. 10, is briefly noticed by our Author. Deut. xviii. 18, 19, follows next in order, which Dr. Smith refers to 'Jesus of Nazareth, the only Jewish prophet who has been, 'like Moses, the Founder of a new law.' The preceding are the whole of the passages which the Author has cited from the Pentateuch.

At the seventh section of this book we must pause, not feeling ourselves at liberty to accompany the estimable Inquirer in his rendering of the passages quoted and commented upon. We cannot, indeed, conceal our surprise that a critic so cautious as Dr. Smith, should have adopted, not only without hesitation, but with evident commendation, the very strange and unsubstantial criticism of Kennicott on the portions of the sacred Scriptures now under our notice, and which we are fully persuaded, as we had occasion to state in our notice of Mr. Boothroyd's version,* are entirely perverted from their primary purpose and meaning. The following is Dr. Smith's translation.

'Sect. VII. THE ADAM FROM ABOVE. 2 Sam. vii. 18, 19. "—What am I, O Lord Jehovah, and what my house, that thou hast brought me to this point [of exaltation]! And little [is] even this in thine eyes, O Lord Jehovah: thou hast even spoken, with respect to the house of thy servant, unto a vast extent! And this [is] the law of the Adam, O Lord Jehovah!"—The parallel recital in 1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17, reads the last clause; "—Thou hast regarded me according to the order of the Adam from above, [or, the pre-eminent,] O Jehovah God!"'

'The inferences to be drawn from this passage,' says Dr. Smith, 'are, that the Messiah would, at a period remotely 'future, descend from David, and that he would sustain a re-'lation to the human race analogous to that of the first man.' That no such inferences are deducible from the above texts, appears to us exceedingly clear. That our readers may judge of the precision of the foregoing version, we shall lay before them the evidence by which its merits must be tried: to this task we are the more inclined, as we should be sorry to find the mistaken constructions of Kennicott receiving a sanction which might recommend them to the acceptance of biblical students; such a sanction, we apprehend, they do receive by the notice

* Eclectic Review, N. S. Vol. xiii. p. 59.

which the present Writer has taken of them. We shall therefore examine the allegations and criticisms of the following passages quoted in this volume from Kennicott's Posthumous Remarks on the Old Testament.

'David indeed had proposed to build a house to God, which God did not admit. Yet, approving of David's intention, God was pleased to reward it by promising—that He would make a house for David; which house to be thus erected by God, was certainly not material, or made of stones, but a spiritual house, or family, to be raised up for the honour of God and the salvation of mankind. And this house, which God would make, was to be built by David's seed; and this seed was to be raised up after David slept with his fathers: which words clearly exclude Solomon, who was set up, and placed upon the throne, before David was dead. This building, promised by God, was to be erected by one of David's descendants, who was also to be an everlasting king: and indeed the house, and the kingdom, were both of them to be established for ever.'

These assertions are strangely confused and incorrect. That the house which God promised he would make for David, was certainly not material, or made of stone, is fully admitted; but that it was a spiritual house or family to be raised up for the salvation of mankind, by no means follows, nor is such a representation of the Divine promise at all in accordance with the fact. To make a house, or to build a house for a person, is, in the figurative language of the Hebrews, to prosper him. See Exod. i. 21. 1 Sam. ii. 35. God declared to David, 2 Sam. vii. 11, that He would make him a house; and 1 Chron. xvii. 11, that He would build him a house; but where is it to be found, that this house should be a spiritual house or family, to be raised up for the salvation of mankind? The house was not to be raised up: it was already in existence. The words signify that God would prosper the family of David, and establish the royal authority in the line of his natural descendants. That this is the fair meaning of them, is evident from a variety of circumstances. For not only is this promise of God adduced in several instances in the history of David's family, as the reason for which some of his descendants were not excluded from the throne, but the acknowledgements of David himself, 2 Sam. vii. 27—29. 1 Chron. xvii. 23. 27, and of Solomon, 1 Kings ii. 24, clearly shew that this is the import of the Divine promise. "Thou hast made "known to thy servant, saying, I will build thee a house. "Therefore, now let it please thee to bless the house of thy "servant, that it may continue for ever before thee." "Now "therefore, as the Lord liveth, who hath established me, and "set me on the throne of David my father, and who hath made "me a house as he promised." 'The house,' says Kennicott, 'which God would make, was to be built by David's seed.'

But it is quite clear, that Kennicott is here confounding very different facts. The house which God was to make for David, was assuredly not to be built by David's seed. The house to be built by David's seed, was a material building, the temple raised by Solomon; and this was built, not for David, but for God, for the Divine glory and service. That the house to be erected by one of David's descendants, was the temple, and not a spiritual building, as Kennicott unaccountably imagined, is demonstrable from the evidence of the sacred records. 2 Sam. vii. 12. "And when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep "with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall "proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. "He shall build a house for my name." 1 Chron. xxii. 9—10. "Behold a son shall be born unto thee—He shall build "a house for my name." xxviii. 6. "Solomon thy son, he "shall build my house, and my courts."

These passages occur in a connexion which leaves no room for doubt on the subject, and they are further to be viewed in accordance with other passages which, with equal clearness, determine the nature of the building that was to be erected by one of David's descendants. See 1 Kings v. 5. "I purpose "to build a house unto the name of the Lord my God, as the "Lord spake unto David my father, saying, Thy son whom I "will set upon thy throne in thy room, he shall build a house "unto my name." viii. 17—20. "And the Lord hath per-"formed his word that he spake, and I am risen up in the "room of David my father, and sit on the throne of Israel, as "the Lord promised, and have built a house for the name of "the Lord God of Israel." It is quite unnecessary, we apprehend, to produce any further refutation of the assumptions of Kennicott on the present question: nothing can be clearer than the relation of the Divine promise to the prosperity of David's family; nothing more evident than the fulfilment of the Divine declaration, in the succession of Solomon and the erection of the temple by him.

We do not recollect any proceedings conducted by a Biblical critic with a view to the interpretation of the Scriptures, which have more the appearance of bending the materials of his criticism to a favourite assumption, than those which are exhibited to us in the extracts from Kennicott, given in Dr. Smith's volume.

The language in 2 Sam. vii. 14., as it appears in the Common Version, is totally at variance with any application of the passage to the Messiah; and this Kennicott perceived, though he overlooked other objections not less strong to his hypothesis. This difficulty, he attempts to obviate in a very extraordinary

manner. 'The Hebrew words,' he remarks, 'do not properly 'signify what they are made to speak.' In answer to this, it might suffice to submit the Hebrew words to any competent scholar, and ask, What false interpretation or misconstruction of the entire passage, or any of its terms, does the Common Version exhibit? The reply, we conceive, could be no other, than that the sense which the Common Version speaks, is that which the Hebrew words properly signify. Kennicott, however, proposes to remove the difficulty by a more just translation of the verse; and his manner of proceeding in this attempt is not a little singular. 'Tis certain,' he says, 'that the 'principal word בהעותו is not the active infinitive of Kal.' No reader of the Hebrew, we presume, ever imagined that it is. To what purpose, then, is Kennicott's remark? Not being the active infinitive of Kal, the word must of course be in some other modification of the verb, and it pleases Kennicott to class it as a verb in Niphal: 'העות from עוה is in Niphal.' And this being assumed, 'Tis also certain,' he proceeds to say, 'that a verb which, in the active voice, signifies to commit 'iniquity, may, in the passive, signify to suffer for iniquity:'—then, 'the way being thus made clear, we are now prepared for 'abolishing our translation.—"If he commit iniquity;" and 'also for adopting the true one—"Even in his suffering for '"iniquity."' We cannot call this criticism, and we regret to see labours of this kind under the sanction of respectable names. In a quite contrary direction to the preceding assertions, we may state, that the verb עוה which, in the active voice, signifies, to commit iniquity, never does signify, to suffer for iniquity; that בהעותו is the infinitive of Hiphil regularly formed from עוה *perverse egit;* and that the true and proper meaning of the word, with its prefix and pronominal affix, is, "in his commit-"ting iniquity," the meaning of the Common Version. Let any unbiassed reader peruse the entire passage, 2 Sam. vii. 12—16, and he can have no hesitation in rejecting the assertion of Kennicott, that the description does not agree to Solomon, but exclusively relates to the Messiah! To Solomon, the description assuredly does agree, and to him only; for the expression, "Thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels," were there no other circumstances of a decisive character in the verses, is amply sufficient to determine and limit the meaning of the whole passage. The same expression occurs in other examples, and defines the subject to be a son, the immediate offspring of the person. See Gen. xv. 4. 2 Sam. xvi. 11. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21.

With equal rashness Kennicott pronounces the common rendering of 1 Chron. xxii. 9, erroneous, and substitutes another reading in its place, which 'must,' he says, be the true one.

'For though our translation very wrongly says (1 Chron. 'xxii. 9)—"A son shall be born to thee and his name shall be '"Solomon;" yet, the Heb. text expressly speaks of him as 'then born:—"Behold, a son (נולד *natus est*) is born to '"thee:" and therefore the words following must be rendered, '"Solomon is his name, and I will give peace in his days: he 'shall build a house for my name," &c.' Confidently as this is expressed, nothing can be more accurate. The Common Translation, far from being erroneous, most correctly represents the sense of the original. The Heb. text does *not* expressly speak of Solomon as being 'then born,' but evidently contains the repetition of a prediction of his birth, and a declaration of the Divine purposes which he was destined to accomplish. Josiah was assuredly not born at the time that the prophet announced the future appearance of that prince to Jeroboam, 1 Kings xiii. 2; yet the very word (האדם) applied to Solomon, is used in reference to Josiah, and the verbs are, in both cases, in the future time. The conclusion is quite satisfactory, that Solomon was *not* born at the time to which David is referring in 1 Chron. xxii. 9.

Dr. Smith has, after Kennicott, rendered the words זאת תורת האדם "And this is the law of the Adam;" a translation which Kennicott's authority is not sufficient to establish. האדם means nothing more than man in its most general acceptation. The prefix is by no means to be considered as limiting the application of the word to individuals: in such passages as the following, the number of which we could multiply in abundance, the prefix is used where the meaning is not confined, but applies to the human species; Gen. vi. 1, 2, 5. viii. 21. Ps. civ. 14. Eccles. vi. 7. viii. 6. &c. &c. In the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xvii. 17. the phrase is varied, המעלה האדם, which Dr. Smith, after Kennicott, reads, "The "Adam-from above." 'The word המעלה,' says Kennicott, 'very remarkably signifies *hereafter* as to time, and *from* 'above as to place.' This assertion also, we must meet with a direct negative: the word never signifies *hereafter*, nor is it ever used in the sense of *from above*. If it be intended that the very word המעלה has either or both of the above meanings, we hazard nothing in stating, that though it is a very common word, occurring repeatedly in the Heb. text of the Bible in this very same form, one single example cannot be produced of its meaning either *hereafter* or *from above*. If it be intended that the root from which המעלה is derived, namely עלה, signifies either *hereafter* or *from above*, still the position is utterly erroneous. The verb means, *to ascend, to rise up;* and in every instance of its use, this sense is preserved.

The reference, we think, is obviously to ver. 8—"The great "men that are in the earth." See also 2 Sam. vii. 9.

The celebrated, but extremely difficult passage in the book of Job, (Ch. xix. 23—27.) is noticed at some length at pp. 193—211; but the Author's remarks do not furnish us with the means of discovering in a very satisfactory manner the real import of those verses: no additional light is held out, that might enable us to penetrate their obscurity. We regret, too, that the candid temper of the Author should in some degree have failed him on the present occasion. 'It has been,' he remarks, 'the 'fashion with a class of interpreters and divines, pleased per-'haps to associate their own with the celebrated names of Gro-'tius, le Clerc, and Warburton, to explode from this passage 'any reference to a future life, or the expectation of the 'Messiah.' Now it is well known, that the interpretation of those verses which refers the sense of them to the temporal restoration of Job, did not originate with Grotius, but is much more ancient; and it has been maintained by divines whom Dr. Smith would by no means class with 'English refiners upon 'theology.' The 'opinion of the greater number of Scripture 'critics,' is hardly available in favour of an Author who on other occasions rejects the opinion of almost every biblical interpreter; and it should pass for something in the present case, that Kennicott is in opposition to Dr. Smith, and that Calvin himself excludes from the passage all reference to the advent of the Messiah. In fact, divines the most orthodox and pious have hesitated to receive the interpretation of those verses which Dr. Smith supports, and others have, without any prejudice to their reputation, rejected it. For ourselves, we fairly confess that the passage is a most perplexing one, and that we are unable to satisfy our minds as to the real design and meaning of the expressions. That the original expressions themselves are obscure, must be admitted: it is sufficiently apparent, indeed, in the various modes of construction and explanation proposed by different translators. And surely, if it be the great purpose of the New Economy, to bring to light "life and immortality," we may be justified in hesitating to admit, that the very earliest times possessed a knowledge of the kind attributed to them by those interpreters who exhibit the passage as declaring the coming of the Redeemer to judge mankind, and to restore the pious from the grave to a new life of supreme and permanent happiness. Dr. Smith considers the passage in this sense, as being in harmony with the great plan of a '*progressive* 'revelation.' But is there throughout the entire books of the Old Testament, a passage which exhibits the doctrine of the resurrection and a future life so clearly as this does, on the supposition that the meaning generally attributed to the verses is

the correct one? Certainly, there is no passage so explicit and so strong. But that the very earliest written book of Scripture should on this subject be the very clearest; that the knowledge of futurity and of the Christian redemption should have been more faint and more concealed in the later than in the former communications,—in the days of David, or Isaiah, or Malachi, than in the time of Job; is, we apprehend, altogether inconsistent with a '*progressive* revelation.' 'It is not necessary,' Dr. Smith remarks, 'to suppose that Job understood the full 'import and extent of what he was "moved by the Holy Spirit 'to speak."' But how does this supposition accord with the opinion, 'that the patriarch *protests his confidence* that the 'LIVING GOD, the eternal, independent, and unchanging One, 'would be his VINDICATOR from injustice, and his REDEEMER 'from all his sorrows; and would restore him from the state of 'death, to a new life of supreme happiness in the favour and 'enjoyment of God?' The case of Job thus protesting his confidence, is not, we should presume, parallel with those instances of direct prediction with which Dr. Smith compares it at p. 294.

The following is part of Dr. Smith's version of this celebrated passage, accompanied with the corresponding portion of his note [A.] p. 206.

> 'I surely do know my REDEEMER, the LIVING ONE:
> And He, the LAST, will arise over the dust."

'This version has been formed after long and minute attention, and with a solicitous endeavour to exhibit as literal a conformity to the sense of the original, as the terms and the idiom of the English language will permit. Assistance has been gathered from the ancient, and many modern, versions. Verse 25. The manifest emphasis of ואני ידעתי I could not express in any way less objectionable, as conveying not more or less than the original, than by, *I surely do know.*—חי *the Living One*; the strictest rendering of this word, which is unquestionably used in the appellative form in passages almost innumerable: sometimes applied to creatures, and then usually rendered, *living thing*; but very frequently it is one of the sublime denominations of the Deity, the Fountain of Life; as Job xxvii. 2. Deut. xxxii. 40. Is. xxxvii. 4. xlix. 18. lxx. ὁ ἀέναος.—אחרון *the Last*, clearly a noun, as in Is. xliv. 6. xlviii. 12. where it is a part of the exalted style of Deity. There is difficulty in the phrase יקום על. According to the common use of the Hebrew language, it denotes *to rise up against* any one, in defence or resistance; as Deut. xix. 11. Ps. iii. 2. Am. vii. 9. This would give,—"shall arise against the dust," *i. e.* to confute my frail and dying calumniators; or, to counteract the disorganizing and ruinous effects of mortality.—But the idioms of the book of Job, on account of its very remote antiquity, cannot be justly interpreted by the state of the languages many ages afterwards. This would be to explain Homer by the style of Hero-

dian. I conjecture that this sense of the expression is of lower origin. though used in the Pentateuch; for we find th esame idea in the book of Job expressed by the Hithpahel form with the prefix ל; ch. xx. 27. and without ל xxvii. 7. but never by the form in question. עפר *dust, scattered earth,* always in this book, when it occurs in the figurative sense, denotes either *the grave,* or *the decomposed elements of the body.* There appears, therefore, most evidence for attributing to the clause this meaning;—"*he shall arise in triumph over the ruins of mortality.*" The Targum and the ancient versions, obscure as they are upon most part of the passage, are more conspicuous here, and they agree to this effect.' pp. 206—207.

Now if 'the idioms of the book of Job, on account of its 'very remote antiquity, cannot be justly interpretated by the 'state of the language many ages afterwards,' it is evident, that the only direct assistance of which an interpreter can avail himself in translating its idiomatic phrases, is the book itself; there not being any prior writings to which he can refer for materials for verbal elucidation. The difficulties of understanding the contents of this remarkable book, are certainly not diminished by this limitation. We are, however, so unacquainted with the real circumstances of the case,—the author and the age in which he or his Hebrew translator lived are so unknown, that we can see no objection to the application of the original language of the Bible, in attempting the solution of philological perplexities. This, indeed, is Dr. Smith's method, who explains the idioms of Job by the usage of the Prophets; not very correctly, we apprehend, since, in the passages quoted in the above note, there is wanting that resemblance to the words under discussion which is necessary to establish the parallelism. חי is, in our judgement, most strictly rendered by *living,* and is most correctly construed as an adjective in agreement with נואל. The citation from the Septuagint text, is inaccurate; the article ὁ being prefixed, not to the word ἀΐτιαος as represented in the preceding extract, but to μελλων, of which ἀΐτιαος is the predicate. There is no authority for rendering אחרון *the Last,* or for regarding it as clearly a noun: the examples from Isaiah are not to the purpose. אחרון is a relative term, and in the examples cited by the Author, it is accompanied by another word to which it is related; the *first* and the *last,* the *former* and the *latter,* like the Alpha and Omega of the Revelation. In Isaiah xliv. 6. xlviii. 12, it is the entire compound phrase that is expressive of the Divine nature, and not the separate word אחרון, which is never found in the absolute form signifying, the Last. When alone, as in the instance under notice, it is construed as an adjective signifying *latter, after;* as in Ps. cii. 19, 'the gene-'ration to come.' Isa. xxx. 8, '*latter day,*' &c. &c.

The remarks and illustrations which occur at pp. 232—246, on the subject of the Forty-fifth Psalm, are excellent. The translation which has been proposed by several authors, and adopted by the Editors of the Improved Version, of a part of the tenth verse—"God is thy throne for ever and ever,"—is so unparalleled in grammatical construction, and so unnatural, that it never could have occurred to the mind of an unprejudiced interpreter. We quote with pleasure the following paragraphs.

'The Chaldee paraphrase is a sufficient proof that the ancient Jews, even under the ignorance and enmity which distinguished them in the early ages of Christianity, considered this splendid ode as an address to the Messiah: and no Christian, none at least who admits the divine authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews, can doubt of the validity of such application. But the editors of the *Improved Version* have given this translation of the citation in the Epistle: "But to the Son [he saith,] God is thy throne for ever and ever:"—and the author of the *Calm Inquiry* does not scruple to affirm: "it is well known that the words of the original will equally well bear to be translated, 'God is thy throne;' that is, the support of thy throne." On this we remark:

'1. It is not quite consistent with fairness in argument, for the learned writer roundly to assert as *well known*, what he could not but know to be extremely disputable, and to have been, in fact, generally objected to.

'2. Because in the passages mentioned by Mr. Lindsey, the Most High promised that He will establish, or build up, a throne for ever, it by no means follows that the expression, "God is thy throne," is analogous or proper. The use of a metaphor so harsh, and apparently repugnant to good taste and to piety, should have been justified by ample proofs of the same or a similar usage. No such proofs are produced. God is often denominated a rock, a tower, a fortress, a shield, a refuge, to his faithful servants: but, in all these and similar metaphors, there is an obvious superiority in strength and dignity preserved to the Divine Being. The reader immediately associates with these expressions the ideas of power and grandeur in a PROTECTING being, and of his pre-eminence above the objects protected. But it is the reverse in the case brought before us. A *throne* derives its dignity from the character and dominion of the sovereign who sits upon it. To call the Eternal Majesty the throne of a creature, seems little suitable to the reverence which is ever to be maintained towards Him, and which is one of the most distinguished characters of the scripture style: and, in point of taste, the use of such a *catachresis* could never be adopted by any author who had a particle of correct feeling.

'3. This gloss nearly, if not quite, destroys the *antithesis* intended in the Epistle, and brings to nothing the argument conveyed by it. It will be recollected, that the design of the passage is to shew the superiority of the Messiah to all the other servants and messengers of God, that have ever been employed in the scheme of his govern-

ment and revealed mercy; whether they have been human messengers or intelligences of a superior order. Let us, then, endeavour to represent this reasoning, according to the mind of the gentlemen who propose the new interpretation.

‘ Heb. i, 7, 8. Impr. Vers.	‘ Paraphrase.
‘Of these messengers [the scripture] saith, “ Who maketh the winds his messengers, and flames of lightning his ministers.” But to the Son [he saith,] “ God is thy throne for ever and ever.”—	‘ The inferiority of all other messengers of the divine will is manifest, because God frequently makes the inanimate powers of nature the instruments of accomplishing his various purposes. On the contrary, the superiority of Christ over those messengers appears from this, that his authority and power are maintained and supported by God himself.

‘ I have sincerely endeavoured to represent the spirit of the passage, thus interpreted, in as faithful and advantageous a manner as I could: but I confess myself destitute of penetration enough to discover any coherence between the parts, or any semblance of argument in the conclusion.

‘ It is proper to bring the commonly received interpretation to the same test: and this I shall attempt with the utmost impartiality.

‘ Concerning the angels indeed he saith, “ He who maketh his angels winds, and his attendants a flame of fire.” But concerning the Son, “ Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever!”	‘With respect to all the other messengers of the divine will to men, even if they be of the highest order of created intelligences, the scripture describes them as being, in the sight of God, only as the ordinary agents of nature; whose operations and effects are entirely the result of the all-pervading providence and power of the Most High. But, with respect to Christ, the same unerring testimony declares him to be really God, his power universal, and his dominion everlasting.

‘ Whether this interpretation be the true one or not, it seems to have sense and consistency. It answers the conditions of the argument. It preserves the contrast, and brings out the conclusion, in a manner intelligible and striking to any capacity. It shews that the noblest servants of God, human or angelic, are nothing in themselves, and are as absolutely dependant on him as any part of the inanimate universe; while it exhibits the Messiah as the very Being who “ sitteth upon the circle of the earth,” and, in comparison of whom, “ all nations are as nothing, and are counted to him less than nothing and vanity.”

‘ 4. Mr. B. needs not to be told that the vocative ὁ Θεὸς, is of ex-

tremely rare occurrence in the New Testament and the Septuagint; its place being almost uniformly supplied by ὁ Θεός, according to the idiom of the Attic, the common Greek, and the Alexandrian. Not the shadow of a reason exists for preferring the construction wished for, on the ground of grammatical propriety.

'5. All the Ancient Versions of the original passage in the Psalms, agree in supporting the common construction, so far as their respective idioms permit a positive conclusion. The Chaldee Paraphrase, the Greek of Aquila, and the Arabic of the London Polyglott, are incontrovertible.

'From these considerations, it appears to be perfectly clear, that the only just and fair translation, is that which Jews and Christians, ancient and modern, have almost universally adopted;—"Thy throne O GOD, is for ever and ever."'

Section xviii. on Isa. vi. 1—5, we had intended to extract entire, as a highly satisfactory specimen of Biblical criticism, but we find we have not room.

The celebrated passage, Isa. vii. 14, on which so much has been written, is not considered by Dr. Smith as a direct prophecy of the Messiah. He regards it as coming under the class of prophetic testimonies which had a primary, but inferior and partial reference to some proximate person or event, while they had an ultimate and a *designed* reference to some remoter circumstance which, when it occurred, would be the *real* fulfilment, answering every feature, and *filling up* the entire extent of the original delineation. Its application, therefore, to the subject of the Inquiry, is, he concludes, remote and typical. The passage as cited in the Gospel of Matthew is, he conceives, adduced in such a manner as does not comport with the mere application of a passage in the way of accommodation. But admitting with Dathe, (as quoted p. 280,) that numerous allegations from the Old Testament in the Gospel of Matthew, are nothing more than accommodations, we do not perceive the reality and solidity of the distinction which the Author appears to consider as established; namely, that 'the mode of citation used by the 'Evangelist (i. 22, "All this came to pass, *in order that* (ἵνα) 'the word might be fulfilled,") is a formula for an argument, not 'for a comparison; and is extremely different from the other mode 'often used by the sacred writers of the N. T. (for example, ii. 17. '"Then was fulfilled the word—")'. This very particle [ἵνα] is used in passages which it would be difficult to prove to be more than accommodations: for example, Hosea ii. i. "I called my son out "of Egypt," which is not delivered in the form of a prediction, is adduced in the Gospel of Matthew (ii. 15,) with this very formula, ἵνα πληρωθῇ "*in order that* it might be fulfilled;" but is this extremely different from the usage in verse 17? The discussions in the several sections xix to xxi. on the passages in Isaiah vii. 14. ix. 6, are less extensive and less connected than we could have wished to see them.

The following paragraph exhibits a sentiment which, on account of its correctness and importance, is entitled to the most serious attention of our readers, its application is very extensive.

'A general remark, connected with this particular instance, [Jerem. xxiii. 5,6.] is worthy of observation. The most exalted method, within the compass of language, of attributing to any being the perfect possession of qualities or exercise of powers, is by employing the *abstract* terms of such qualities or powers, instead of the concrete. Thus, instead of saying the Supreme Being is intelligent, benignant, and actively kind, the sublime simplicity of scripture says, God is LIGHT; God is LOVE; God is GOODNESS. Now, the observable fact to which we have adverted is, that this style of expression is more frequently and copiously used in application to the Saviour of mankind, than in reference to any other manifestation of God. Christ is our Light, Life, Hope, Peace, Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption. This is one of those circumstances in the *manner* and *spirit* of the inspired writers which cannot fail to arrest the notice of an attentive mind, a sound judgment, and an unprejudiced heart; and the careful observance of which, in their very numerous and diversified forms, combine in producing a general effect which appears to me perfectly irreconcileable with any scheme that denies the proper Deity of Christ. These sacred writers seem never to have felt the need of cautions or restrictions, when they were pouring out the fulness of their mind in *the most unmeasured greatness* of expression, on the glory of their Redeemer.'

The 32d Section (ch. iv. b. ii.) treats 'On the Person denominated, in the Old Testament, the Angel of Jehovah.' The 33d is 'On the remarkable use of plural nouns and attributives in application to the Divine Being.' The seventh and concluding chapter of Book II., relates to the state of opinion and expectation with respect to the Messiah, existing among the Jews in the period between the closing of the Old Testament and the destruction of the Jewish polity, in which the doctrines of Philo are particularly examined. On these several topics Dr. Smith writes, not in the spirit of a dogmatist, but with the cautious manner becoming a devout and diligent inquirer after truth, and presenting, altogether, a contrast the most advantageous to the flippancy and boldness of some other controvertists. Nothing, indeed, can be more amiable than the spirit which characterises the writings of Dr. Smith, or more exemplary than the candour which he usually displays, both as a critic and a controvertist. The latter sections of the present volume are highly interesting; but we cannot but feel assured, that by far the most valuable portion of the Inquiry is in reserve, as the contents of the concluding volume, to which we pledge ourselves to pay very early attention, as our best apology for having so long delayed, and so imperfectly executed our notice of this.

Art. IV. 1. *Account of the Writings, Religion, and Manners of the Hindoos:* including Translations from their principal Works. By W. Ward. Serampore. 4 Vols. 4to. Printed at the Mission-press, 1811.

2. *A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos:* including a minute Description of their Manners and Customs, and Translations from their principal Works. By the Rev. W. Ward, one of the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, Bengal. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. cvii. 632. Third Edition. London, 1817.

3. *Description of the Characters, Manners, and Customs of the People of India; and of their Institutions, religious and civil.* By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore. Translated from the French Manuscript. 4to. pp. xxvii, 565. 2*l.* 2*s.* London, 1817.

FEW regions present so rich a field for almost every kind of research, as the countries connected with our Asiatic empire; and we are not aware of any in which the harvest of inquiry has been so diligently and so successfully reaped. Intellects of the highest order have been eagerly engaged in investigating the antiquities of India, and in tracing the vicissitudes, the varieties, and the prevailing habits of the natives of Hindostan and its adjacent realms. The collections thus obtained, are large and valuable; but the desultory form in which many of them have been communicated, and the variety and number of the volumes through which they lie scattered, have at length rendered it desirable that their substance should be brought together under a clear and comprehensive arrangement. By far the most successful effort in this way has been made by Mr. Mill, whose work on India is a noble specimen of vigorous compression. The extent of our recent analysis of its rich and varied contents, together with the number and importance of the publications relating to India which we have of late been called upon to notice, will induce us to use more brevity on the present occasion, than the value of the volumes before us might seem to demand.

The first of the works which stand at the head of this article, contains a large and miscellaneous mass of materials, comprising much that is interesting in itself, as well as illustrative of the opinions and habits of the Hindoos. It is, however, deficient in order, and independently of some little want of dexterity in putting his fragments together, the Author has indulged himself rather too much in a loose and gossiping style of composition, which, although by no means unpleasant in a slight and off hand perusal, must certainly have proved injurious to the permanent interest of his work. Mr. Ward has, indeed, been perfectly aware of his liability to these objections, and in the subsequent edition,—in that portion of it, at least, which lies before us,—has displayed much more skill and discretion in the management

and expression of his facts and inferences. The Serampore publication contains a number of particulars relating to the history, geography, and statistics of India, which are 'neither 'rich nor rare;' and the first volume particularly, copies rather too largely from the very respectable, but easily accessible authorities of Major Rennell, and the Asiatic Researches. In the London edition, however, so far as it is yet before the world, these faults are avoided. The two volumes already published, comprehend a very complete and able analysis of the mythology and religious character of the Hindoos: their multitudinous pantheon, their temples, worship, and ceremonial observances, their doctrines and sanctions, their saints and sects, are all distinctly and fully described.

The work of the Abbé Dubois is of a very miscellaneous kind, and although it contains nothing of original disquisition, and displays few signs of acuteness or depth, is yet extremely valuable as the production of a man who had lived among the Hindoos on terms of familiarity and confidence. The respectable Abbé had escaped from the massacres of the French Revolution, and found the means of conveyance to India, where he has domesticated with the natives; and by his 'irreproachable 'conduct' so entirely conciliated their esteem and good-will, that 'when travelling, on his approach to a village, the house of a 'Brahman is uniformly cleared for his reception, without interference, and generally without communication to the officers of 'government, as a spontaneous mark of deference and respect.' During his missionary labours he compiled the present work, which was purchased in MS. by the East India Company, and is characterised by Sir James Mackintosh 'as being the most 'comprehensive and minute account extant, in any European 'language, of the manners of the Hindoos.'

Of the various particulars adverted to in the preceding paragraph, we have already given a general view in the article on Mr. Mill's British India; we shall, in the present instance, therefore, limit ourselves to supplying some deficiencies in our summary, and to the citation of a few occasional illustrations from the works before us.

The religion of the Hindoos presents, at the first aspect, all the features of a very rude, but bewildering system: 330,000,000 deities, of all sorts and sizes, bid defiance to every attempt at rational computation and definition, and render it necessary to discard them in gross, for the purpose of selecting such principal objects as may afford sufficient intimations of the general character of Hindoo idolatry. Mr. Ward has executed this with great judgement; but the most truly philosophical analysis of the unwieldy frame-work of Indian superstition, is to be found in a paper written by William Erskine, Esq. and printed in the

Bombay Transactions. From a very early period, three principal sects have divided India; the Brahminical, the Bouddhist, and the Jaina; each differing from the other, not, as is frequently the case, only nominally, but separated by important distinctions, both doctrinal and ritual, yet at the same time, holding many tenets in common. Of these the Brahminical is probably the most ancient; and, as was not unusual in the creeds of antiquity, comprises two kinds, or rather forms of faith,—a concealed, or esoteric faith for the initiated, and a more popular system, adapted to the grosser tastes of the multitude. In their own schools, the Brahmins seem to have taught a species of *Spinosism*; and while they professed to worship the one God, to have defined him in such a manner as to make him a mere *anima mundi*. To the Supreme Being, formless, without quality, occupying all space, they give the name of Brimh, and in whatever freaks of imagination they may indulge themselves on other points, they never suffer the debasing fictions of their mythology to contaminate this venerated name. But the system which they publicly inculcated, was idolatry in its grossest and least plausible shape. Three embodied energies, the creative, the preserving, the destroying, deified under the names of Bramha, Vishnu, and Shiva, spring from Brimh; and to each of these is assigned by way of wife, a female or passive energy. All these exist in human forms, varied through all the monstrous inventions of poets and idol-makers. The different *avatars*, or appearances among mankind, of Vishnu and Shiva, have been too often described to require recapitulation, and our patience, even more than our limits, would fail us in summing up the different races of inferior deities. The elements, the planetary orbs, the springs and streams, are either deified, or the residence of some divinity. The *dii majores* hold court in heaven; their train of dependants includes a physician, a poet, and a troop of dancing-girls; and in strict accordance with these strange and carnal notions of the Divine nature, the Brahmins have richly endowed their gods with the congenial attributes of 'rage, revenge, and lust.' 'In this great crowd of deities,' observes Mr. Erskine, 'there is no man, however capricious or 'humble, that may not find some divinity or portion of the di-'vinity suited to his humour or self-humiliation. If a man find 'some difficulty in approaching Ram, that god's monkey ser-'vant, Hanumant, may, however, claim his worship; a little 'red paint thrown on a stone or the stump of a tree, converts it 'into a god, and all the lower classes that pass, fall down and 'worship.' Yet with all this delusion in his heart and eye, the Hindoo believes in the unity of God. 'One Brumhu, without 'a second,' we are informed by Mr. Ward, 'is a phrase very

'commonly used by them when conversing on subjects which re-
'late to the nature of God.'

"But to know the Hindoo idolatry, AS IT IS, a person must wade through the filth of the thirty-six pooranus and other popular books—he must read and hear the modern popular poems and songs—he must follow the bramhun through his midnight orgies, before the image of Kalee, and other goddesses; or he must accompany him to the nightly revels, the jatras, and listen to the filthy dialogues which are rehearsed respecting Krishnu and the daughters of the milkmen; or he must watch him, at midnight, choking, with the mud and waters of the Ganges, a wealthy rich relation, while in the delirium of a fever; or, at the same hour, while murdering an unfaithful wife, or a supposed domestic enemy; burning the body before it is cold, and washing the blood from his hands in the sacred stream of the Ganges; or he must look at the bramhun, hurrying the trembling half-dead widow round the funeral pile, and throwing her, like a log of wood, by the side of the dead body of her husband, tying her, and then holding her down with bamboo levers till the fire has deprived her of the power of rising and running away. After he has followed the bramhun through all these horrors, he will only have approached the threshold of this temple of Moloch, and he will begin to be convinced, that to know the Hindoo idolatry, AS IT IS, a man must become a Hindoo—rather, he must become a bramhum; for a poor shoodru, by the very circumstances of his degradation, is restrained from many abominations which bramhuns alone are privileged to commit." pp. xcv, xcvi. vol. I.

And the ceremonial of this hateful idolatry is worthy of the rest of the system.

'As a person passes along the streets and roads he is continually reminded of one or other of these ceremonies:—here sits a man in his shop, repeating the name of his guardian deity, or teaching it to his parrot—there go half a dozen voiragees, or other persons, making their journey to some holy place—here passes a person, carrying a basket on his head, containing rice, sweet-meats, fruits, flowers, &c. an offering to his guardian deity—here comes a man with a chaplet of red flowers round his head, and the head of a goat in his hand, having left the blood and carcase before the image of Kalee—there sits a group of Hindoos, listening to three or four persons rehearsing and chanting poetical versions of the pooranus—here sits a man in the front of his house reading one of the pooranus, moving his body like the trunk of a tree in a high wind—and (early in the morning) here comes a group of jaded wretches, who have spent the night in boisterously singing filthy songs, and dancing in an indecent manner, before the image of Doorga—add to this, the villagers, men and women, coming dripping from the banks of the Ganges—and the reader has a tolerable view of the Hindoo idolatry, as it stalks, every day, along the streets and roads, and as it may be recognized by any careless observer.' pp. lxxxii, lxxxiii. vol. I.

The Bouddhist holds a very different faith from the Brahmin. If the system of the latter be a vitiated theism, the former

makes a near approach to the opposite extreme; for, though he acknowledges a Divine Being, he excludes him from all interference in human affairs. The Bouddhists consider goodness as bringing with it its own reward, since its prevalence not only confers happiness on the individual, but meliorates the condition of the world; while vice, they affirm, causes the frame of nature to decay until the universe be dissolved. They hold that men of exalted piety and extreme self-denial secure to themselves an after-state of superior glory and felicity, and that among these, there is always some eminent saint who holds a rank of higher elevation on the scale of divinity, though without taking any share in the government of the world. These canonized or deified men are the objects of Bouddhist worship.

The Jainas seem to occupy a place between the Brahmins and the Bouddhists, though apparently with a nearer approach to the latter. 'They believe that there is a God, but affirm 'that he can be known only by such as become absorbed in his 'essence; that therefore a person knowing God, ceases to pos- 'sess identity; that hence it is absurd for a human being 'to pretend to know him; the moment you discover him, 'your identity ceases.' Like the Bouddhists they canonize certain illustrious characters; but they differ from them by retaining the Brahminical distinction of caste. The Jainas are not numerous, but they are to be found in all parts of India, while the Bouddhist sect is to be found only in Ceylon, and in the eastern peninsula of India. It is, however, known, that this latter sect was once powerful, if not prevalent in Hindostan, and that their present exclusion is the result of the persecutions of the Brahmins, who pursued them to extirpation.

Of the literature of the Hindoos, sacred, historical, and romantic, Mr. Ward has furnished us with a very sufficient and exceedingly repulsive sample. The Vedas themselves, the primary and least objectionable sources of the religious knowledge of the Brahmin, are absolutely worthless, excepting as illustrations of national character, and as filling up a chasm in the cycle of pagan superstitions. They are replete with monstrous imaginations and with disgusting absurdities, and appear especially contemptible, when contrasted with the high expectations which were previously excited by the mysterious darkness in which they lay hid, and the supposed impossibility of overcoming the reluctance of the priests to draw aside the veil which covered the sanctuary of their delusions. The Pooranas are 'weary, flat, 'and unprofitable' romances, full of even ultra-oriental exaggerations. Many-armed and polycephalous giants, miraculous monkies, deities reduced to the most miserable shifts by the devices of mortals,—in short, extravagances of unbounded silliness, incoherence, and insipidity, make up the substance of these

strange productions of Eastern fancy. As a specimen at once of their inventions, and of their morality, the following extract may suffice.

'Ujamilu had committed the most enormous crimes, having killed cows and bramhuns, drank spirits, and lived in the practice of evil all his days. He had four sons; the name of one was Narayunu. In the hour of death Ujamilu was extremely thirsty, and thus called to his son: 'Narayunu, Narayunu, Narayunu, give me some water.' After his decease, the messengers of Yumu seized him, and were about to drag him to a place of punishment, when Vishnoo's messengers came to rescue him. A furious battle ensued, but Vishnoo's messengers were victorious, and carried off Ujamilu to Voikoontu, the heaven of Vishnoo. The messengers of Yumu, enraged, returned to their master, threw their clothes and staves at his feet, and declared that they would serve him no longer, as they got nothing but disgrace in all they did. Yumu ordered Chitru-gooptu, the recorder, to examine his books. He did so, and reported that this Ujamilu had been a most notorious sinner, and that it was impossible for him to reckon up his sins, they were so numerous. Yumu hastened to Voikoontu, and demanded of Vishnoo an explanation of this affair. Vishnoo reminded him, that however wicked this man might have been, he had repeated the name Narayunu in his last moments; and that he (Yumu) ought to know, that if a man, either when laughing, or by accident, or in anger, or even in derision, repeated the name of Vishnoo, he would certainly go to heaven, though, like Ujamilu, covered with crimes, he had not a single meritorious deed to lay in the balance against them. This is the doctrine that is universally maintained by the great body of the Hindoos: hence, when a person in a dying situation is brought down to the river side, he is never exhorted to repentance, but is urged in his last moments to repeat the names of certain gods, as his passport to heaven. A Hindoo shopkeeper one day declared to the author, that he should live in the practice of adultery, lying, &c. till death; and that then, repeating the name of Krishnu, he should, without difficulty, ascend to heaven.' Vol. I. pp. 81, 82.

Thus circumstanced, urged on to the commission of crimes by the very nature of his superstition, and by the permission and practices of his spiritual directors, it is not to be wondered at that the Hindoo is faithless, obscene, and, in fact, altogether destitute of the moral sense. Falsehood is a matter of course, and no man pays the slightest regard to the most solemn asseverations of another. An anecdote is related by the Abbé Dubois, in which eleven Brahmins are described as eating, under the pressure of hunger, from an impure vessel, an act which subjected them to the forfeiture of caste. One only abstained, and when he reached his residence, laid an information against the remainder, before an ecclesiastical assembly convened for the purpose. The ten sacerdotal delinquents, instead of confessing their crime, boldly turned round on their accuser, averring that they were innocent of the charge, and that it was

himself who, having committed the act, sought to escape the merited visitation by imputing his guilt to them. 'The result 'was, that the ten Brahmins were declared innocent, and the 'accuser, being found guilty, was expelled with ignominy from 'the tribe by the chiefs, who, though they could scarcely doubt 'of his innocence, yet could not help being offended with the 'disclosure he made.' The gross indecency of the poetry, the dances, and the religious observances of the natives of Hindostan, we are of course restrained from illustrating minutely; but ample evidence is afforded by the works before us, that the grossest abominations are practised and sanctioned, both in secret and in the eye of day. Mr. Ward mentions his habitual apprehension lest his children should accidentally witness the scandalous obscenities which form a part of some of their religious processions.

In connexion with the complicated system of Hindoo idolatry, the sanctity of particular temples, and even towns and districts, is implicitly believed. Among these, Benares, the great seat of Brahminical learning, is so celebrated for its efficacy, that many of the natives take up their residence there, in their last years, under the full conviction that they shall thus secure an immediate passage to the heaven of Shiva. Among the innumerable legends relating to this city, it is affirmed that a man while engaged in an adulterous intrigue, was scalded to death by falling into a pan of boiling spirits, but that he was saved from hell by the interference of Shiva, who came to him in his last moments, and whispering in his ear the name of Brumha, despatched him to heaven. Nay, so great is the purifying power of this hallowed spot, that even Europeans dying there, obtain a passport to bliss; and a melancholy instance of the sting of conscience and the dotage of superstition, is furnished by the story of an Englishman, who, in the closing scenes of life, made, under that miserable delusion, Benares his last home; building, by the agency of his Hindoo servant, a temple to a pagan god, and performing the prescribed ceremonies in expiation of his sins. As a counterpart to this exemplification of superstitious feeling, we may cite the case of two Hindoos, who were executed at Calcutta for robbery. Previously to entering upon their plundering adventure, they had made the accustomed offerings to Kalee, imploring her effectual aid in their burglarious scheme. The goddess, however, did not deal fairly by her votaries, for they were detected, found guilty, and hanged. While they lay under sentence, a native Catholic, similarly circumstanced, was visited by a priest of his own persuasion, and the disciples of Kalee, having been already deserted by their goddess, and beginning to suspect that if she had failed them in one instance, it was hardly safe to trust her in another and more important con-

cern, applied through their fellow-prisoner for a share in the good offices of his spiritual adviser. 'These men at last,' writes Mr. Ward, 'out of pure revenge upon Kalee, died in the faith of 'the Virgin Mary; and the Catholics, after the execution, made 'a grand funeral for them; as these persons, they said, embraced 'the Catholic faith, and renounced their caste, *from conviction!*'

We feel great pleasure in expressing our strong approbation of Mr. Ward's labours, of the sound judgement and clearness of head which he has manifested in his statements and definitions, and above all, of that steady reference to religious principle which pervades his valuable work. He suffers no opportunity to escape him of rebuking error and vindicating truth; he is not ashamed of his Divine Master and his pure profession; he never fails, on suitable occasions, to contrast the glory of the cross, with the moral and intellectual gloom of Heathenism; and he has added a strong link to the chain of argument which has bound in silence the enemies of missions. There is a fine tone of dignified eloquence in his reproofs of the childish admiration expressed by Mr. Maurice, in his glittering descriptions of the Hindoo superstitions. In one place, this palliater of idolatry ventures to characterise the Brahminical religion, as wearing 'the similitude of a beautiful and 'radiant CHERUB from HEAVEN, bearing on his persuasive lips 'the accents of pardon and peace, and on his silken wings 'benefaction and blessing.' The silliness of these 'taffeta 'phrases' is the least objectionable thing about them; their incongruity and mischievous tendency, as proceeding from the pen of a 'Christian minister,' are forcibly exposed by Mr. Ward, and he closes his remonstrance with the following honest and impressive warning.

'I am not ashamed to confess, that I fear more for the continuance of the British power in India, from the encouragement which Englishmen have given to the idolatry of the Hindoos, than from any other quarter whatever. The Governor of the world said to the Israelites, in particular reference to idolatry, 'If ye walk contrary to me, I will walk contrary to you.' Moses, in the name of Jehovah, thus threatens the Jews if they countenance idolatry:— 'I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land whereunto ye go over Jordan to possess it; ye shall not prolong your days upon it, but shall utterly be destroyed.' It cannot be doubted, that in every case in which either a person, or a nation, begins to think favourably of idolatry, it is a mark of departure in heart and practice from the living God: it was always so considered among the Jews. There is scarcely any thing in Hindooism, when truly known, in which a learned man can delight, or of which a benevolent man can approve; and I am fully persuaded, that there will soon be but one opinion on the subject, and that this opinion will be, that the Hindoo system is

less ancient than the Egyptian, and that it is the most PUERILE, IMPURE, AND BLOODY OF ANY SYSTEM OF IDOLATRY THAT WAS EVER ESTABLISHED ON EARTH.' p. ciii. vol. I.

The volume of the Abbé Dubois well deserves the testimonies rendered in its favour, by Major Wilks and Sir J. Mackintosh. It contains a mass of important and interesting matter, detailed with simplicity and distinctness, and it will form an indispensable part of all collections on the subject of India. The character and habits of the Brahmins are admirably drawn, and the spiritual thraldom in which they hold the minds and consciences of their followers, is strongly portrayed and illustrated. The Translator has executed his task with ability.

Art. V. *The Comforter:* a Poem. 8vo. pp. 78. Price 3s. 6d. London, 1820.

THIS Poem will not please the common run of readers on a first perusal, and few of them will attempt a second. It is chargeable with some obscurity of style, and its general drift will not be immediately perceived. It is of a didactic kind, and notwithstanding that the moral argument of the poem is continually relieved by some noble descriptive passages, it requires no ordinary effort of attention. Sensible, apparently, of these disadvantages, the anonymous Author requests in his Preface, that 'should 'any of the general lovers of poetry be tempted to look over this 'address to a particular class,' they would 'not descend to it 'immediately from the high-wrought melodies, the stately stan-'zas, or the brilliant and spirited lays which have lately been 'presented to them.'

'As they cannot be constantly supplied with such splendid entertainments, if they would in the intervals try mine, it may not be wholly insipid, at such a distance from their last indulgence that their ears have ceased to vibrate and expect its repetition; but I am aware that it will not be endured in immediate succession to rhyme.'

There are persons, however, by whom the serious and somewhat intricate harmony which clothes the Author's subject, will be deemed no unskilful music, and whose deepest feelings will respond to the sentiments it serves to express. It is, we are aware, the poetical cast of the sentiment, rather than the perfected beauty of expression, to which the passages which have detained us in the perusal, are chiefly indebted for their pleasing effect; but yet, there is occasionally both vigour and delicacy in the execution, and the descriptive sketches exhibit some elegant pencilling.

The Poem appears to have been suggested by the untimely fate of an unhappy friend whom the want of a Comforter drove to desperation. It opens with an address to the sufferer from in-

ward anguish, in the language of proffered sympathy, and tender expostulation.

> ' Deep must he dig, and gently must he deal,
> And utter that which cannot be disprov'd,
> Who hopes to aid the mind's infirmities.'

Sensible of the delicate handling which a wounded spirit requires, the Author of the poem deprecates alike the harshness of reproof, and the cruel mockery which bids the fainting soul

> ' Shake off at will its pressure, and be gay.'

And he then proceeds to conjure the sufferer to hope and live.

> ' Do not with desperate hand undo the tie
> That binds thee to this birth-place. He alone,
> Who from its dust compounded this abode,
> This husk, this shell, this seed-vessel, within
> Whose clos'd-up lids is nourished the soul,
> Knows its due ripeness. Instant at his word,
> Without a touch it opens. What ensues,
> When, with a childish and impatient haste,
> We force the nice contrivance of the pod
> To guard its nurslings? The abortive seed,
> Unfit to struggle with the stranger soil,
> Dies; and it dies for ever. That bright bloom,
> So much unlike the speck from whence it rose,
> Which, ripen'd, it had furnish'd, shall not be.
> Have not terrific visions of the night,
> That own'd no kindred, no similitude,
> With aught that Fancy or that Sense awake
> E'er taught to think or suffer, warn'd thy soul
> Her secret springs of feeling may be touch'd
> By some invisible and mighty Power
> That knows them truly, and can wake a source
> Of torturing agony the feebler flesh
> Seems to insure us from enduring long?
> It may be this obtuser covering
> That gives exemption, save for moments rare,
> From this unbearable and ghastly woe.'

The peculiar dangers to which the gifted possessors of the dangerous boon of fancy are exposed, in the recoil of their feelings from the vapid scenes of the world, are feelingly adverted to, and instanced in the case of the amiable Author of the Task.

> ' Better to think our foes mankind in league
> Than God. That burthen never may we bear.'

A transition is then made to the catastrophe which forms the occasion of the poem: the brief narrative is exquisitely affecting, and most instructive is the lesson. The unhappy victim was one in whom ' presumptuous sin,' the Writer expresses his firm assurance, had no existence; one who would never have cast the load of life aside, but sunk beneath it.

——————————— 'There is hope,
He—who till then had ever lived in awe
Of hurting any; and had given way,
E'en to his own undoing, to the tongue
That bade him suffer, in the tones of love—
Would not, till all was chaos in the soul,
Without the lamp that makes accountable,
Have left a legacy of life, long woe,
To all who held him dearly. Who so well
Could have forestall'd the anguish of his friend?
And who so like, on his own heart to bind
The torturing agony, his friend to spare?
Yes, thought had fail'd before thou didst prepare
That dreadful meeting. 'Twas a sudden start.
Some say a jest was signal to thy doom.
Be thou forgiven, whatsoe'er it were
That swelled thine heart to bursting! I have proof
Thy morning purpose squar'd not with the deed,
And still dare reckon thee with them that are.
Oh, ye to whom the hand of heaven assigns
The sacred ministry to guard the sad,
Dare not to struggle with that last desire,
That friendly instinct, that survives the wreck
Of hope and happiness, desire for rest.
Ah, urge them not to revels for relief.
What waits them there? Despair, and suicide.
From the unsparing plenty of the feast,
From the loud chorus of the mirth of wine,
From beauty's smiles, he hasten'd to the gloom,
And sought the refuge of a watery grave.
As if to testify earth's joys are vain,
He tried, and found them wanting. 'Tis too late,
Counsel, and thought, and remedy is vain.
How shall I e'er find comfort to my soul,
That in thine hour of need I was not nigh?
I should have presag'd from thy changing style
Thy friend was wanting, ere thou didst proceed
To give the summons; not the lightning's speed
Could have convey'd my person to thy side,
Ere thou hadst made my speed of none avail.
Rash and unhappy! but a few days more
We had encounter'd, and thou hadst not died.'

'How many jostles, and how many wrongs,
Unnotic'd by the busy and the strong,
And little reck'd of by the young and gay,
Press on and hurt the undefended soul,
Not strung by hope or heated after gain,
But, unattracted, spending all its force
On present evils, and too nice to feed
On the coarse pleasures of the present scene;

'Tis much to fly from these incessant stings,
Which suffer'd bravely, buy us no regard
From such as never felt them; and bewail'd,
Solicit mockery. Do not fret thyself,
But step aside, take shelter and be still.
Does there not issue from thy very soul
A voice, cries, "Come away?" Dost thou not long
For solitude and silence; and conceive,
If peace for thee still lives beneath the sun,
Unpeopled deserts hold her? Every stain
Upon the spotted garment of the world
Swells the disgust of thine embitter'd soul.
Alone amid a million, what a throng
Of evil passions on that heart intrude,
Conscious of feelings none can understand.
Scornful reserve and haughty self-esteem
Coldly entrench it, while the vivid blaze,
Whose flame was pure if properly applied,
Grows to a fatal energy in ill,
Or all its brightness is extinct for ever.
True, there are duties that must be fulfill'd
Amid the pomps and pageantries of life:
Woe, woe to him that slights them. By the Judge,
When he is summon'd, he shall be condemn'd.
By strenuous labour earth must be subdued;
And he is baser than the infidel
Who will not struggle to support his own.'

* * * * * *

'But you, ye light of heart and glib of tongue,
Ye formed to frolic in the summer's ray,
To you I plead: To the weak soul no wrong.
Oh, as ye tender an immortal soul,
I straitly charge you whom the ties of blood,
Of friendship, of companionship, unite
To the poor prey of melancholy gloom,
Ye treat him gently; wisely, if ye can.'

pp. 10—15.

The sources of healing influence which the works of the Almighty Architect supply, are then pointed out; the livingf ountains of consolation on which Mde. de Staël, in her Essay upon Suicide, so eloquently dwells. 'Il ne faut pas dédaigner,' says that extraordinary woman, 'dans quelque tristesse qu 'on soit 'plongé, les dons primitifs du Créateur; la vie et la nature. 'Les consolations philosophiques ont moins d'empire que les 'jouissances causées par la spectacle de la terre et du ciel. Ce 'qu'il faut donc le plus soigner parmi nos moyens de bonheur, 'c'est la puissance de la contemplation. On est si à l' etroit dans 'soi même, tant de choses nous y agitent et nous blessent, qu'on 'a sans cesse besoin de se plonger dans cette mer de pensées

'sans bornes; l'on doit, comme dans le Styx, s'y rendre invulne-
'rable.' The tranquillizing charm of moonlight is very strikingly described in the following lines.

——————— 'The distrest,
Contrite or guiltless, need but lift an eye,
When earth is sunk in darkness, to receive
A sense of peace from heaven. When the vine
Receiv'd its sweetness for the sons of mirth,
The olive fatness, and the spice its balm,
This was the boon accorded to the sad.
Pent in close cities, never doth their soul
From aught external catch that calm delight,
Best image of her sabbath, save when night
Hath somewhat charmed the never-ceasing din,
And their rais'd eye, thro' all the envious bars
The works of man present it, can behold
Great Nature's glories where he cannot reach
Nor wholly intercept. Except for thee,
Thou silent scorner of the pomps conceal'd
Beneath the roofs high labour'd to the sky,
Methinks the silver moon should have disdain'd
To pour her lustre o'er the formal scene,
To which her touches scarce can give a grace.
Did she not glide a messenger of love
To some imprison'd and misdoubting soul
The rural landscape had retain'd her gaze,
Whose placid sweetness softens in her rays
Like baby innocence in bands of sleep.
* * * * * * *
But for thee,
Thou silent, but impressive comforter,
How had I languish'd thro' those years of gloom
Where none else spake of comfort! If again
I should be destined to captivity,
Oh, let my dungeon yield a little space
To gaze at nature, though but in the sky,
For there she works for ever; and my heart,
Like lover at the aspect of the braid
Dissever'd from the ringlets of his fair,
Shall feel renew'd that height of extasy
Full contemplation of united charms
Had shower'd upon my bosom.'

The apostrophe to departed days, and to the remembered scenes of rural beauty, in the succeeding passage, must not, in justice to the Author, be suppressed.

'Days gone! ye are not wasted: in my heart
Lies treasur'd every instant I have known
Of pure unsullied rapture: and the most
Have been accorded by great Nature's charms,

Her endless, varied, unreproved delights,
When the sad heart rejects the harper's train,
Nor for the artful melody of song
The evil spirit will its influence yield,
The tongues of trees can soothe us into peace.
As the invisible and passing wind
Sighs soft amid the branches, is thy soul
Not mov'd by every cadence? Dost not think
'Twas never rightly struck upon by sound,
Till waken'd by those accents? Harmony,
Skill beyond thought benignantly contriv'd!
Where not a sound is not in unison,
And doth not strike upon the very chord
Of soft emotion 'twas ordained to thrill.
Delicious harmony! to sorrow's ear
Better attemper'd than the eager trill
Of the aspiring welcomer of day:
Or her's who sings in covert, whether day
Gild and enlighten the enamel'd mead,
Or night, with all its darkness and its dews,
Chill into silence every breast less warm;
Having her spring of rapture in herself,
Her little throat can never half convey.
Each flower brocaded on earth's mantle green,—
From the pale primrose, on the lowly ridge
Crown'd with the quick-set, pushing forth its bloom
Through winter-mellow'd and commingled spoils
Of faded autumn, to the latest gleam,
O'er purple moor-lands, of the heath-bell's bloom,
That quench their blushes in descending snow,—
For thee bears healing, precious as the balm
That blooms on Gilead, or the frankincense
That from Arabia pours its blest perfume:
Not to the few and difficult, confin'd,
Asking the chymist's or physician's skill—
The coyly blossoming in sheltered pale,
And dying fruitless in a foreign soil:
But every little undistinguished weed,
Whose tiny lustre helps the flush of May,
Or that bright light that from the summer fields
Fit for the scythe arises,—whose warm hue,
Caught from the roses of the beading bough
Of over-arching wild-briar, is combin'd,
With the bright blue of many an upcast eye
Of gay veronicas that bask beneath,
And heighten'd by the cups of burnish'd gold
That glitter in the noontide, or convey
To mouths invisible a draught unseen,—
Contains a blessing: for the most obscure
Hath a perfection it is good for thee
Often to muse on. Silently they stand

Unbought, unclass'd, uncultur'd, undistill'd
Beneath the eye of heaven; with modest charms
That own no artifice and no conceits,
To cheer who deign to notice: while their sweets,
Potent, but innocent, solicit soft
The inattentive mourner; and infuse
A pleasing kind of twilight pleasantness
Attemper'd to the feelingness of grief.
Pure, blameless beauties! whosoe'er has bled
From guile or emptiness, conceal'd by charms
Than yours more prominent, but not so safe,
Till fair and fatal, frail and faithless too,
Are coupled in his fancy; let him come
And look away his heresy at you.
First and best-suited playthings of the child!
All that remains of childishness of soul,
The much-worn images of childish joy,
Flash on remembrance, as your tribes renew
Yearly their fragrance. As the riper man
Stoops to your sweetness, and with idle heed
Culls you to gaze upon and cast away,
He for the moment feels himself a child.' pp. 19, 20, 21, 22.

The Poet proceeds to trace the actual effect of these natural influences on the mind of an individual who, under the pressure of morbid feelings, forsook his parks and laboured shrubberies for the quiet of a small hunting lodge in the depth of a forest.

'Slowly he learnt, but, learning, he was heal'd.'

The description of the reveries with which at set of sun the recluse was often visited, introduces a digression which perhaps might claim to be termed philosophical, on the imaginary creations of poetical superstition.

'Truths sublime
Our fathers mixt in their unstable dreams,
Perhaps their apologues, which after-times
Turn'd into history; but which in them
Were but bright images for things well known.
All that the sensitive could wish were true,
True is, of all these fancies.'

The history of the solitary is then carried on, and the sequel of the intellectual process described, by which he recovered the tone of his mind, and his interest in society. 'His returning 'sense of sweet and beautiful,' he nourishes in retirement with 'the bright lays of changeless poetry,' till the desire is excited of visiting the scenes which genius has immortalised; and this desire acquires strength till it hurries him,

'From that still covert with a sudden bound,
To view each spot that ever poet's song

Has hail'd as lovely, or the cooler tongue
Of plain-pros'd traveller noted.'

Nine long years are spent by him in exploring distant regions, till toil, want, and danger at length bring back a taste for the solace of repose, and once again

'His bounding heart flies out to be at home,
And every English-born becomes a brother.'

He returns, and the individual who once, in the forest, sought a refuge from a ploughman's eye, now shines as the senator in the debate, and anxiously devotes himself to the service of his country.

We should judge that this is not an ideal sketch, or a piece of fictitious biography: the interest and the force of the example depend upon its being a genuine narrative. The Author now gathers up the sum of his argument, calling upon the subject of despondency to dally with his heart for a while amid the living wonders of the works of God, trusting that it shall again wake to life and gladness. The concluding paragraphs direct him to the final source of consolation.

'Tis ever good to meditate with awe
Upon the footsteps of the Deity;
But in his ways to us we have a guide
We may securely follow, since our Judge,
Our intermediate Maker, and our Lord,
Himself was human; and as Son of Man,
Shall estimate the beings he has deign'd
To call his brethren.

* * * * * *

All ye that doubt the mercies of your God,
Dig to the deep foundation. Do not build
On man's assurance. It is faith in man,
Has made the many mourners that are found,
Aye, hopeless mourners, yielders to despair,
Among the summon'd to the courts of heaven.
The "written covenant" is peace and love
To such as will love wisdom.'

In presenting to our readers this argument of the poem before us, we have done more justice to it than its Author has done. His design is far from being clearly made out, and there is frequently a want of obvious connexion between both sentences and paragraphs occurring in juxta-position, which gives to the composition the appearance of being much more desultory, not to say sometimes incoherent, than it really is. There are some passages so obscure that, after repeated perusal, we feel by no means assured of having ascertained their meaning. Other instances of carelessness present themselves in the faulty construction of sentences, and in the rhyming of successive

lines, which in blank verse ought always to be avoided, as having an effect scarcely less unpleasing than, in heroic couplets, an imperfect rhyme. Of obscurity, arising from a violent ellipsis, we might cite numerous instances. For example; in a passage already cited, occur the following words: 'And their 'rais'd eye, thro' all the envious bars the works of man present 'it, can behold great Nature's glories where he cannot reach 'nor wholly intercept.' The proper form of the sentence would be, if we do not mistake the meaning: And their raised eye, through all the envious bars *which* the works of man present *to* it, can behold,' &c.

Again, in the following sentences, we have varied specimens of bad writing.

'—wept thy ray
So early blasted, thou misjudging one
That cast thy laurels on an elder name.'

'—woes like thine
The o'erflowing scourge, methinks, neednot impose.'

'Thou lov'*dst*, and fear'*dst*, and shoul*dst* have been reliev'd.'

'—as the wave,
Of a still grey, it seem'd to have forsook,
And kept its dying accents for the tree.'

'But grant it true for disembodied sprites
Unseen descending, her magnificence
Our earth at once thus hasten'd to put on.'

These passages are not merely obscure, (except the single unutterable line which furnishes the third instance,) but they are, on different accounts, positively faulty. At page 24, occurs a sentence which extends to no fewer than fourteen lines, followed by another of between ten and eleven; and the latter is an inverted sentence, which makes the matter so much the worse, as the reader has not only to hold his breath all the while, but to wait till he arrives at the last line but one, before he catches a glimpse of the relative meaning of the string of words that form the first branch of the sentence. We feel persuaded that the Author never read his poem aloud before he committed it to the press: we would wish to inflict upon him no heavier penance than to be obliged to do it in a mixed company,—unless it be to hear it read. In its present state, notwithstanding the marks of genius with which it abounds, it stands no chance of being favourably received by the majority of the reading public. But we hope that it will receive the Author's careful revision: it merits all the requisite pains.

Annexed to 'The Comforter,' is another poem in rhyming couplets, entitled 'The Sabbath.' The versification, we are compelled to pronounce harsh and aukward, and the diction is

disfigured by affectation. But we do not retract the praise we have awarded, in the opening of the Article, to the unknown Author. He is evidently a man of talent and a man of feeling, one who has thought deeply and wisely, and one, perhaps, who has suffered keenly. We hope that he will give us credit for a wish to do him justice in the attention we have bestowed upon his poem. What we complain of, is, that he has not been just to himself.

Art. VI. *An Historical Research concerning the most ancient Congregational Church in England,* shewing the Claim of the Church worshipping in Union Street, Southwark, to that Distinction. By Benjamin Hanbury. 8vo. pp. 54. Price 2s. London. 1820.

MR. HANBURY has ferretted out a number of very interesting particulars relating to the early history of the London congregations of Protestant Dissenters. He does not write with all the clearness that could be wished, and this circumstance will prevent his reasonings from having the full effect he designs; but he has been indefatigable in bringing together every document bearing upon his point; and the reader who is not convinced, will at least be amused, and if he has a drop of Nonconformist blood in his veins, be not a little interested by the details of the argument. Of the importance of the main fact Mr. H. labours to establish, persons will judge differently, according to their habits of thinking. We can only say, that volumes have been written by learned antiquaries to clear up points of far greater insignificance. The pamphlet contains biographical sketches of the successive pastors of the church in question: among them occur the highly respectable names of Dr. Zephaniah Marryat, and Dr. James Watson. One of the grandsons of Dr. Marryat is the member for Sandwich; another is a respectable barrister. Of Dr. Watson's family, we have the following particulars.

'The Doctor's eldest son was born Nov. 25, 1746. Having discovered an inclination to become a minister, he was accordingly admitted at the academy, then at Mile-end, under Drs. Walker, Gibbons, and Conder. He afterwards repaired to the university of Edinburgh, and on his return to England, was invited to succeed the Rev. T. Williams, at Gosport; there he was ordained in 1771, and was succeeded in 1777, by the eminent, and now venerable Dr. David Bogue. Mr. Watson relinquished the ministry in 1776, and in 1780 became a barrister; in 1787, a serjeant at law, and about the same time, Recorder of the corporation of Bridport, Dorsetshire, and subsequently, one of their representatives in parliament. He had obtained the distinctions of F.R.S. LL.D., and was knighted on being appointed, in 1795, to the honour of succeeding the much-lamented and very celebrated Sir William Jones, as one of his Majesty's Jus-

tices of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal: but Judge Watson's services were speedily terminated, for, having sailed for Calcutta, where he arrived Feb. 27, 1797, and entering immediately on the duties of his office, he was seized with a fever, April 29th, of which he died three days afterwards.

'John, George, and William, the second, third, and fourth, sons of Dr. Watson, were also of the profession of the law. Of these, John only is living, but he has retired from general practice. George, who was patronised by Chief Justice the Earl of Mansfield, died in India. William died in 1818; he was F. R. S. a magistrate for Middlesex, chairman of the Sessions for that county, and for Westminster, senior common pleader of the city of London, and serjeant at arms to the House of Peers; he was also a vice president of the corporation of the Foundling Hospital. At that place, Samuel, the fifth son, is at this time alternate Sunday evening preacher. He is a doctor in divinity, rector of Gravesend, chaplain of the royal arsenal chapel at Woolwich, and a magistrate.' pp. 46—47.

Such has ever been the fate of Dissenterism: no sooner does it become saturated with a sufficient portion of worldly prosperity, than it first assumes a neutral character, and is then speedily evaporated. We do not recollect ever to have known or heard of the profession of Nonconformity in combination with a carriage, descending to the third generation. Be it so: only we know not why the descendants of such men should be ashamed of their ancestors, or of their principles.

Art. VII. *An Account of the Public Schools, Hospitals, and other Charitable Foundations, in the Borough of Stanford, in the Counties of Lincoln and Rutland.* By Thomas Blore, F. S. A. 8vo. pp. 366. Stanford.

WE cannot conceive of a more gross and mischievous illustration of the spirit of selfishness and rapacity, than that which is furnished by the abuse of Public Charities, whether established for the communication of knowledge to those who are without the means of adequately obtaining it, or for the mitigation of the evils attendant on poverty and helpless age. We know of no language that can be too keen in its application, to the infamy of all who are marked with this brand. They have done their best to poison both the sources and the current of social life; they are withholding the best blessings of existence from those who, but for them, would have enjoyed them amply; and the loud and withering cry of the destitute and defrauded, is gone up to heaven against them. To this important subject, we are glad that the public attention has been strongly and urgently called, not, we trust, to be diverted until every such abuse shall be brought to open light, and every plan for the improvement of man's condition, either individually or in society, be set in motion, disengaged from the entanglements of avarice and of oppression.

The volume before us is a valuable contribution to this great cause, and displays throughout great patience and dexterity of investigation, and an honourable spirit of resistance to encroachment. It deals in facts and documents, quotes authorities and valid instruments, musters up a strong array of mouldering parchments, antiquarian references, and historical details, and presents, with names and items, a formidable roll of weighty accusation. The work is drawn up with much skill, and is fraught with valuable matter. Various considerations, however, deter us from a minuter exposition of its contents. In the first place, we hesitate at giving not very honourable publicity to names and facts, on evidence which, though apparently impartial and sustained, is still *ex parte*; the book, too, is not quite of such recent date as to justify us in taking it for granted that the evil still exists; and we would hope that the Commission now in progress will effectually assist the efforts which have been made in the town itself to remedy the mischief. We shall, therefore, merely state, that the Borough of Stanford appears to have been, in former times, famous for its seminaries of learning; and that it has for centuries possessed, and still possesses, sundry schools, hospitals, and charities, nearly the whole of which seem to have been more or less abused. If Mr. Blore's statements be correct, and they have every appearance of correctness, there should be, in the different funds, the means of procuring instruction and comfort for a very considerable portion of the necessitous inhabitants; while it is alleged that, in consequence of perversion and mismanagement, the benevolent intentions of the founders have been nearly altogether frustrated. There is one point to which we are desirous of making a more specific reference. In all the various changes of property, in every transfer or renewal of leases, the lawyers of course interfere; their bill is, equally of course, a somewhat heavy one, and as it obviously cannot affect either buyer or seller, lessor or lessee, for both parties must be supposed carefully to guard their own interests, the Charity suffers.

We shall take this opportunity of adverting to an abuse of the same kind, though in connexion with a different subject. The enormous proportion of the legal expenses attendant on the administration of the Poor Laws, has been repeatedly brought forward, but without any step having, as yet, been taken in alleviation of the evil. We shall mention one simple fact which recently occurred, as an illustration both of the general subject, and of the gross selfishness which can seek its own gratification, by aggravating a disease that threatens the vitals of the nation. In a very small parish, or rather liberty, some doubt arose respecting the validity of a pauper's settlement; an attorney of note was consulted, and gave the strongest assurances of the absolute

certainty of success; the affair went to the Sessions, in twenty minutes was decided against the parish, and the lawyers' bill amounted to upwards of seventy pounds!—a sum, we believe, fully equal to half the amount annually levied within the liberty, for the maintenance of its poor. This is a portentous evil, and must be remedied.

Art. VIII. *Lacon: or Many Things in few Words;* addressed to those who think. By the Rev. C. C. Colton, A.M. late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 267. London. 1820.

WHAT can an Author expect from us, who has the temerity to affirm in the very first sentence of his Preface, that 'Literature has now become a game; in which the Booksellers 'are the Kings; the Critics, the Knaves; the Public, the 'Pack; and the poor Author, the mere Table, or *thing played* 'upon?' Were we of a vindictive temperament, we are well aware how we might put him to slow torture—by obstinate silence. What writer who has once made up his mind to expect that he shall be 'abused by all parties,' and has given public notice that he will be 'terrified by none,' heroically 'prepared to meet both open foes and secret enemies,' although the latter should 'hide themselves under the mask of anonymous 'publication,'—who, we say, that has once wrought up his courage to this height of daring,—would not prefer the excitement of the rudest encounter to all the comforts of a whole skin? 'There are,' says Mr. Colton, 'three difficulties in au'thorship;—to write any thing worth the publishing—to find 'honest men to publish it—and to get sensible men to read it.' We are sorry that honest booksellers are rare: on the other two points, we fully agree with him. But to be quite just, the chief difficulty we feel in the present instance, (of course Mr. C. means to refer to us Reviewers, under the generic term, *sensible men,)* respects, not the reading of the Author's amusing farrago of anecdotes, aphorisms, and good sayings, but the *reviewing* of it. Whereas we are willing to confess that in most cases the *reading* of a book, is the hardest part of our task. The present volume consists of 587 *articles* of all sorts and sizes; besides occasional notes. We must take two or three specimens at random: they will sufficiently shew that the Writer, though not a very profound thinker, is a man of reflection, though confessedly in the unhappy predicament of having nothing to do, has not been a mere idler, and though but a third-rate satirist, in a very entertaining dealer in *omniana*. The worst thing in the book, that we have noticed, is the foolish panegyric upon Mr. Bellamy, the *Hebraist*. Mr. Colton ought to have confined himself to matters more within the range of his knowledge.

'Men will wrangle for religion; write for it; fight for it; die for it; any thing but—*live* for it.' p. 27.

'Some Sciolists have discovered a short path to celebrity. Having heard that it is a vastly silly thing to believe every thing, they take it for granted, that it must be a vastly wise thing, *to believe nothing*.—They therefore set up for free thinkers; but their only stock in trade is, that they are free from thinking. It is not safe to contemn them, nor very easy to convince them; since no persons make so large a demand upon the reason of others, as those who have none of their own; as a highwayman will take greater liberties with our purse, than our banker.' p. 55.

'The pope conducts himself towards our heavenly Master, as a knavish steward does to an earthly one. He says to the tenants, you may continue to neglect my Master's interests as much as you please, but keep on good terms with me, and I will take care that you shall be on good terms with my Master.* p. 55.

'He that can charm a whole company by singing, and at the age of thirty, has no cause to regret the possession of so dangerous a gift, is a very extraordinary, and, I may add, a very fortunate man.' p. 72.

'An Irishman fights before he reasons, a Scotchman reasons before he fights, an Englishman is not particular as to the order of precedence, but will do either to accommodate his customers. A modern general has said, that the best troops would be as follows: an Irishman half drunk, a Scotchman half starved, and an Englishman with his belly full.' p. 137.

'Literature has her quacks no less than medicine, and they are divided into two classes; those who have erudition without genius, and those who have volubility, without depth; we shall get second-hand sense from the one, and original nonsense from the other.' p. 232.

Art. IX. *A Discourse*, delivered at St. Mary's Church, June 11, 1819, before the University of Oxford, being the Festival of St. Barnabas. By J. Radford, B.D. Fellow of Lincoln College. 8vo. pp. 49. Oxford, 1820.

"LET both grow together until the harvest." From this text the Preacher takes occasion to shew, that the intermixture of bad with good men in the present world, is attended with salutary consequences; and then deduces from the parable 'some obvious remarks and rules of conduct.' It is an excellent discourse, thoroughly practical, and breathes the genuine spirit

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* 'In the book of Religious Rates, registered in the court of France, in the year 1699, are the following items: Absolution for *apostacy*, 80 livres; for bigamy, 10,050; ditto for homicide, 95; dispensation for a great irregularity, 50 livres; dispensation from vows of chastity, 15.'

of the Gospel. A peculiar interest attaches to the expression of such sentiments as are exhibited in the following extract, when it is recollected under what circumstances the present Discourse was delivered.

'Let us guard against the uncharitable temper of the bigot. Bigotry, we admit, is less to be apprehended now than heretofore; yet at no period should the dread of it be looked upon as an imaginary terror. Toleration, says Mr. Burke, is a new virtue in any country. "It is a late ripe fruit in the best climates." This sacred principle, however, has doubtless been recognised by our own enlightened country, and has been blended in no ordinary degree with its civil and religious establishments. We have not, therefore, now, as in a former age, to apprehend the faggot and the stake. But the fear of bigotry is not chimerical, because the apparatus of its outward terrors may be removed. It is not enough, that intolerance may be restrained by human laws from breaking out into overt acts of violence. A thousand ills may issue from its source, which men may deprecate, but which human laws cannot rectify. There is a moral persecution of men's opinions and persons which the law cannot adequately reach. It cannot soften the asperities of that theological rancour, grown into a proverb, which "hated and hating" is as hostile to Christianity as an *auto da fé* itself. It cannot control the temper, and but imperfectly the language and writings of some men, who act as if they conceived, that because they stop short of one species of persecution, they may indulge in another; that so long as they spare the bodies of men, they may attack their character and creed with every weapon of vindictive warfare. Against bigotry of this sort, scarcely cognizable by human law, but disturbing so often the religious harmony of the world, it cannot be unnecessary at any time to caution men. Every day's experience will afford an instance of some breach or other of the great rule of charity. And the ministers of Christ in doing their duty must again and again (however ungrateful the task may be) refer professors of every description to the real character of his religion. They must vindicate its primary elements and principles, and extricate them from the mass of human prejudice and passion, with which they have been so often combined; they must appeal from the creed of the bigot to the gospel, and teach men simply and authoritatively, as Christ taught his disciples, that if they love him, they must love one another.' pp. 22, 23.

Art. X. 1. *Christianity pleading for the Patronage of the Civil Power; but protesting against the Aid of Penal Laws:* considered in Three Sermons preached in Essex Street Chapel. By the Rev. Thomas Belsham. 8vo. pp. 97. London. 1820.

2. *Four Letters to the Rev. W. J. Fox,* occasioned by his Sermon, on the Duties of Christians towards Deists; and by his Remarks on the Prosecution of Mr. Carlile. By an Inquirer. 8vo. pp. 53. 1819.

OF these two pamphlets, one had not reached us, and the other was not published, at the time we took the occasion of Mr. Fox's Sermon to offer some general considerations on the delicate and important subject to which it relates. We shall

avail ourselves of them for the purpose of recalling the attention of our readers to the state and merits of the question.

Mr. Belsham's is a whimsical sort of production. Two thirds of its contents are occupied with a defence,—if the mere enunciation of an opinion may, in the absence of all argumentative reasoning, be termed a defence,—of an ecclesiastical establishment; not, however, be sure, such as is at present by law established in this country, but a hypothetical establishment of 'Christianity without any distinction of sects,' such an establishment as in the eyes of all good Church of England men, would amount to no establishment at all, or to something worse, the establishment of Socinianism. This opinion, Mr. Belsham professes to have recently adopted as the result of most mature consideration.

'"It is," he says, 'comparatively but of late, and after having maturely reviewed the question, and particularly the historical part of it, that I have been led not only to admit the general expedience of the protection and patronage of the civil power; but to acknowledge that to this very interference, under divine Providence, we are indebted for the *present existence* of the Christian religion in the world, and especially in its purest form.'

On the first perusal of this very strange assertion, we really began to think that the worthy Author was coming round to sound orthodoxy in his old age, and that he was likely at last to die in the communion and holy orders of the Established Church. Especially, taking it in connexion with the encomium he elsewhere passes upon 'the beautiful simplicity' of the Book of Common Prayer, we could not but augur most favourably as to the result of this 'maturer view' of the grounds of his Nonconformity, anticipating the period as not very distant when some goodly benefice should be his deserved reward, and

> '...frighted prelates bow and call him friend,
> Though 'Mother Church, with half averted sight,'
> Should 'blushing bless her hoary proselyte.'

But what will our readers, what will our friends the Christian Observers say, at finding this advocate of Establishments turning sharp round in the third Sermon, and affirming 'that the Chris-'tian religion distinctly disavows and utterly disclaims the aid 'and protection of civil pains, penalties, and restraints of every 'kind and in every degree;' and 'that if it teaches any thing, 'it teaches this salutary and important lesson: that no im-'pugning of its divine and life-giving doctrines, no resistance to 'its authority, no enmity to its principles, no reviling of its or-'dinances, no calumniating of its professors, no, nor even any 'blaspheming of its inspired founder and his holy and au-'thorized associates and messengers, is upon any consideration 'to be visited with the pains and penalties of human laws?'

This is indeed boldly and strongly expressed: we only regret that, in the case of either class of propositions, those which affirm the expediency of the interference of the civil power for the protection of religion, and those which deny the lawfulness of such an interference in the cases in which it should seem to be most called for, the learned Author has thought it unnecessary to employ any method of proof. We deem it an unfortunate circumstance, considering the light which he would, no doubt, have been able to throw upon the apparent paradox, that either his early habits as a tutor, or the circumstance of being looked up to as the patriarch of his sect, or certain peculiarities of intellectual character, should have led him to regard an *ipse dixit* of the Preacher as carrying on the face of it an authority which renders all argument superfluous.

Our readers will not forgive us, if we do not treat them with some account of Mr. Belsham's defence of Establishments. The opinion he expresses on that subject, is in itself perfectly harmless; for, although wrapped up in a great many words, it amounts to no more than this, that a Government has a right to endow universities, to build churches, and to grant exhibitions to the ministers of religion, and that it ought to protect, not simply to tolerate, all classes of religionists; all, without exception, having a just claim to the full possession of their civil rights and privileges. This should seem to be the mature conclusion at which 'comparatively but of late' the Author professes to have arrived; and if so, we can but express our surprise that he should not have arrived at it sooner. Although he is pleased to represent it otherwise, we never met with a rational man among the Dissenters, who was disposed to deny either the lawfulness or the expediency of such an interference on the part of the civil government as this. We do not say that no individual has ever been found to maintain an opposite sentiment, but the opinions which Mr. Belsham cites as at variance with such an admission, are in reality perfectly compatible with it. What has all this to do with the question of 'human authority 'in matters of religion?' Absolutely nothing. Will it be believed, that Mr. Belsham actually cites the following passage as implying, that either the civil power ought not to protect, or has no right to favour the ministers of religion?

'"From the time of the Hoadlian controversy to the present day," says Dr. Kippis, "*the objections to the exercise of human authority in matters of religion*, and the arguments in favour of the right of private judgement, the sufficiency of Scripture, and the sole dominion of Christ over his Church, have been exhibited in such a variety of unanswerable performances, that the man who did not ground his separation from the Establishment chiefly upon these considerations, would scarce be thought worthy the name of a Dissenter."'

Does Mr. Belsham mean to intimate his dissent from Dr.

Kippis on this point? If he does, we do not scruple to make the application to himself, and say that he is not worthy the name of a Dissenter, for he does not understand the first principles of Dissent. And that this is the case, is indeed pretty evident from his next paragraph, in which he charges persons maintaining such principles, with inconsistency in accepting without hesitation of an annual parliamentary grant, and in availing themselves of certain privileges and immunities conceded by the Government to Dissenting teachers. 'That which 'it is unlawful for government to grant,' he gravely asserts, 'it 'must be equally unlawful for the Christian teacher to receive.' From which we might naturally have inferred, that some individuals whom our Author has met with, have objected to the lawfulness of such grants on the part of Government. But no: he himself tells us, that 'the question concerning the lawfulness of the 'parliamentary *test*, created much discussion among the Dis-'senting ministers at the time of their application to Parliament 'for further relief, A. D. 1779;' but that 'it is *remarkable* 'that there was no controversy concerning the lawfulness of the 'parliamentary *grant*.' This satirical innuendo is worthy of the encomiast of Lord Sidmouth on the occasion of his Lordship's memorable Bill.* Concerning the lawfulness of such a grant, there could be no controversy: no man of common sense could have a doubt upon the subject. Concerning the lawfulness of the test, there was room for a conscientious difference of opinion; and the scruples of the minority were, to say the least, deserving of respect.

We know not whether we are to attribute it to design, or to a physical deficiency in the power of discrimination, that we have subjects so very distinct, mixed up together, and terms of essentially different import, used as convertible or synonimous in the sermons before us. At one time, it is the equivocal 'right to 'protect and patronize the Christian religion,' that the Author is advocating; at another, it is the *necessity* of such protection for the preservation of religion in the world; then, this protecting right becomes 'the interposition of *human authority* in 'matters of religion;' and presently, we have in broad terms, 'the civil establishment of religion,' and are called upon to subscribe to the general principle of the necessity of an Establishment. Yet, in answering the very first objection, he shuffles his terms again, and speaks of 'the public encouragement of a reli-'gion, the main doctrine of which is good will to men,' as 'the 'only Establishment' for which he pleads. In this blundering way, the Author proceeds to perplex what is clear, and to confound the things which differ as widely as truth and error, till he

* See Eclectic Review, O. S. Vol. VII. Part II. p. 1096.

has just conceded enough to the enemies of Dissenters, to answer the purpose of betraying the cause of his brethren, and yet not enough to conciliate any consistent advocate of an Ecclesiastical Establishment.

But let us see what are the objections to the establishment of Christianity by the civil power, which Mr. Belsham volunteers to answer.

'*Obj.* 1. It is alleged that the establishment of Christianity by the civil power, is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of civil society.'—'2. The support of religion out of the public purse, is an act of injustice to the dissentient members of the community, because it is applying their portion of the public money to purposes which were not originally intended, and of which they disapprove.'—'3. Truth is omnipotent, and will make its way by its own energies; and especially Christian truth.'—'4. Christ has no where directed, or even authorized, the civil power to protect and patronize his church.'—'5. The Christian religion maintained its ground, it best preserved its purity, and made the most rapid progress in the earliest ages, when it was not only unsupported by the civil power, but when it was most violently opposed, and cruelly persecuted by it.'—'6. Among contending parties, the magistrate is but ill qualified to distinguish and to support the truth.'—'7. Experience has shewn that the evils which have, in fact, resulted from the interference of the civil power, have been enormous and intolerable; and much greater than any good which ever has resulted, or can in reason ever be expected to result from it.'

Now, weakly as some of these objections are put, Mr. Belsham does not attempt to refute the whole of them. The first is so loosely worded, that it is impossible to reason about it: in its present shape, it is no better than an untenable assumption which no writer of respectability would venture; and yet, such as it is, Mr. Belsham gets rid of it only by explaining away the word Establishment, as meaning 'the public encouragement of reli-'gion.' The second objection is equally vague and invalid, and no person who did not wish to turn the sentiments of Dissenters to ridicule, would, one might have thought, have brought it forward in such a form. To any Parliamentary application of the national funds, however impolitic and inexpedient, the Dissenters have never, so far as we are aware, objected as an infringement of their rights; yet, this is all that can be meant by 'a moderate 'portion of the public treasure being expended upon the object,' to which arrangement 'the minority, or the governed,' we are told, 'must necessarily submit.' We never heard the annual grants to the poor clergy, or even those to the Roman Catholics, in the slightest manner objected to. The essential injustice of all existing church-establishments, Mr. B. himself admits at the very time that he is seeming to explain away the objection. But an individual may surely object to the principle upon which an exclusive Establishment is founded, and to the grievances inseparable from the system, without questioning the right of the Legis-

lature, and without feeling himself bound to decline its protection and bounty, in cases in which not the shadow of injustice can attach to its application of the national funds. The remaining objections consist of undeniable truths, the argumentative force of which depends, however, entirely on the mode of their application. Mr. Belsham, of course, does not give them their full force, nor does he furnish any thing worthy of a reply to them. Of the manner in which he disposes of the fifth, our readers may judge from the following specimen. After affirming that 'much 'more has been said of the purity of the Ante-Constantine age 'of the Church than truth will warrant,' for 'endless were the 'inventions of the Christian philosophers in the apostolic age 'itself;' e. g. 'the fable of the miraculous conception,' the doctrine of the deity of Christ, 'the unscriptural doctrine of Origi-'nal Sin, with all its absurd and impious appendages,' he adds:

'It would, perhaps, be more correct to say, that the establishment of Christianity by the civil power, rather tended to check the multiplication of error, by protecting the errors which existed, than to increase the number; *though, in fact, the number did increase* with sufficient rapidity, even after the age of Constantine.'

So that it would be more correct to say, that the establishment of Christianity had a tendency the very opposite to the effects which were found to result from it! Admirable logician!

But this is not the only sage conclusion to which Mr. Belsham's mature review of the historical part of the question has conducted him. Many of our readers will recollect Dr. Lardner's remark that, owing to nothing so much as to the accession of Constantine, and the acts of the Council of Nice, the Christian religion which, 'without the aids of secular power or church 'authority,' in about three hundred years after the ascension of Jesus, 'had spread over a large part of Asia, Europe, and 'Africa,'—in the space of little more than another three hundred years, became so 'greatly corrupted in a large part of that extent,' that its 'light was almost extinguished.'* This striking fact, and the causes which led to it, had been previously pointed out in an eloquent passage, by the celebrated John Howe, which Mr. Conder has cited in his work upon Protestant Nonconformity.† Our worthy Author takes just an opposite view of the matter. He will have it, that it is 'entirely owing, under Pro-'vidence, to the protection and patronage of the civil power,' that the Christian religion has not ceased to exist, or, at least, that it has not been reduced to the lowest state of degradation; in short, that we are not all now Mahometans. 'It is all very 'well,' he says, 'to talk of the omnipotence of truth, and of 'the irresistible evidence of the Christian religion, which needs

* Lardner's Works, 4to. vol. ii. p. 353. † Vol. ii. p. 597.

'no energies but its own to ensure success; but all this will avail 'nothing against the sweeping scourge of oppressive power.'—Absolutely nothing! Although it is an incontrovertible fact, that for three hundred years they availed *every thing*, and that too, in spite of the utmost resistance on the part of civil rulers, and of a series of the most cruel persecutions. This is, indeed, a new view of history.

Well, then, if it be so,—if it be 'not only expedient, but indispensably requisite, that the civil power should interpose with 'all its allowable energies, where opportunity offers, to rescue 'Christianity from destruction,' Mr. Belsham must surely be forward to advocate the suppression of works striking at the very root of public morals, and avowedly designed to bring Christianity into contempt. Let us hear.

'Though it is an undeniable fact that the Christian religion so well deserves, *so much needs*, and is so deeply indebted to the protection and patronage of the civil power, it still remains an important and a glorious truth; that this Divine doctrine *distinctly disclaims all protection and support, through the pains and penalties of law.*'

Nay: he goes further; for in the third Sermon, his words are, 'utterly disclaims the aid and protection of civil pains, 'penalties, and *restraints of every kind and of every degree.*' Upon this point, we know not whether we should express our pleasure at agreeing with him; for really, the specimens which we have given, justify the doubt, whether a good cause would not be safer in having Mr. Belsham as an opponent than as an advocate.

It is time that we notice the 'Inquirer.' And here we meet with at least a more consistent writer, though not a much better reasoner than Mr. Belsham. This gentleman at once maintains, that 'no attempt to withstand the progress of Christianity, justifies the protection of Christianity by power;' taking the convenient word *protection* in its widest latitude, and consequently in a sense wholly opposed to what Mr. Belsham intends by it. This is, of course, not the only point on which these gentlemen are at variance. Mr. B. in contrasting the spirit of the Jewish economy with that of the New Testament, instances the cases of Nadab and Abihu, and of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and affirms rather too roundly, that 'nothing of 'this sort occurs in the history of Jesus and his apostles.' The Inquirer has a better memory, and he adduces the miraculous punishment of Elymas the Sorcerer, as an instance 'of the 'protection of religion *by power;*' and he thus sagaciously argues: 'Paul had not political power, *but* he had miraculous 'power.' From which he would have us infer, that those who have not miraculous power, may and ought to use political power. Or we may put it thus: An inspired Apostle, acting under

the immediate direction of the Spirit of God, inflicted a miraculous punishment upon a pretended sorcerer for the purpose of convincing the bye-standers of the truth of Christianity; and as the result, the deputy of the country, "when he saw what "was done, *believed*, being astonished at the doctrine of the "Lord." *Therefore*, upon the strength of the Apostolic example, 'a Christian magistrate is *justified* in a temperate use 'of *his* power, when a similar offence calls for its exertion,' although it cannot by any possibility be attended with the beneficial effect which was the simple purpose of the miracle!!

We do not know what the religious sentiments of this gentleman are: they are certainly far from what are generally termed orthodox. A person who speaks of the Calvinist as worshipping 'the Universal Father in the character of the Manichean God,' supposing him to be an honest man, must, in religious matters, be at least a very ill-informed man; and were we to judge of him from this obscure intimation of his opinions, we should fear, that the 'attempt to prejudice an inquiring mind against the 'truths of the Gospel,' might, in the fallible judgement of a Calvinist magistrate, be brought home to him. We hope that he is prepared to submit to the temperate chastisement due to such an offence. Constables, do your duty.

We should wrong this Inquirer, however, almost as grossly as he wrongs the Calvinist, were we to conceal that there are many sentiments in his Letters, of which we cordially approve, and which conciliate our respect for the Author. The severe castigation he bestows on the individual to whom the Letters are addressed, is at once just and able: it is only in the general argument that he fails. The following remarks are excellent. The Writer has just cited the emphatic command which follows the Apostolic injunction, "not to be unequally yoked together "with unbelievers;" he proceeds to say,

'Here we see the great Parent of all, who "knoweth our frame," solicitous to remove his dependent children from the moral contagion of infidel society. To his own unchangeable perfection it alone belongs to contemplate without danger the recesses of a perverted mind. He may "bid his sun to shine on the evil and on the good," and his infinite benevolence may so order events as to prepare the heart of the Infidel to receive "The glad tidings of the Gospel:"—but the safety of his frail and erring children lies in their obedience to his manifested will. They are commanded to be separate from unbelievers; they are instructed by him who "is touched with a feeling of our infirmities," to pray *not to be led into temptation*. The example of the inspired Apostle carries this idea still further—even *he* did not venture to dwell with complacency on present attainments, but forgetting the things which are behind, continually pressed forward after greater degrees of perfection in the Christian life. Were

we fully impressed with these considerations, we should feel too solicitous about advancing our own work, to desire to assume the task of converting others. We should cease from the vain inquiry of "What shall this man do?" in anxious solicitude to obey the imperative injunction, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me."

'I should be very sorry to draw a conclusion from the general tenour of your Discourse which it does not warrant, but I am much mistaken if we may not fairly infer, that you consider that shyness and separation from unbelievers, which, as we have seen, the Apostle positively enjoins by Divine authority, to be a species of persecution. You assert that "you never entered the pulpit under a more imperious sense of duty," than when you thus ventured, not only to dispense yourself with the observance of an absolute command, but "to teach men so"—to use the powerful influence which your eloquence, your popular favour, gave you over a partial audience, to persuade them that you are better acquainted with the social duties of Christians towards Unbelievers, than he who was miraculously instructed how to impart the knowledge of those duties to the converted Gentiles. I would not willingly offend you, but the best interests of many a young and ingenuous mind are at stake, and I deeply feel the danger they are incurring.' pp. 14—15.

'Allow me, Sir, to express *my* surprise and grief, that *you* should be "surprised and grieved," at the involuntary manifestation of indignant feeling, which, though it might infringe for a moment the decorum of a Christian Court of Justice, was in perfect accordance with a Christian spirit—What! do you deem yourself justified in taking fire at what you were pleased to think an implied accusation of your discharge of the ministerial office—do you deem yourself justified in retorting with personal obloquy, an irreverent sarcasm; forgetful of the respect due to superior age, and station, and character—and yet pretend to be "surprised and grieved" that a Christian audience could not sit with callous insensibility while a daring infidel presumed to brand the gracious Redeemer as an impostor and a liar!—At an imaginary affront to *yourself* you are up in arms directly, but the grossest and most shameless attack upon *him* you can listen to with complacency, and only feel regret when the blasphemer is condemned. Oh, where is your faith, where your love, where your tender concern for the young and the unwary! Are you indeed "entering the pulpit under an imperious sense of duty?" Are you preaching, not yourself, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and yourself the servant of your flock for his sake?' p. 17.

To the main fallacy in Mr. Fox's Sermon, we had occasion to advert in a former article; we refer to his absurd attempt to explain away the culpability of scepticism. The highly dangerous tendency of the whole passage, although the Preacher's meaning was evidently different from that which his language is made to suggest, is forcibly pointed out by the 'Inquirer' at 47; and he justly remarks that 'he "who knew what was in man," does not 'appear to have thought such a difficulty of conviction' as Mr.

Fox apologizes for, 'any merit: "Because thou hast seen me, '"thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen and '"yet have believed."—"O fools, and slow of heart to believe '"all that the prophets have spoken.'"

But our readers will perceive that neither of the publications before us, throw any light upon the difficult question which formed part of our inquiry in a former article, namely, What is the legitimate province of the magistrate in reference to blasphemous opinions? In that article, it will be in their recollection, that we gave no opinion with respect to the 'right of the State to 'punish blasphemy,' and it was for this reason; the term *right*, is at once equivocal and invidious. The State, that is to say the Legislature, has an uncontrolable right to pass what laws it deems expedient for the welfare of the people, and the people are bound by those laws, provided they interfere with no higher obligation; but whether its enactments are expedient or not, is another matter, which is open to consideration. The *right* of the Government to punish Carlile, could not be rationally questioned, particularly as he was acting in defiance of a previous decision of the Judicial Bench, and could neither plead ignorance of the law, nor any right of conscience, in mitigation of his delinquency. Those persons, we remarked, who doubted the propriety of the indictment, felt no pity for the criminal; for he had so thoroughly deserved the vengeance of the laws by his sedition, that no wish could be entertained that he should be punished with lenity. The only anxiety on the part of those who disapproved of the ground taken for the prosecution, we added, was, lest the spirit of the Constitution should be violated in his conviction, or Christianity injured by the interference of the magistrate for its support. It was to the *inexpediency* of such prosecutions in general, upon the specific ground of their tendency to prejudice the minds of infidels against Christianity itself, that our remarks, so far as they bore on the cases of Hone and Carlile, were strictly confined.

The sentiments we there expressed, had no pretensions to novelty. In an early number of the former series of the Eclectic Review, the Reviewer of Ritchie's Life of Hume, had stated far more forcibly the obvious reasons which lie against 'the exer-'tion of temporal force, whether in an ecclesiastical or a purely 'secular form, or any proceedings tending to this exertion, 'against the propagators of erroneous speculations.' We shall, perhaps, be excused for transcribing them here.

'1. The exertion of force for the suppression or punishment of error, proceeds on a principle which is itself the most impious of all errors: it assumes the infallibility of the power that makes it.

'2. Though the power, whether an individual or a corporation of persons exercising such authority, *were* an infallible judge of truth,

there can be no proof derived from the Christian institutes, that the Governor of the world has invested the temporal authority with any right of interference or punishment, one step beyond the offences which immediately violate the good order of the body politic.

'3. As the exercise of power is not authorized by Christianity: so neither can it be justified by any practical experience of its being adapted to produce its intended effect. The experience of ages testifies its inefficacy. The re-action of the human mind against what has been felt as persecution, has commonly produced a more obstinate adherence to the obnoxious opinions, which have thenceforth been propagated with more daring zeal, or with more sedulous cunning, so that their extermination would be effected only by exterminating their believers.

'4. If this power is to be exercised at all, there are no definable limits to its exercise, since there can be no indisputable rules for deciding what error is too small, or what punishment is too great. It will be impossible to ascertain the proportions of turpitude and pernicious tendency in the various forms and degrees of error: and among the adherents to any given system of opinions, there will not be wanting some who can foresee the most dreadful consequences necessarily resulting from the rejection of even the minutest of its articles, and who therefore, if invested with power, and unrestrained by policy, would enact fines, imprisonment, exile, or death against the slightest deviation from the appointed creed.

'5. If we could even admit the possibility of such an exercise of human power being just in the abstract, it is impossible to find or imagine any man, or corporation of men, so sublimely virtuous, as to exercise it with an exclusive, disinterested regard to its object. In all cases that ever yet occurred, worldly advantage, or the spirit of party, or some other mean principle, has mingled in those proceedings of temporal power against heretics and unbelievers, which have been professedly dictated by a pure love of truth.

'6. It seems no less than a virtual rejection of religion, to admit that its evidence is not such as to support it, without the assistance of a provision to inflict temporal pains and penalties on its adversaries and deserters.'

Such are the objections—we will not term them unanswerable, but they have never yet been answered—which lie against the general principle of prosecutions for blasphemy. There are a great number of well meaning persons, however, who labour under an incurable incapacity of entertaining any general proposition on the subject, and whom the attempt to reason with them on general principles, only inflames into the most imbecile anger. Having no clearer ideas of the proper end of human legislation, than that it is the vindictive punishment of the offender, they think it quite enough that a man should be *wicked*, in order to draw down the just vengeance of the civil power, and are ready to charge any one who raises a debate on the law by which he is tried, as an accomplice. To such persons we should in vain address ourselves: many of them are such as we would not

willingly offend, and could not possibly convince. But there are individuals of another description, better informed on the points at issue, and capable, at any rate, of understanding the grounds of an abstract opinion which they are unable to controvert, who yet can be base enough to take advantage of the ignorance and prejudice prevailing among the class we have alluded to, for the purpose of raising an injurious clamour against persons holding sentiments differing from their own. To them, it should seem to be still more fruitless to address the language of remonstrance. We cannot, however, in justice to ourselves, take leave of the present subject without adverting to the perfidious behaviour of the Conductors of a Journal making the highest pretensions to a religious character, in reference to the first article in our January Number. That the Christian Observer should take a very opposite view of the whole question, we must have anticipated from the political character of the Journal itself; and from us, on all points, it is welcome to differ. Argument we can meet with argument; and with those of their readers who condescend to look into our pages also, we have no fear of not standing well on the score of good intention, how inferior soever in depth of judgement, in extent of information, in eloquence, in every thing but fairness and honesty, we may be to our assailants. But the Conductors of the Christian Observer are well aware that the Eclectic Review has long since been put into the *Index Expurgatorius* of their party; that it is rarely seen by the majority of their readers; that no ordinary pains and importunity, and even artifice, are employed to keep the abhorred Journal out of certain circles, the most ludicrous dread of its tendency being affected in some instances; in others, its being given up, has been peremptorily and unconditionally insisted upon. When we say they *know* this, we mean that the individuals upon whom by name we could fix these charges, are within the circle of their familiar acquaintance, and that it is next to impossible but they should know what we state, to be the fact. In pursuance of this same policy, they have themselves attempted to identify the Eclectic Review with the Monthly Repository, and the Old Monthly Magazine, as apologists for Carlile. We shall transcribe the passage we allude to,*

* ' That the Monthly Magazine and Monthly Repository would be sincere advocates in this cause, was of course to be expected: it was only labouring in their vocation: but that the Eclectic Review, professing its high tone of piety and its zeal for the extension of Scriptural truth, should have put forth such an article on the subject as appears in its last Number, was more than I had anticipated. I certainly thought, that every good man, of every name, was rejoiced to find that our laws had the power of restraining such abuses of the press, as those which had called forth such general indignation against

and then leave our readers to judge of the obvious intent of such a reference, as well as of the motives which must have dictated it. What the Eclectic Reviewers had advanced on the subject, they carefully abstain from explaining, because without absolute falsehood, they could not have made it answer their purpose. To have stated that the greater part of the article in question, is occupied with an exposure of the essential culpability of scepticism, and with an examination of the force of human testimony as the instituted means of combating it, and that religious prosecutions are deprecated on the simple ground of their inexpediency as tending to prejudice the minds of infidels against Christianity, would have been at once to furnish their readers with the means of detecting the baseness of the insinuation. And if they had not felt pretty secure that the article alluded to had not been, and certainly, after their account of it, would not be consulted by the purchasers of the Christian Observer, they would scarcely have ventured a charge which, if proved to be false, must reflect tenfold discredit upon themselves. But we admit that it was a tempting opportunity of throwing odium on the Journal itself and on the character of its Conductors; for they were morally certain that it must succeed, and that henceforth a pious horror would be awakened by the very mention of the name of its Proprietor. This feeling has been ascertained to exist in the minds of respectable individuals who never read a number, perhaps not a page of the Eclectic Review, and have no knowledge of the individuals implicated in the guilt of conducting it, except what they have derived from similar misrepresentations. We hope we shall be excused for entering thus plainly into these disgusting details, in order to enable our readers fully to appreciate the object of this last faithless and nefarious attack. For our own parts, we are fully prepared to pursue "through evil report," as well as "through good re-"port," the course on which we have entered, in the full assurance that the degree of consideration in which our opinions shall continue to be held, must ultimately depend only upon ourselves. The services which the Eclectic Review has rendered in the cause of Scriptural Truth, although of small account with the bigoted partisan, may possibly endure a comparison with those of men who, in their zeal against blasphemy, treat with such utter disregard the ninth precept of the Decalogue.

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the high priest of the pseudo "Temple of Reason." But it seems either that I was mistaken, or that Eclectic Reviewers are not all good men; an alternative, however, which I by no means wish to follow from the remarks which I have felt it my duty to make upon this subject. I can concede much where I cannot prove a criminal intention.' [Fidei Defensor.] Ch. Obs. Jan.

*** Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the* ECLECTIC REVIEW, *by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

ART. XI. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

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